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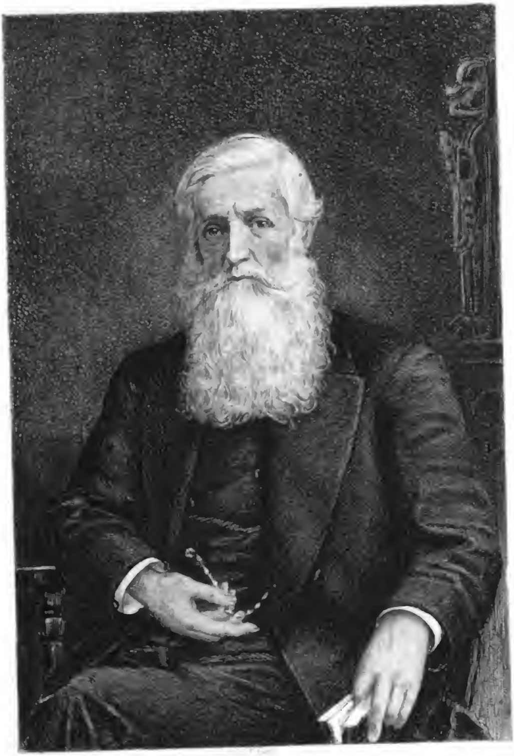

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The Historians' History of the World

A comprehensive narrative of the rise and development of nations as recorded by over two thousand of the great writers of all ages: edited, with the assistance of a distinguished board of advisers and contributors

by

Henry Smith Williams LL.D.

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VOLUME XXII

THE BRITISH COLONIES; THE UNITED STATES
(EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD)

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TOGETHER WITH

A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COLONIAL WORLD

BY

LADY LUGARD

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INTRODUCTION

A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COLONIAL WORLD[1]

BY LADY LUGARD

THE land surface of the earth is estimated to extend over about 52,500,000 square miles. Of this area the British Empire occupies nearly one-quarter, extending over an area of about 12,000,000 square miles. By far the greater portion lies within the temperate zones, and is suitable for white settlement. The notable exceptions are the southern half of India and Burma; East, West, and Central Africa; the West Indian Colonies; the northern portion of Australia; New Guinea, British Borneo, and that portion of North America which extends into Arctic regions. The area of the territory of the empire is divided almost equally between the southern and the northern hemispheres, the great divisions of Australasia and South Africa covering between them in the southern hemisphere 5,308,506 square miles, while the United Kingdom, Canada, and India, including the native states, cover between them in the northern hemisphere 5,271,375 square miles. The alternation of the seasons is thus complete, one-half of the empire enjoying summer, while one-half is in winter. The division of territory between the eastern and western hemispheres is less equal, Canada occupying alone in the western hemisphere 3,653,946 square miles, while Australasia, South Africa, India, and the United Kingdom occupy together in the eastern hemisphere 6,925,975 square miles. As a matter of fact, however, the eastern portions of Australasia border so nearly upon the western hemisphere that the distribution of day and night throughout the empire is, like the alternations of the seasons, almost complete, one-half enjoying daylight, while the other half is in darkness. These alternations of time and of seasons, combined with the variety of soils and climates, are calculated to have an increasingly important effect upon the material and industrial, as well as upon the social and political developments of the empire. This will become evident in considering the industrial productions of the different divisions, and the harvest seasons which permit the summer produce of one portion of the empire to supply the winter requirements of its other markets, and conversely.

The empire contains or is bounded by some of the highest mountains, the greatest lakes, and the most important rivers of the world. Its climates may be said to include all the known climates of the world; its soils are no less various. In the prairies of central Canada it possesses some of the most valuable wheat-producing land; in the grass lands of the interior of Australia the best pasture country; and in the uplands of South Africa the most valuable gold and diamond-bearing beds which exist. The United Kingdom at present produces more coal than any other single country except the United States

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(which exceeded the British output in 1900). The effect of climate throughout the empire in modifying the type of the Anglo-Saxon race has as yet received only partial attention, and conclusions regarding it are of a somewhat empiric nature. The general tendency in Canada is held to be towards somewhat smaller size, and a hardy active habit; in Australia to a tall, slight, pale development locally known as "cornstalkers," characterised by considerable nervous and intellectual activity. In New Zealand the type preserves almost exactly the characteristics of the British Isles. The South African, both Dutch and British, is readily recognised by an apparently sun-dried, lank, and hard habit of body. In the tropical possessions of the empire where white settlement does not take place to any considerable extent the individual alone is affected. The type undergoes no modification. It is to be observed, in reference to this interesting aspect of imperial development, that the multiplication and cheapening of channels of communication and means of travel throughout the empire will tend to modify the future accentuation of race difference, while the variety of elements in the vast area occupied should have an important, though as yet not scientifically traced, effect upon the British imperial type.

POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE

The white population of the empire reaches a total of upwards of 52,000,000 or about one-eighth of its entire population, which, including native races, is estimated at something over 430,000,000. The white population includes some French, Dutch, and Spanish peoples, but is mainly of Anglo-Saxon race. It is distributed roughly as follows:

United Kingdom and Ireland		41,454,578
Australia		4,600,000
Canada—French	1,400,000	
English	3,800,000	
		5,200,000
Africa—Dutch, British		1,000,000
India		100,000
West Indies and Bermuda		100,000
		52,454,578

These figures must be taken only as approximate. In some cases census details are out of date, and official estimates have been accepted.

The native population of the empire includes types of the principal black, yellow, and brown races, classing with these the high-type races of the East, which may almost be called white. It is distributed as follows:

India

British Provinces	Mainly high type, brown	231,085,132
Native States		63,181,569
British Tracts		607,710
		294,874,411

The population of India is divided into 118 groups, on the basis of language. These may, however, be collected into twelve principal groups as follows:

Aryo-Indic	Khasi	Sinitic
Dravidian	Tibeto-Burman	Aryo-Iranic
Kolarian	Mon Annam	Semitic
Gypsy	Shan	Aryo-European

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Eastern Colonies

Ceylon—High type, brown and mixed	3,391,000
Straits Settlements—Brown and mixed	267,073
Chinese yellow	228,000
Hong-Kong—Chinese yellow	211,000
Brown	1,901
North Borneo—Mixed brown	200,000
	4,298,974

Of the various races which inhabit these Eastern dependencies the most important are the 2,000,000 Sinhalese and the 750,000 Tamil that make up the population of Ceylon. The rest is made up of Malays, Chinese (in the Straits Settlements and Hong-Kong), Dyaks, Eurasians, and others.

West Indies

The West Indies, including the continental colonies of British Guiana and Honduras, and seventeen islands or groups of islands, have a total coloured population of about 1,600,000. The colonies of this group which have the largest coloured populations are:

Jamaica—Chiefly black, some brown and yellow	625,000
Trinidad—Black and brown	244,000
British Guiana—Black and brown	270,000
	1,139,000

The populations of the West Indies are very various, being made up largely of imported African negroes. In Jamaica these contribute four-fifths of the population. There are also in the islands a considerable number of imported East Indian coolies and some Chinese. The aboriginal races include American Indians of the mainland and Caribs. With these there has been intermixture of Spanish and Portuguese blood, and many mixed types have appeared. The total European population of this group of colonies amounts to upwards of 80,000, to which 15,000 on account of Bermuda may be added.

Africa

South	Chiefly black	5,000,000
Central	Chiefly black	3,000,000

The aboriginal races of South Africa were the Hottentots and Bushmen. The Hottentots are a yellow-skinned race with crisp light hair. The Bushmen, who appear to have been a lower order of the same race, are believed to be the aboriginal type of the Abatwa or pigmy race of Central Africa. Both these races are rapidly diminishing in numbers, and in British South Africa it is expected that they will in the course of the twentieth century become extinct. Besides these primitive races there are the dark-skinned negroids of Bantu stock, commonly known in their tribal groups as Kaffirs, Zulus, Makalakas, Bechuanas, and Damaras, which are again subdivided into many lesser groups. The Bantu compose the greater part of the native population. There are also in South Africa Malays and Indians and others, who during the last two hundred years have been introduced from Java, Ceylon, Madagascar, Mozambique, and British India, and by intermarriage with each other and

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with the natives have produced a hybrid population generally classed together under the heading of the Mixed Races. These are of all colours, varying from yellow to dark brown. The tribes of Central Africa are as yet less known. Many of them exhibit racial characteristics allied to those of the triߋes of South Africa, but with in some cases an admixture of Arab blood.

East Africa

Protectorate—Black and brown	Natives	2,485,000
	Asiatics	15,000
Zanzibar—Black and brown		250,000
Uganda—Estimated in 1899		3,800,000
		6,550,000

West Africa

Nigeria—Black and brown—Estimated in 1900		35,000,000
Lagos	Chiefly black	3,000,000
Gold Coast	Chiefly black	1,500,000
Sierra Leone	Chiefly black	260,000
Gambia	Chiefly black	14,000
		4,774,000

From east to west across Africa the aboriginal nations are mostly of the black negroid type, their varieties being only imperfectly known. The tendency of some of the lower negroid types has been to drift towards the west coast, where they still practise cannibalistic and fetish rites. On the east coast are found much higher types approaching to the Christian races of Abyssinia, and from east to west there has been a wide admixture of Arab blood producing a light brown type. In Uganda and Nigeria a large proportion of the population is Arab and relatively light-skinned.

Australasia

Australia—Black, very low type	200,000
Chinese and half castes, yellow	50,000
New Zealand—Maoris, brown	40,000
Fiji—Polynesian, black and brown	121,700
New Guinea—Polynesian, black and brown	250,000
	661,700

The native races of Australia and the Polynesian groups of islands are divided into main types known as the dark and light Polynesian. The dark type, which is black, is of a very low order, and in some of the islands still retains its cannibal habits. The aboriginal tribes of Australia are of a low-class black tribe, but generally peaceful and inoffensive in their habits. The white Polynesian races are of a very superior type, and exhibit, as in the Maoris of New Zealand, characteristics of a high order. The natives of New Guinea are in a very low state of civilisation. The estimate given of their numbers is approximate, as no census has been taken.

Canada

Indians—Brown	100,000

The only coloured native races of Canada are the Red Indians, many in tribal variety, but few in numbers.

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Summary

NATIVE POPULATIONS OF PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF THE EMPIRE

India	294,874,411
Ceylon and Eastern Colonies	4,298,974
West Indies	1,650,000
South Africa	5,000,000
British Central Africa	3,000,000
East Africa	6,550,000
West Africa	40,000,000
Australasia and Islands	661,000
Canada	100,000
	356,134,385
White populations	52,454,578
Giving a total of	408,588,963

This is without taking into account the population of the lesser crown colonies or allowing for the increase likely to be shown by a later census. Throughout the empire, and notably in the United Kingdom, there is among the white races a considerable sprinkling of Jewish blood.

The latest calculation of the entire population of the world, including a liberal estimate of 650,000,000 for peoples not brought under any census, gives a total of something over 1,500,000,000. The population of the empire may therefore be calculated as amounting to something more than one-fourth of the population of the world.

DIVISIONS AND GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE

It is a matter of first importance in the geographical distribution of the empire that the five principal divisions, the United Kingdom, South Africa, India, Australia, and Canada, are separated from each other by the three great oceans of the world. The distance as usually calculated in nautical miles: from an English port to the Cape of Good Hope is 5,840 miles; from the Cape of Good Hope to Bombay is 4,610; from Bombay to Melbourne is 5,630; from Melbourne to Auckland is 1,830; from Auckland to Vancouver 6,210; from Halifax to Liverpool is 2,744. From a British port direct to Bombay by way of the Mediterranean it is 6,272; from a British port by the same route to Sydney 11,548 miles. These great distances have necessitated the acquisition of intermediate ports suitable for coaling stations on the trade routes, and have determined the position of many of the lesser crown colonies, which are held simply for military and commercial purposes. Such are the Bermudas, Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Labuan, Hong-Kong, which complete the chain of connection on the eastern route, and such on other routes are the lesser West African stations — Ascension, St. Helena, the Mauritius, and Seychelles, the Falklands, Tristan d'Acunha, and the groups of the western Pacific. Some of the latest annexations of the British Empire have been rocky islets of the northern Pacific required for the purpose of telegraph stations in connection with an all-British cable.

For purposes of political administration the empire falls into the three sections of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the dependencies of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man; the Indian Empire, consisting of British India and the feudatory native states; and the colonial empire, comprising all other colonies and dependencies.

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In the modern sense of extension beyond the limits of the United Kingdom the growth of the empire is of comparatively recent date. The Channel Islands became British as a part of the Norman inheritance of William the Conqueror. The Isle of Man, which was for a short time held in conquest by Edward I and restored, was sold by its titular sovereign to Sir William Scroop, earl of Wiltshire, in the year 1393, and by his subsequent attainder for high treason and the confiscation of his estates, became a fief of the English crown. It was granted by Henry IV to the earls of Stanley, and held by them and their collateral descendants until the sovereignty and revenues of the island were finally surrendered to the crown in 1765. With these exceptions and the nominal possession taken of Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, all the territorial acquisitions of the empire have been made in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The following list of British colonies and dependencies shows the date and manner of their acquisition:

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Newfoundland	1583	Possession taken by Sir H. Gilbert for the crown.

Seventeenth Century

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition	
St. Helena	1600	Captured. Settled by East India Company, 1651. Government vested in British crown, 1833.	
Barbadoes	1605	Settlement.	
Bermudas	1609	,,	
Prince Edward Island	1626	,,	Ceded to France 1632; recovered 1713.
Nova Scotia	1626	,,	Ceded to France 1632; recovered 1713.
New Brunswick	1626	,,	Ceded to France 1632; recovered 1713.
St. Christopher	1623	,,	Ceded to France; recovered 1713.
Nevis	1628	,,	Ceded to France; recovered 1713.
Bahamas	1629	,,	
Gambia	1631	,,	A second time in 1817.
Antigua	1632	,,	
Leeward Islands	1632	,,	
Jamaica	1655	Conquered.	
Gold Coast	1661	Settlement.	
N.-W. Territories of Canada	1670	Settlement under royal charter of Hudson Bay Company. Purchased 1869, and transferred to Canada 1870.	

Eighteenth Century

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Gibraltar	1704	Capitulation.
Ontario	1759–1790	,,
Quebec	1759–1790	,,
Dominica	1763	,,
St. Vincent	1763	,,
Grenada	1763	,,
Windward Islands	1763	,,
Tobago	1763	,,
Falkland Islands	1765	Settlement.
Honduras	1783–1786	Treaty.
Sierra Leone	1787	Settlement.
N. S. Wales	1788	,,
Ceylon	1795	Capitulation.
Trinidad	1797	,,

Nineteenth Century

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Malta	1800	Capitulation.
British Guiana	1803	,,
St. Lucia	1803	,,

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Nineteenth Century (Continued)

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Tasmania	1803	Settlement.
Cape of Good Hope	1806	Capitulation.
Seychelles	1806	,,
Mauritius	1810	,,
Ascension and Tristan d'Acunha	1815	Military occupation.
West Australia	1829	Settlement.
South Australia	1836	,,
New Zealand	1840	Settlement and treaty.
Hong-Kong	1843–1861	Treaties. Kowloon on the mainland added in 1861.
Natal	1844	By separation from Cape.
Labuan	1846	Cession.
Turks and Caicos Islands	1848	Separation from Bahamas.
Victoria	1851	Separation from N. S. Wales.
British Columbia	1858	Settlement under Hudson Bay Company. Transferred to crown 1869. Entered Canadian Confederation 1871.
Straits Settlements	1858	Vested in crown by East India Company. Transferred from Indian to colonial possessions, 1867.
Queensland	1859	By separation from N. S. Wales.
Lagos	1861	Cession.
Manitoba	1870	By separation from N.-W. Territory.
Fiji	1874	Cession.
West Pacific Islands, including Union, Ellice, Gilbert, Southern Solomon, and other groups	1877	By international agreement. High commission created by order in council, giving jurisdiction over islands not included in other colonial governments, nor within jurisdiction of other civilised powers. Tonga and Cook Islands annexed to New Zealand 1900.
Cyprus	1878	Occupied by treaty.
North Borneo	1881	Treaty and settlement under royal charter.
Niger Coast or S. Nigeria	1884	Protectorate declared.
British New Guinea	1884	,, ,,
Bechuanaland	1885	,, ,,
Nigeria	1886	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter. Transferred to crown, incorporated with Niger Coast Protectorate and divided into N. and S. Nigeria, 1900.
Somaliland	1887	Protectorate declared.
Sarawak	1888	,, ,,
Brunei	1888	,, ,,
British East Africa	1888	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter. Transferred to crown 1895.
Rhodesia	1889	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter.
British Central Africa	1891	Protectorate declared.
Federated Malay States	1874–1895	Treaty.
Uganda	1894–1896	Protectorate declared.
Pacific Islands — Christmas, Fanning, Penrhyn, Suwarrow	1898	Annexed for purposes of projected Pacific cable.
Wei-hai-Wei	1898	Lease from China.
Orange River Colony	1900	Annexation.
Transvaal	1900	Annexation.

In the Pacific there are, in addition to the possessions already mentioned, Bauman Islands, Bakir Island, Bell Cay, Bird Island, Bramble Cay, Caroline Island, Cato Island, Coral Island and Dudosa, Danger Island, Ducie Island, Flint Island, Howland Island, Humphrey Island, Jarvis Island, Lihow Island, Little Scrub Island, Malden Island, Manihiki Islands, Nassau Island, Palmerston Island, Palmyra Island, Phœnix group of Islands, Pitcairn Island, Purdy group, Raine Island, Rierson Island, Roggewein Island, Sophia Island, Starbuck Island, Surprise Island, Teinhoven Island, Vestoc, Washington or New York Island, Willis group, Wreck Reef, Macquarie Island, Rotuma Island,

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and islands adjacent to British New Guinea. Among the dependencies of New Zealand should be mentioned the Kermadec Islands.

In the Indian Ocean there are, besides the colonies already mentioned, Seychelles, Rodrigues, the Chagos Islands, St. Brandon Islands, Amirante Islands, Aldabra and some other small groups. There are also the Kuria-Muria Islands, the Maldive Islands, and the Ashmore Islands.

In America there is all land which lies to the north of the Canadian provinces, with the exception of the United States territory of Alaska and its dependencies.

The Indian section of the empire was acquired during the same three centuries under a royal charter granted to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. It was transferred to the imperial government in 1858, and Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress under the Royal Titles Act in 1877. The following list gives the dates and methods of acquisition of the centres of the main divisions of the Indian Empire. They have, in most instances, grown by general process of extension to their present dimensions.

The nine provinces are:

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Madras	1639–1748	By treaty and subsequent conquest. Fort St. George, the foundation of Madras, was the first territorial possession of the East India Company in India. It was acquired by treaty with its Indian ruler. Madras was raised into a presidency in 1683; ceded to France 1746; recovered 1748.
Bombay	1608–1685	Treaty and cession. Trade first established 1608. Ceded to British crown by Portugal 1661. Transferred to East India Company 1668. Presidency removed from Surat 1685.
Bengal	1633–1765	Treaty and subsequent conquests. First trade settlement established by treaty at Pipli in Orissa 1633. Erected into presidency by separation from Madras 1681. Virtual sovereignty announced by East India Company, as results of conquests of Clive, 1765.
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	1764–1856	By conquests and treaty, of which the principal dates were 1801–3–14–15. In 1832 the nominal sovereignty of Delhi, till then retained by the great Mughal, was resigned into the hands of the East India Company. Oudh, of which the conquest may be said to have begun with the battle of Baxar in 1763, was finally annexed in 1856. It was attached as a commissionership to the N.-W. Provinces in 1879.
Central Provinces	1802–1817	By conquest and treaty.
Assam	1825–1826	Conquest and cession.
Burmah	1824–1852	Conquest and cession.
Punjab	1849	Conquest and annexation. Made into distinct province 1859.
N.-W. Frontier Province	1901	Subdivision.

The senior commissionerships are:

Ajmere and Merwara	1818	By conquest and cession.
Coorg	1834	Conquest and annexation.
British Baluchistan	1841–1876	Conquest and treaty.
Andaman Islands	1858	Annexation

The following is a list of the principal Indian states or agencies which are more or less under the control of the British government:

Hyderabad	Kashmir
Baroda	Sikkim
Mysore	Shan States

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Rajputana States, including	
Udaipur	Dholpur
Jodhpur	Alwar
Bikaner	Jhalawar
Jaipur (and feudatories)	Tonk
Bhurtpur	Kotah
Central Indian States, including	
Indore	Bhopal
Rewa	Gwalior
Bombay States, including	
Cutch	Khairpur (Sind)
Kolhapur (and dependencies)	
Madras States, including	
Travancore	Cochin
Central Provinces States	
Bastar	
Bengal States	
Cooch Behar	Hill Tipperah
N.-W. Provinces States, including	
Rampur	Garhwal
Punjab States, including	
Patiala	Sirmur (Nahan)
Bahawulpur	Maler Kotla
Jind	Faridkot
Nabha	Chamba
Kapurthala	Suket
Mandi	Kalsia

In addition to these there are British tracts known as the Upper Burma frontier and the Burma frontier. There is also a sphere of British influence in the border of Afghanistan. The state of Nepal, though independent, has been since the campaign of 1814–15 in close relations with Great Britain. All these native states have come into relative dependency upon Great Britain as a result of conquest or of treaty consequent upon the annexation of the neighbouring provinces. The settlement of Aden, with its dependencies of Perim and Socotra Island, forms part of the government of Bombay.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

This vast congeries of states, widely different in character, and acquired by many different methods, holds together under the supreme headship of the crown on a generally acknowledged triple principle of self-government, self-support, and self-defence. The principle is more fully applied in some parts of the empire than in others; there are some parts which have not yet reached their full political evolution; some others in which the principle is temporarily or for special reasons in abeyance; others, again — chiefly those of very small extent, which are held for purposes of the defence or advantage of the whole — to which it is not applicable; but the principle is generally acknowledged as the structural basis upon which the constitution of the empire exists.

In its relation to the empire the home section of the British Isles is distinguished from the others as the place of origin of the British race and the residence of the crown. The history and constitutional development of this portion of the empire will be found fully treated under separate headings.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of the home section of the empire in 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	£119,839,905
Expenditure	133,976,920
Imports	563,146,659
Exports	387,522,638

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It is enough to say that for purposes of administration the Indian Empire is divided into nine great provinces (of which the ninth, the N.-W. Frontier, was proclaimed in 1901) and four minor commissionerships. The nine great provinces are presided over by two governors (Bombay and Madras), four lieutenant-governors (Bengal, North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma) and three chief commissioners (Assam, the Central Provinces, and the N.-W. Frontier Province). The four minor commissionerships are presided over each by a chief commissioner. Above these the supreme executive authority in India is vested in the viceroy in council. The council consists of five ordinary members besides the existing commander-in-chief. For legislative purposes the governor-general's council is increased by the addition of sixteen members nominated by the crown, and has power under certain restrictions to make laws for British India, for British subjects in the native states, and for native Indian subjects of the crown in any part of the world. The administration of the Indian Empire in England is carried on by a secretary of state for India assisted by a council of not less than ten members. The expenditure of the revenues is under the control of the secretary in council.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of India for 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	£67,617,800
Expenditure	64,976,920
Imports	64,185,440
Exports	78,646,690

The colonial empire — exclusive of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies — comprises forty-three district governments. It is divided into colonies of three classes and dependencies; these, again, are in some instances associated for administrative purposes in federated groups. The three classes of colonies are crown colonies, colonies possessing representative institutions but not responsible government, and colonies possessing representative institutions and responsible government. In crown colonies the crown has entire control of legislation, and the public officers are under the control of the home government. In representative colonies the crown has only a veto on legislation, but the home government retains control of the public officers. In responsible colonies the crown retains a veto upon legislation, but the home government has no control of any public officer except the governor.

In crown colonies — with the exception of Gibraltar and St. Helena, where laws may be made by the governor alone — laws are made by the governor with the concurrence of a council nominated by the crown. In some crown colonies, chiefly those acquired by conquest or cession, the authority of this council rests wholly on the crown; in others, chiefly those acquired by settlement, the council is created by the crown under the authority of local or imperial laws. The crown council of Ceylon may be cited as an example of the first kind, and the crown council of Jamaica of the second.

In colonies possessing representative institutions without responsible government, the crown cannot (generally) legislate by order in council, and laws are made by the governor with the concurrence of the legislative body or bodies, one at least of these bodies in cases where a second chamber exists possessing a preponderance of elected representatives. The Bahamas, Barbadoes, and Bermuda have two legislative bodies — one elected and one nominated by the crown; Malta and the Leeward Islands have but one, which is partly elected and partly nominated.

Under responsible government legislation is carried on by parliamentary means exactly as at home, with a cabinet responsible to parliament, the

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crown reserving only a right of veto which is exercised at the discretion of the governor in the case of certain bills. The executive councils in those colonies designated as at home by parliamentary choice are appointed by the governor alone, and the other public officers only nominally by the governor on the advice of his executive council.

Colonial governors are classed as governors-general; governors; lieutenant-governors; administrators; high commissioners; and commissioners, according to the status of the colony and dependency, or group of colonies and dependencies over which they preside. Their powers vary according to the position which they occupy. In all cases they represent the authority of the crown.

As a consequence of this organisation the finance of crown colonies is under the direct control of the imperial government; the finance of representative colonies, though not directly controlled, is usually influenced in important departures by the opinion of the imperial government. In responsible colonies the finance is entirely under local control, and the imperial government is dissociated from either moral or material responsibility for colonial debts.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of the colonial empire for 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	£58,815,700
Expenditure	56,563,660
Imports	181,846,110
Exports	192,330,040

In federated groups of colonies and dependencies matters which are of common interest to a given number of separate governments are by mutual consent of the federating communities adjudged to the authority of a common government, which, in the case of self-governing colonies, is voluntarily created for the purpose. The associated states form under the federal government one federal body, but the parts retain control of local matters, and exercise all their original rights of government in regard to these. The advantages of united action are thus secured for larger questions without impairing the vigour of independent initiative in matters of individual concern. The two great self-governing groups of federated colonies within the empire are the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. India, of which the associated provinces are under the control of the central government, may be given as an example of the practical federation of dependencies. Examples of federated crown colonies and lesser dependencies are to be found in the Leeward Island group of the West Indies and the federated Malay States.

This rough system of self-government for the empire has been evolved not without some strain and friction, by the recognition through the vicissitudes of three hundred years of the value of independent initiative in the development of young countries. Queen Elizabeth's first patent to Sir Walter Raleigh permitted British subjects to accompany him to America, "with guarantee of a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights which her subjects enjoyed at home."

This guarantee may presumably have been intended at the time only to assure the intending settlers that they should lose no rights of British citizenship at home by taking up their residence in America. Its mutual interpretation in a wider sense, serving at once to establish in the colony rights of citizenship equivalent to those enjoyed in England, and to preserve for the colonist the status of British subject at home and abroad, has formed in

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application to all succeeding systems of British colonization the unconscious charter of union of the empire.

The first American colonies were all settled under royal grants. Each had its own constitution, and looked to no other head but the king. Their governments were free — the executive being responsible to the elective element in the legislature, as now in the colonies which enjoy responsible self-government. The immense distance which in those days separated America from Great Britain secured them from interference on the part of the home authorities. They paid their own most moderate governing expenses, and they contributed largely to their own defence. From the middle of the seventeenth century their trade was not free, but this was the only restriction from which they suffered. The great war with France in the middle of the eighteenth century temporarily destroyed this system. That war, which resulted in the conquest of Canada and the delivery of the North American colonies from French antagonism, cost the imperial exchequer £90,000,000. The attempt to avert the repetition of such expenditure by the assertion of a right to tax the colonies through the British parliament led to the one great rupture which has marked the history of the empire. It has to be noted that at home during the latter half of the seventeenth century and the earlier part of the eighteenth century parliamentary power had to a great extent taken the place of the divine right of kings. But parliamentary power meant the power of the English people and taxpayers. The struggle which developed itself between the American colonies and the British parliament, was in fact a struggle on the part of the people and taxpayers of one portion of the empire to resist the domination of the people and taxpayers of another portion. In this light it may be accepted as having historically established the fundamental axiom of the constitution of the empire, that the crown is the supreme head from which the parts take equal dependence.

The crown requiring advice in the ordinary and constitutional manner receives it in matters of colonial administration from the secretaries of state for the colonies and for India. After the great rupture separate provision in the home government for the administration of colonial affairs was at first judged to be unnecessary, and the "council of trade and plantations," which up to that date had supplied the place now taken by the two offices of the colonies and India, was suppressed in 1782. There was a reaction from the liberal system of colonial self-government, and an attempt was made to govern the colonies which remained, simply as dependencies, the home treasury being responsible for their expenditure as now in the crown colonies.

In 1791, not long after the extension of the range of parliamentary authority in another portion of the empire, by the creation in 1784 of the board of control for India, Pitt made the step forward of granting to Canada representative institutions, of which the home government kept the responsible control. Similar institutions were also given at a later period to Australia and South Africa. But the long peace of the early part of the nineteenth century was marked by great colonial developments; Australia, Canada, and South Africa became important communities. Representative institutions controlled by the home government were insufficient for their needs, and they reasserted the old British colonial claim for liberty to manage their own affairs.

Fully responsible government was granted to Canada in 1840, and gradually extended to the other colonies. In 1854 a separate secretary of state for the colonies was appointed at home, and the colonial office was established on its present footing. In India, as in the colonies, there came with the growing needs of empire a recognition of the true relations of the parts to each other

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and of the whole to the crown. In 1858, on the complete transference of the territories of the East India Company to the crown, the board of control was abolished, and the India council, under the presidency of a secretary of state for India, was created. It was especially provided that the members of the council may not sit in parliament.

Thus, although it has not been found practicable in the working of the British constitution to carry out the full theory of the direct and exclusive dependence of colonial possessions on the crown, the theory is recognised as far as possible. It is understood that the principal sections of the empire enjoy equal rights under the crown, and that none are subordinate to each other. The intervention of the imperial parliament in colonial affairs is only admitted theoretically in so far as the support of parliament is required by the constitutional advisers of the crown. To bring the practice of the empire into complete harmony with the theory it would be necessary to constitute for the purpose of advising the crown upon imperial affairs, a parliament or council in which all important parts of the empire should be represented.

The gradual recognition of the constitutional theory of the British Empire, and the assumption by the principal colonies of full self-governing responsibilities, has cleared the way for a movement in favour of a further development which should bring the supreme headship of the empire more into accord with modern ideas.

It was during the period of domination of the "Manchester school," of which the most effective influence in public affairs was exerted for about thirty years, extending from 1845 to 1875, that the fullest development of colonial self-government was attained, the view being generally accepted at that time that self-governing institutions were to be regarded as the preliminary to inevitable separation. A general inclination to withdraw from the acceptance of imperial responsibilities throughout the world gave to foreign nations at the same time an opportunity by which they were not slow to profit and contributed to the force of a reaction of which the part played by Great Britain in the scramble for Africa marked the culmination. Under the increasing pressure of foreign enterprise, the value of a federation of the empire for purposes of common interest began to be discussed. Imperial federation was openly spoken of in New Zealand as early as 1852. A similar suggestion was officially put forward by the general association of the Australian colonies in London in 1857. The Royal Colonial Institution, of which the motto "United Empire" illustrates its aims, was founded in 1868.

First among leading British statesmen to repudiate the old interpretation of colonial self-government as a preliminary to separation, Lord Beaconsfield, in 1872, spoke of the constitutions accorded to the colonies as "part of a great policy of imperial consolidation." In 1875 Mr. W. E. Forster, afterwards a member of the liberal government, made a speech in which he advocated imperial federation as a means by which it might become practicable to "replace dependence by association." The foundation of the Imperial Federation League — in 1884, with Mr. Forster for its first president, shortly to be succeeded by Lord Rosebery — marked a distinct step forward. The colonial conferences of 1887 and 1894, in which colonial opinion was sought and accepted in respect of important questions of imperial organisation and defence, and the enthusiastic loyalty displayed by the colonies towards the Crown on the occasion of the jubilee manifestations of Queen Victoria's reign, were further indications of progress in the same direction. Coincidently with this development, the achievements of Sir George Goldie and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who, the one in West Africa, and the other in South Africa, added between

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them to the empire in a space of less than twenty years a dominion of greater extent than the whole of British India, followed by the action of a host of distinguished disciples in other parts of the world, effectually stemmed the movement initiated by Cobden and Bright. A tendency which had seemed temporarily to point towards a complacent dissolution of the empire was arrested, and the closing years of the nineteenth century were marked by a growing disposition to appreciate the value and importance of the unique position which the British Empire has created for itself in the world. No stronger demonstration of the reality of imperial union can be needed than that which was afforded by the support given to the imperial forces by the colonies and India in the South African War. It remains only to be seen by what process of evolution the further consolidation of the empire will find expression in the machinery of government.

The question of self-government is closely associated with the question of self-support. Plenty of good land and the liberty to manage their own affairs were the causes assigned by Adam Smith for the marked prosperity of the British colonies towards the end of the eighteenth century. The same causes are still to be observed to produce the same effects, and it may be pointed out that since the date of the latest of Adam Smith's writings, upwards of 6,000,000 square miles of virgin soil, rich with possibilities of agricultural, pastoral, and mineral wealth, have been added to the empire. In the same period the white population has grown from about 12,000,000 to 52,000,000, and the developments of agricultural and industrial machinery have multiplied, almost beyond computation, the powers of productive labour.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

It is scarcely possible within this article to deal with so widely varied a subject as that of the productions and industry of the empire. For the purposes of a general statement, it is interesting to observe that concurrently with the acquisition of the vast continental areas during the nineteenth century, the progress of industrial science in application to means of transport and communication brought about a revolution of the most radical character in the accepted laws of economic development. Railways did away with the old law that the spread of civilisation is necessarily governed by facilities for water carriage and is consequently confined to river valleys and sea-shores. Steam and electricity opened to industry the interior of continents previously regarded as unapproachable. The resources of these vast inland spaces which have lain untouched since history began became available to individual enterprise, and over a great portion of the earth's surface were brought within the possessions of the British Empire. The production of raw material within the empire increased at a rate which can only be appreciated by a careful study of figures.

The tropical and temperate possessions of the empire include every field of production which can be required for the use of man. There is no main staple of human food which is not grown; there is no material of textile industry which is not produced. The British Empire gives occupation to more than one-third of the persons employed in mining and quarrying in the world. It may be interesting, as an indication of the relative position in this respect of the British Empire to the world, to state that at present it produces one-third of the coal supply of the world, one-sixth of the wheat supply, and very nearly two-thirds of the gold supply. But while these figures may be taken

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as in themselves satisfactory, it is far more important to remember that as yet the potential resources of the new lands opened to enterprise have been barely conceived, and their wealth has been little more than scratched. Population as yet has been only very sparsely sprinkled over the surface of many of the areas most suitable for white settlement. In the wheat lands of Canada, the pastoral country of Australasia, and the mineral fields of South Africa and western Canada alone, the undeveloped resources are such as to ensure employment to the labour and satisfaction to the needs of at least as many millions as they now contain thousands of the British race. In respect of this promise of the future the position of the British Empire is unique.

In regard to the distribution of existing industry, although the more important colonies have established manufactures of their own, of which the prosperity is assured, the general conditions have hitherto been maintained under which Great Britain has remained the manufacturing centre for the raw material of the whole. The primary production of the colonies and the industrial development of Great Britain are still, therefore, the important divisions of the subject. These subjects are dealt with elsewhere in detail.

It is not too much to say that trade has been at once the most active cause of expansion and the most potent bond of union in the development of the empire. Trade with the tropical and settlement in the temperate regions of the world formed the basis upon which the foundations of the empire were laid. Trading companies founded most of the American and West Indian colonies; a trading company won India; a trading company colonised the northwestern districts of Canada; commercial wars during the greater part of the eighteenth century established the British command of the sea, which rendered the settlement of Australasia possible. The same wars gave Great Britain, South Africa, and chartered companies in the nineteenth century carried the British flag into the interior of the African continent from south and east and west. Trading companies produced Borneo and Fiji. The bonds of prosperous trade have kept the Australasian colonies within the empire. The protection of colonial commerce by the imperial navy is one of the strongest of material links which connect the crown with the outlying possessions of the empire.

The trade of the empire, like the other developments of imperial public life, has been profoundly influenced by the variety of local conditions under which it has flourished. In the early settlement of the North American colonies their trade was left practically free; but by the famous Navigation Act of 1660 the importation and exportation of goods from British colonies were restricted to British ships, of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners were English. This act, of which the intention was to encourage British shipping and to keep the monopoly of British colonial trade for the benefit of British merchants, was followed by many others of a similar nature up to the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the introduction of free trade into Great Britain. And the Navigation Acts were repealed in 1849. Thus for very nearly two hundred years British trade was subject to restrictions, of which the avowed intention was to curtail the commercial intercourse of the empire with the world. During this period the commercial or mercantile system, of which the fallacies were exposed by the economists of the latter half of the eighteenth century, continued to govern the principles of British trade. Under this system monopolies were common, and among them few were more important than that of the East India Company.

In 1813 the trade of India was, however, thrown open to competition, and in 1846, after the introduction of free trade at home, the principal British colonies which had not yet at that date received the grant of responsible gov-

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ernment were specially empowered to abolish differential duties upon foreign trade. A first result of the commercial emancipation of the colonies was the not altogether unnatural rise in the manufacturing centres of a school known as the Manchester school, which was disposed to question the value to Great Britain of the retention of colonies which were no longer bound to give her the monopoly of their commercial markets. An equally natural desire on the part of the larger colonies to profit by the opportunity which was opened to them of establishing local manufactures of their own, combined with the convenience in new countries of using the customs as an instrument of taxation, led to something like a reciprocal feeling of resentment, and there followed a period during which the policy of Great Britain was to show no consideration for colonial trade, and the policy of the principal colonies was to impose heavy duties upon British trade. By a gradual process of better understanding, largely helped by the development of means of communication, the antagonistic extreme was abandoned, and a tendency towards a system of preferential duties within the empire displayed itself. At the colonial conference held in London in 1887, a proposal was formally submitted by the South African delegate for the establishment within the empire of a preferential system, imposing a duty of 2 per cent. upon all foreign goods, the proceeds to be directed to the maintenance of the imperial navy. To this end it was requested that certain treaties with foreign nations which imposed restrictions on the trade of various parts of the empire with each other should be denounced. Some years later the treaties in question were denounced, but simultaneously with the movement in favour of reciprocal fiscal advantages to be granted within the empire by the many local governments to each other, there was a growth of the perception that an increase of the foreign trade of Great Britain, which is carried on chiefly in manufactured goods, was accompanied by a corresponding enlargement of the home markets for colonial raw material, and consequently that injury to the foreign trade of Great Britain must necessarily react upon the colonies. This view was definitely expressed at the colonial conference at Ottawa in 1894, and made itself felt in the relinquishment of the demand that in return for colonial concessions there should be an imposition on the part of Great Britain of a differential duty upon foreign goods. Canada was the first important British colony to give substantial expression to the new imperial sentiment in commercial matters by the introduction in 1897 of an imperial tariff, granting without any reciprocal advantage a deduction of 25 per cent. upon customs duties imposed upon British goods. The same advantage is offered to all British colonies trading with her upon equal terms. Although in Great Britain trade is free, and customs duties are only imposed for purposes of revenue on a few selected articles, about half the national income is derived from customs and excise. In most of the colonies customs form of necessity one of the important sources of revenue. It is, however, worthy of remark that in the self-governing colonies, even those which are avowedly protectionist, a smaller proportion of the public revenue is derived from customs and excise than is derived from these sources at home. The proportion in Australasia before federation was about one-quarter. In Canada it is more difficult to estimate it, as customs and excise form the principal provision made for federal finance, and note must therefore be taken of the separate sources of revenue in the provinces. With these reservations it will still be seen that customs, or, in other words, a tax upon the movements of trade, forms one of the chief sources of imperial revenue.

The development of steam shipping and electricity gave to the movements

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of trade a stimulus no less remarkable than that given by the introduction of railroads and industrial machinery to production and manufactures. Whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century the journey to Australia occupied eight months, and business communications between Sydney and London could not receive answers within the year, the journey can now be accomplished in thirty-one days, and telegraphic despatches enable the most important business to be transacted within twenty-four hours. For one cargo carried in the year at the beginning of the nineteenth century at least six may now be carried by the same ship, and from the point of view of trade the difference of a venture which realises its profits in two months, as compared with one which occupied a whole year, does not need to be insisted on. The increased rapidity of the voyage and the power of daily communication by telegraph with the most distant markets have introduced a wholly new element into the national trade of the empire, and commercial intercourse between the southern and the northern hemispheres has received a development from the natural alternation of the seasons, of which until quite recent years the value was not even conceived. Fruit, eggs, butter, meat, poultry, and other perishable commodities pass in daily increasing quantities between the northern and the southern hemispheres with an alternate flow which contributes to raise in no inconsiderable degree the volume of profitable trade. Thus the butter season of Australasia is from October to March, while the butter season of Ireland and Northern Europe is from March to October. In three years after the introduction of ice-chambers into the steamers of the great shipping lines, Victoria and New South Wales built up a yearly butter trade of £1,-000,000 with Great Britain without seriously affecting the Irish and Danish markets whence the summer supply is drawn. These facilities, combined with the enormous additions made to the public stock of land and labour, contributed to raise the volume of trade of the empire from a total of less than £100,000,000 in the year 1800 to a total of nearly £1,500,000,000 in 1900. The declared volume of British exports to all parts of the world in 1800 was £38,120,120, and the value of British imports from all parts of the world was £30,570,605; total, £68,690,725. As in those days the colonies were not allowed to trade with any other country this must be taken as representing imperial trade. The exact figures of the trade of India, the colonies, and the United Kingdom for 1900 were: imports, £809,178,209; exports, £657,-899,363; total, £1,467,077,572.

DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE

A question of sovereign importance to the continued existence of the empire is the question of defence. A country of which the main thoroughfares are the oceans of the world demands in the first instance a strong navy. It has of late years been accepted as a fundamental axiom of defence that the British navy should exceed in strength any reasonable combination of foreign navies which could be brought against it. The expense of maintaining such a floating armament is colossal, and until within the decade of 1890–1900 it was borne exclusively by the taxpayers of the United Kingdoms. As the benefits of united empire have become more consciously appreciated in the colonies, and the value of the fleet as an insurance for British commerce has been recognised, a desire manifested itself on the part of the self-governing colonies to contribute towards the formation of a truly imperial navy. As yet the movement remains in its infancy. In 1895 the Australasian colonies voted a small subsidy of £126,000 per annum for the maintenance of an Australasian

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squadron, and in 1897 the Cape Colony also offered a contribution of £30,000 a year to be used at the discretion of the imperial government for naval purposes. The colonies have also contributed in some degree to their own naval defence by the erection of fortifications at selected points upon their shores. The net cost of the navy to the imperial exchequer, as estimated for the year 1900–1901 was £27,522,600. Though available for service throughout the empire, and forming the principal bulwark of colonial defence, the cost, with the trivial exceptions named, is still borne exclusively by the home government, and recruiting for the navy is carried on wholly in the British Isles.

Land defence has hitherto been regarded as forming a secondary branch of the great question of imperial defence. But though secondary it has been intimately connected with the development and internal growth of the empire. In the case of the first settlement of the American colonies they were expected to provide for their own land defence. To some extent in the early part of their career they carried out this expectation, and even on occasion, as in the taking of Louisburg, which was subsequently given back at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle as the price of the French evacuation of Madras, rendered public service to the empire at large. In India the principle of local self-defence was from the beginning carried into practice by the East India Company. But in America the claim of the French wars proved too heavy for local resources. In 1755 Great Britain intervened with troops sent from home under General Braddock, and up to the outbreak of the American war the cost of the defence of the North American colonies was borne by the imperial exchequer. To meet this expense the imperial parliament took upon itself the right to tax the American colonies. In 1765 a Quartering Act was passed by which 10,000 imperial troops were quartered in the colonies. As a result of the American war which followed and led to the loss of the colonies affected, the imperial authorities accepted the charge of the land defences of the empire, and with the exception of India and the Hudson Bay territories, where the trading companies determined to pay their own expenses, the whole cost of imperial defence was borne as the cost of the navy still is, by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. This condition of affairs lasted till the end of the Napoleonic wars.

During the thirty years' peace which followed there came time for reconsideration. The fiscal changes which towards the middle of the nineteenth century gave to the self-governing colonies the command of their own resources very naturally carried with them the consequence that a call should be made on colonial exchequers to provide for their own governing expenses. Of these defence is obviously one of the most essential. Coincidently, therefore, with the movements of free trade at home, the renunciation of what was known as the mercantile system and the accompanying grants of constitutional freedom to the colonies, a movement for the reorganisation of imperial defence was set on foot. In the decade which elapsed between 1846 and 1856 the movement as regards the colonies was confined chiefly to calls made upon them to contribute to their own defence by providing barracks, fortifications, etc., for the accommodation of imperial troops, and in some cases paying for the use of troops not strictly required for imperial purposes. In 1857 the Australian colonies agreed to pay the expenses of the imperial garrison quartered in Australia. This was a very wide step from the imperial attempt to tax the American colonies for a similar purpose in the preceding century. Nevertheless, in evidence given before a departmental committee in 1859, it was shown that at that time the colonies of Great Britain were free from almost every obligation of contributing either by personal service or money

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payment towards their own defence, and that the cost of military expenditure in the colonies in the preceding year had amounted in round figures to £4,000,000. A committee of the house of commons sat in 1861 to consider the question, and in 1862 it was resolved without a division, that "colonies exercising the right of self-government ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security, and ought to assist in their own external defence." The decision was accepted as the basis of imperial policy.

The first effect was the gradual withdrawing of imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, together with the encouragement of the development of local military systems by the loan, when desired, of imperial military experts. A call was also made for larger military contributions from some of the crown colonies. The committee of 1859 had emphasised in its report the fact that the principal dependence of the colonies for defence is necessarily upon the British navy, and in 1865, exactly 100 years after the Quartering Act, which had been the cause of the troubles that led to the independence of the United States, a Colonial Naval Defence Act was passed which gave power to the colonies to provide ships of war, steamers, and volunteers for their own defence, and in case of necessity to place them at the disposal of the crown. In 1868 the Canadian Militia Act gave the fully organised nucleus of a local army to Canada. In the same year the imperial troops were withdrawn from New Zealand, leaving the colonial militia to deal with the native war still in progress. In 1870 the last imperial troops were withdrawn from Australia, and in 1873 it was officially announced that military expenditure in the colonies was almost "wholly for imperial purposes." In 1875 an imperial officer went to Australia to report for the Australian government upon Australian defence. The appointment in 1879 of a royal commission to consider the question of imperial defence, which presented its report in 1882, led to a considerable development and reorganisation of the system of imperial fortifications. Coaling stations were also selected with reference to the trade routes. In 1885 rumours of war roused a very strong feeling in connection with the still unfinished and in many cases unarmed condition of the fortifications recommended by the commission of 1879. Military activity was stimulated throughout the empire, and the Colonial Defence Committee was created to supply a much-felt need for organised direction and advice to colonial administrations acting necessarily in independence of each other. The question of colonial defence was among the most important of the subjects discussed at the colonial conference held in London in 1887, and it was at this conference that the Australasian colonies first agreed to contribute to the expense of their own naval defence.

From this date the principle of local responsibility for self-defence has been fully accepted. With the exception of Natal all the self-governing colonies have provided practically for their own military requirements. India has its own native army, and pays for the maintenance within its frontiers of an imperial garrison. Early in the summer of 1899, when hostilities in South Africa appeared to be imminent, the government of the principal colonies took occasion to express their approval of the policy pursued by the imperial government, and offers were made by the governments of India, the Australasian colonies, Canada, Hong-Kong, the Federal Malay states, some of the West African and other colonies, to send contingents for active service in the event of war. On the outbreak of hostilities these offers, on the part of the self-governing colonies, were accepted, and colonial contingents upwards of thirty thousand strong were among the most efficient sections of the British

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fighting force. The manner in which these colonial contingents were raised, their admirable fighting qualities, and the service rendered by them in the field, have disclosed altogether new military possibilities within the empire, and the reorganisation of the army on an imperial footing is among the more probable developments of the near future.

The feudatory and dependent native states have native armies of their own which, according to the latest available estimates, number about 350,000 men, with upwards of 4,000 guns. Offers of military service in South Africa in 1900 were received from some of the principal feudatory states.

Special expenditure has been made by the Indian government upon coast defences armed with modern breechloading guns. Large sums have also been spent upon external and border defences, and an establishment of two coast-defence ironclads, a despatch vessel, two first-class torpedo gunboats, seven first-class torpedo boats, as well as armed gunboats, etc., is maintained.

With the exceptions of Natal and the garrisons of the naval stations of Cape Town and Halifax, no imperial garrisons are under normal conditions maintained in the self-governing colonies. In the crown colonies garrisons are maintained in Gibraltar, Malta, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, St. Helena, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and the West Indies. There are imperial naval stations at Simon's Bay, Trincomalee, Bermuda, Esquimalt, Halifax, Malta, Gibraltar, St. Lucia, Ascension, Hong-Kong, and Wei-hai-Wei.

Systems of justice throughout the empire have a close resemblance to each other, and the privy council of the house of lords, on which the self-governing colonies and India are represented, constitutes a supreme court of appeal for the entire empire; but common law varies according to its origin in some important divisions. Religion, of which the forms are infinitely varied is everywhere free except in cases where the exercise of religious rites leads to practices foreign to accepted laws of humanity. Systems of instruction of which the aim is generally similar in the white portions of the empire, and is directed towards giving to every individual the basis of a liberal education, are governed wholly by local requirements. Native schools are established in all settled communities under British rule.

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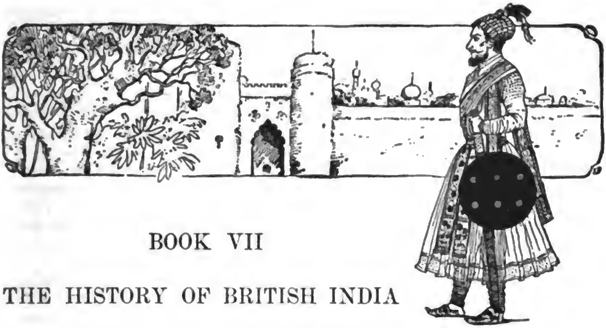

BOOK VII

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE MOHAMMEDAN AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRES

[664–1857 A.D.]

Modern critics have remarked with surprise how well the descriptions of India given by the officers of Alexander the Great portray what we now behold in that country at the distance of two thousand years. The delicate and slender forms of the people; their dark complexion; their black, uncurled hair; their cotton raiment; their vegetable food; their training of elephants to battle; their division into separate castes; the prohibition of intermarriage from one caste to another; the name of Brachmani or Brahmans to their priests; the custom of widows burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands — these and several other particulars which Arrian has recorded apply to the modern quite as perfectly as to the ancient Hindus.

The progress of Alexander in India itself did not extend beyond the district of the Punjab, and the navigation of the Indus between that district and the sea. But on Afghanistan he made a more lasting impression; a dynasty which he founded in that country is proved by its coins to have subsisted during several generations; and a monument which he raised even now remains. When, in May, 1842, a melancholy train of captives, the survivors of the greatest military disaster that England had ever yet to mourn, were slowly wending up the mountain passes of Kabul, they beheld, towering high above them, the column of the Macedonian conqueror.

Many ages after Alexander's expedition, the tide of Mohammedan invasion, which had already overwhelmed the kingdom of Persia, approached the shores of the Indus and the Ganges. The gentle, unwarlike Hindus were ill fitted to withstand the enthusiasm of a new religion, and the energy of a fiercer race. But it is remarkable that, widely as the disciples of the Koran spread in India, there was never, as in like cases, any amalgamation between the conquered and the conquerors — between the old faith and the new. Although the Mohammedans have succeeded in converting almost every man

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of almost every other nation that they conquered, and although in India they formed the sovereign and controlling power in so many states and for so many years, yet they do not now exceed, and never have exceeded, one-fifth of the whole Indian population.[b]

THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST (664–1001); MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (997–1026 A.D.)

In volume II we have traced the history of India down to the Mohammedan era, and described the cults of Brahma and Buddha. The first Mussulman invasions of India go back as far as the seventh century [the first in 664; the second in 711, under Muhammed Khasim]. They were successful incursions; but they were not followed by lasting settlements. [In 750 the Hindus revolted and expelled the Mohammedans.] It was only at the beginning of the eleventh century that the serious conquest of India was begun under the leadership of Mahmud of Ghazni.

Mahmud was the descendant of a Turkish adventurer who had created for himself an independent principality in the mountainous district of Ghazni, a town situated in Afghanistan, to the south of Kabul. When he appeared in India, the northwest of the peninsula was divided between several Rajput princes who, in a greater or less degree, acknowledged the supremacy of the rajah of Delhi. The rajah of Kanauj, as a descendant of Rama, was lord over the principalities of Oudh and of the Ganges valley. Bengal and Behar obeyed the Pal dynasty and Malwa was governed by the successors of Vikramaditya.

Mahmud of Ghazni did not establish his supremacy without difficulty. The Rajputs, notably the king of Lahore, opposed to him a desperate resistance. It required no less than seventeen expeditions, between the years 1001 and 1026 to subdue the north of the peninsula. He carried his arms as far as Guzerat, where he pillaged the temple of Somnath, but he retained lasting possession only of the Punjab. The Rajputs remained practically independent, and later on, when the successors of Mahmud extended the Mussulman conquests, they emigrated into the mountainous regions of Rajputana, to which access was difficult and where they founded states, that, even under the Mughals [or Moguls] were never really subdued. Several Rajput dynasties still continue to reign.

Mahmud's conquest was as much religious as political. He was a Mussulman by conviction, desirous to enforce the law of the prophet. He everywhere gave himself out as the propagator of the religion and of the civilisation of the Arabs, and the caliph of Baghdad bestowed on him the title, Protector of the True Believers. When Mahmud penetrated into India, that country was of an incomparable opulence. The oriental historians and Mahmud himself have no terms strong enough to express their admiration. When he entered Muttra, in 1019, Mahmud was amazed at the splendour displayed on all sides. This is what he wrote on the subject:

"This marvellous city," he said, "encloses more than a thousand structures, the greater number in marble and as firmly established as the faith of the true believers. If we reckon the money which all these monuments must have cost, it will not be too much to estimate it at several millions of dinars, and moreover it must be said that such a city could not be built even in two centuries. In the pagan temples my soldiers found five idols of gold, whose eyes were formed of rubies of the value of 50,000 dinars; another idol wore as an ornament a sapphire, weighing 400 miskals, and the image itself,

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when melted, yielded 98 miskals of pure gold. We found besides a hundred silver idols, representing as many camel loads."

Mahmud encountered the same wonders in all the cities he passed through. On the expedition which he made in 1024, chiefly for the purpose of destroying the temple of Somnath in Guzerat, Mahmud found a wonderful temple whose fifty-six pillars were covered with plates of gold and had precious stones scattered all about them; thousands of statues of gold and silver surrounded the sanctuary. The successors of Mahmud were no less surprised at the wealth and marvels which they encountered everywhere in India. At Benares, Mahmud of Ghor destroyed the idols of a thousand temples and loaded four thousand camels with the booty seized.

THE AFGHAN DYNASTY OF GHOR; THE SLAVE KINGS, ALA-UD-DIN, FIROZ, AND TUGHLAK

The first Afghan dynasty, founded by Mahmud of Ghazni, reigned from 996 to 1186 at Ghazni and Lahore. In 1186 it was overthrown by Mahmud of Ghor [or Ghur], founder of a second Afghan dynasty. He began his conquest by following a very simple method which was employed with success by all subsequent conquerors, including the English. It consisted of intervening in the quarrels of the native princes and of profiting by their rivalries, first to enfeeble them, and afterwards to take possession of their kingdoms. Having intervened as an ally in a quarrel which divided the kings of Delhi and Kanauj, he united these two kingdoms and formed a vast empire, having for borders Benares on the east and Gwalior and Guzerat on the south; the seat of the government was Delhi.

After the death of Mahmud, one of his viceroys, Kutub-ud-din [or Kutab], made himself independent and became the chief of a dynasty, Afghan by origin and known as that of the Slave Kings. This dynasty reigned from 1206 to 1290. It was this prince who founded the famous tower of the Kutab at Delhi. The most celebrated sovereign of this dynasty was the emperor Altamsh, whose magnificent mausoleum is one of the most remarkable monuments of Delhi. He reigned from 1211 to 1236 and had several times to contend with the incursions of the Mughals and the revolts of the native tribes. The dynasty of Ghor was soon replaced by another dynasty, of which Ala-ud-din was one of the most notable princes (1294–1316). He considerably extended the Mussulman conquests and had the same taste for architecture as his predecessors. The famous sculptured gate at Delhi which bears his name is the proof of this. Unfortunately for the new dynasty, the Mughals enrolled in the imperial army became more and more dangerous. The chief of these mercenaries soon founded a fifth Afghan dynasty (1320 to 1414), of which Firoz and Tughlak were the most remarkable princes. They also distinguished themselves by the impulse they gave to architecture. Elphinstone[a] calls Tughlak "one of the most accomplished princes and one of the most furious tyrants that ever adorned or disgraced human nature."

THE MUGHAL INVADERS: TIMUR (1398 A.D.) AND BABER (1525 A.D.)

It was in 1398, in the reign of this last prince, that the Mughal Timur, or Tamerlane, invaded India. He pillaged Delhi, but merely crossed the peninsula like a storm and soon regained his own country. During the struggles which the sovereigns of Delhi had to sustain, the governors of the provinces

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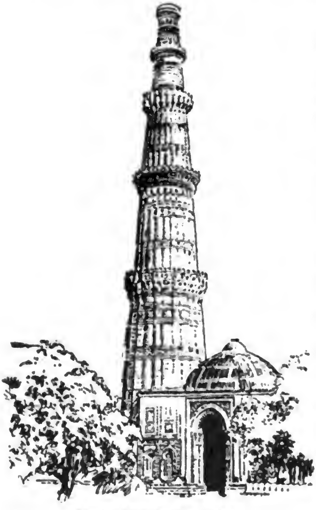
attempted to make themselves independent; in this several of them succeeded and founded different kingdoms, whose capitals rivalled each other in splendour and were adorned with monuments that still subsist in great numbers.

After Timur's invasion the anarchy was complete. The governors of the Mussulman provinces, having become independent, tried to make themselves masters of Delhi. In 1450 the Lodi, who were governors of Lahore, managed to seize it and founded a new Afghan dynasty — the seventh. In 1517 they were still reigning there.

At this period a new governor of Lahore, who had complied with tradition by endeavouring to make himself independent, finding that he was pursued by Ibrahim Lodi who wished to make him return to his obedience, called to his aid a Mughal king of Kabul, Zehir-ud-din, surnamed Baber, or the Tiger, who was a descendant of Timur and Jenghiz Khan.[c]



KUTAB MINAR, OLD DELHI
(Erected by the Mussulmans to commemorate their victory over the Rajputs in 1193)

In 1525 Baber invaded India, won the victory of Panipat over Ibrahim the last of the Lodi dynasty, and founded the Mughal Empire, which lasted, at least in name, until 1857.[d] Ibrahim was killed, and the Indian army, having been nearly surrounded during the battle, suffered prodigious loss in the defeat. Baber judged from observation that fifteen thousand lay dead on the field, of whom five thousand lay in one spot around their king. The Indians reported that not less than forty thousand perished in the battle and pursuit. Delhi was surrendered, and Baber advanced and took possession (May 10th) of Agra, which had lately been the royal residence.

Baber's conduct to the places where he met with resistance was as inhuman as that of Timur, who was naturally his model. The smallness of his force was some justification of the means he took to strike a terror; but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him.[e]

Baber's own *Memoirs*, which are still preserved, relate in detail the exploits by which he overcame and the arts by which he circumvented his numerous opponents.[b] They contain a minute account of the life of a great Tatar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour. His mind was as active as his body: besides the business of the kingdom, he was constantly taken up with aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, as well as introducing new fruits and other productions of

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remote countries. Yet he found time to compose many elegant Persian poems and a collection of Turki compositions, which are mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his own country.[e] Baber died in 1530, when on the point of carrying his arms beyond Behar. But his schemes of conquest were fulfilled or exceeded by his successors, each of whom became known in Europe by the title, Great Mogul (Mughal).[b]

Humayun, eldest son of Baber, succeeded to the throne of his father, but was not long suffered to enjoy it in peace. His brother Kamran, in the government of Kabul, formed a resolution of seizing upon the Punjab; and Humayun was fain to confer upon him the government of all the country from the Indus to Persia, on condition of his holding it as a dependency. A conspiracy was formed in favour of Muhammed, a prince of the race of Timur; and Bahadur, king of Guzerat, was excited to hostilities by the protection Humayun afforded to the Rana of Chitor. Bahadur was unequal to his enterprise; the war against him was pushed with activity and vigour, and he lost entirely the kingdom of Guzerat. From Guzerat Humayun marched to the eastern provinces, and reduced Chunar. Having gained the passes he then entered Bengal, the government of which had recently been usurped, and its sovereign expelled by Shir the Afghan regent of Behar. After a negotiation, it was agreed that the government of Behar and Bengal should be conferred upon Shir, on his paying a slight tribute in acknowledgment of dependence. The chance of finding the camp of the emperor unguarded, under the negligence inspired by the prospect of peace, was one among the motives which led Shir to open the negotiation. The perfidy succeeded; and Humayun, having lost his army, was constrained to fly. He fled from one place to another, subject at times to the greatest hardships; and was at last obliged to quit the kingdom, and seek an asylum in Persia, where he was hospitably and honourably entertained. His misfortunes excited the compassion of a favourite sister of the king, and of several of his councillors. At their instigation an army of ten thousand horse was intrusted to Humayun [by means of which he eventually succeeded in recovering his father's dominions of Kabul, Kandahar, and Badakshan].

Immediately after his victory, Shir assumed the imperial title Shah, and exerted himself with great activity in reducing the provinces to his obedience.[f] Shir Shah is hardly treated with justice by the usual historian, according to W. Crooke,[l] who credits him with forestalling many of Akbar's broad ideals. Keene[m] says that "No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan." He was killed accidentally by an explosion during a siege in 1545; his son Islam Shah proved a cruel monarch who undid his father's work in the course of a nine years' reign and led the way to Humayun's restoration.[a]

Though now in possession of part of his ancient dominions, though aware of the distraction which prevailed in the rest, and invited by the inhabitants of Agra and Delhi, Humayun paused at the thought of invading Hindustan. At first he was able to raise an army of only fifteen thousand horse. With that he began to advance towards the Indus, where he was joined by his veterans from Kandahar. [He was opposed by Sekunder, a nephew of Shir and for the time master of Hindustan] and a great battle was fought under the walls of Sirhind, in which the young Akbar, son of Humayun, showed remarkable spirit and resolution. Sekunder, being routed, fled to the mountains of Sewalik. Humayun re-entered Delhi, but was not destined to a long enjoyment of the power which he had regained. As he was supporting himself by his staff on the marble stairs of his palace, the staff slipped, and the emperor

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fell from the top to the bottom. He was taken up insensible, and expired in a few days in the year 1556, the fifty-first of his age.

THE GREAT AKBAR, "GUARDIAN OF MANKIND" (1556-1605 A.D.)

Akbar, the son of Humayun, though not quite fourteen years of age, was placed on his father's throne. Bairam, a man of talents, but of a severe, or rather of a cruel disposition, was appointed regent during the minority; which, in so unsettled and turbulent an empire, was not likely to be attended with general submission and peace. The first object of the new government was to exterminate the party of the late pretended emperor, Sekunder; and for this purpose an army, with the young sovereign at its head, marched towards the mountains. Sekunder fled; and the rainy season coming on, the army retired into quarters.

In the mean time the governor, who had been left by Humayun in the command of Budakshan, assumed independence; and presumed so far upon the weakness of the new government as to march against Kabul. The city stood a siege of four months; but at last submitted, and acknowledged the authority of the invader.

This calamity arrived not alone. Himu, the vizir of Sekunder's predecessor, retained a part of the eastern provinces, and now marched to the centre of the empire with a formidable army. He took Agra. He took Delhi. The contending parties arrived in presence of one another in the neighbourhood of Panipat. The Mughals, who had been reinforced on the march, fought with great constancy, and the enemy were thrown into disorder.

When the battle ended, Himu was brought into the presence of Akbar, almost expiring with his wounds. Bairam, addressing the king, told him it would be a meritorious action to kill that dangerous infidel with his own hands. Akbar, in compliance with the advice of his minister, drew his sword, but only touching with it gently the head of his gallant captive, burst into tears. This movement of generous compassion was answered by the minister with a look of stern disapprobation; and with one blow of his sabre he struck the head of the prisoner to the ground.

This important victory restored tranquillity to the principal part of Akbar's dominions. The overbearing pretensions of an imperious, though useful servant, and the spirit of a high-minded, though generous sovereign, could not long be reconciled. Mutual jealousies and discontents arose. When the royal ear was found open to accusations against the harsh and domineering Bairam, courtiers were not wanting to fill it. He was secretly charged with designs hostile to the person and government of the shah; and the mind of Akbar, though firm, was not unmoved by imputations against the man he disliked, however destitute of facts to support them. After some irresolution and apprehension, a proclamation was issued to announce that Akbar had taken upon himself the government; and that henceforth no mandates but his were to be obeyed. Bairam attempted arms, but met with no support; and, driven to his last resource, implored the clemency of his master. Akbar hastened to assure him of forgiveness, and invited him to his presence. Bairam, desiring leave to repair to Mecca, received a splendid retinue and allowance; but in his passage through Guzerat an Afghan chief, whose father he had formerly slain in battle, pretending salutation, stabbed him with a dagger, and killed him on the spot.

Akbar stands among the pitifully small number of those sovereigns who,

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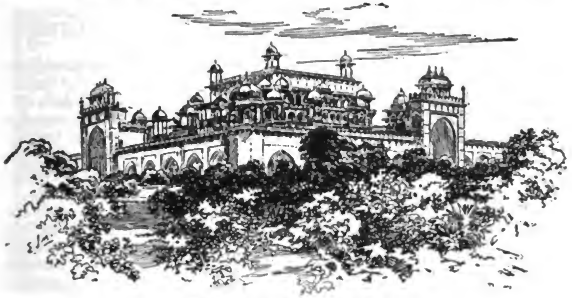
not fearing to wield the sword, have used their power as a protection for religious freedom and the freedom of thought. His efforts to protect his subjects from discriminating injustices and from many a hardship — notably the burning of widows (suttee or sati) — brought him the title from posterity, the Guardian of Mankind; a more glorious title never was devised.[a]

W. Crooke thus estimates this monarch: "The life of Akbar is the history of India during his long reign of forty-nine years, and his personality stands high, even when compared with his great contemporaries — Elizabeth of England and Philip II of Spain. In his courage and strength, his love of sport, and knightly exercises, he was curiously like another notable prince of the same age — Henry IV of Navarre. He was only thirteen when, with the aid of the gallant Bairam Khan, he crumpled up the Afghan host, on the historic field of Panipat."[l]



TOMB OF AKBAR AT SECUNDRA

When his rule was thus established, the later life of Akbar falls, as Keene has shown, into three periods: "During the first, which lasted about fifteen years, he was much occupied with war, field sports, and building; and the men by whom he was ultimately influenced were still at that time young, like himself. Opinions were forming; territorial and administrative operations were in hand. About 1576 began a second period, marked by the arrival of certain Shiahs and other persons of heretical opinions from Persia, and the growth of their influence over Akbar. At the same time the emperor, now in the maturity of his intellect, turned his attention to the Hindus, and to the amelioration and establishing of the revenue system, by which they were so much affected. This period lasted for about fifteen years, and was followed by that sadder period when, as must happen, except under exceptional circumstances, men in power grow old without having found competent successors. In such conditions originality drivels into cant, and caution withers into decay. One by one the reformers, a few years since so full of hope and vigour, drop into senility, or, more fortunate, into the tomb. No one is left but some lover of letters who, wiser than the rest, retires betimes into the shade to prepare the record of departed greatness."[m]

The charge which Akbar had taken on himself seemed beyond the strength of a youth of eighteen; but the young king was possessed of more than usual advantages, both from nature and education.

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He was born in the midst of hardships, and brought up in captivity. His courage was exercised in his father's wars, and his prudence, called forth by the delicacy of his situation during the ascendancy of Bairam. He was engaging in his manners, well formed in his person, excelled in all exercises of strength and agility, and showed exuberant courage even in his amusements, as in taming unbroken horses and elephants, and in rash encounters with tigers and other wild beasts. Yet with this disposition and a passionate love of glory he founded his hopes of fame at least as much on the wisdom and liberality of his government as on its military success. It required all his great qualities to maintain him in the situation in which he was placed.

Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Timur was the weakest and the most insecure in its foundations. Its only adherents were a body of adventurers, whose sole bond of union was their common advantage during success. The weakness arising from this want of natural support had been shown in the easy expulsion of Humayun, and was still felt in the early part of the reign of his son.

It was probably by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akbar was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or religion, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindus to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every party to the highest stations in the service, according to their rank and merit; until, as far as his dominions extended, they were filled with a loyal and united people. But these were the fruits of time; and the first calls on Akbar's attention were of an urgent nature: (1) to establish his authority over his chiefs; (2) to recover the dominions of the crown; (3) to restore, in the internal administration of them, that order which had been lost amidst so many revolutions.

It is to his internal policy that Akbar owes his place in that highest order of princes, whose reigns have been a blessing to mankind; and that policy shows itself in different shapes, as it affects religion or civil government. Akbar's tolerant spirit was displayed early in his reign, and appears to have been entirely independent of any doubts on the divine origin of the Mohammedan faith. It led him however to listen, without prejudice, to the doctrines of other religions, and involved him in enmity with the bigoted members of his own; and must thus have contributed to shake his early belief, and to dispose him to question the infallible authority of the Koran. The political advantages of a new religion, which should take in all classes of his subjects, could not fail, moreover, to occur to him. The blame of corrupting Akbar's orthodoxy is thrown by all Mussulman writers on Feizi and his brother Abul Fazl. These eminent persons were the sons of a learned man named Mobarik, who was probably a native of Nagor, and who, at one time, taught a college or school of law and divinity at Agra. He was at first a Sunni, but turned Shia; and afterwards took to reading the philosophical works of ancients, and became a freethinker, or, according to his enemies, an atheist. So great a persecution was raised against him on this account, that he was constrained to give up his school, and fly with his family from Agra. His sons conformed, in all respects, to the Mohammedan religion; though it is probable that they never were deeply imbued with attachment to the sect. Feizi was the first Mussulman that applied himself to a diligent study of Hindu literature and science.

Along with Feizi and Abul Fazl, there were many other learned men of

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all religions about the court; and it was the delight of Akbar to assemble them, and sit for whole nights assisting at their philosophical discussions. Some specimens of the discussions at those meetings (probably imaginary ones) are given in the *Dabistan*, a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia. Notwithstanding the adulation of his courtiers, and some expressions in the formulæ of his own religion, Akbar never seems to have entertained the least intention of laying claims to supernatural illumination. His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason; and his right to interfere at all with religion was grounded on his duty as civil magistrate. He took the precaution, on promulgating his innovations to obtain the legal opinions of the principal Mohammedan lawyers that the king was the head of the church and had a right to govern it according to his own judgment, and to decide all disputes among its members; and, in his new confession of faith, it was declared that "There is no god but God, and that Akbar is his caliph."

In the propagation of his opinions, Akbar confined himself to persuasion, and made little progress except among the people about his court and a few learned men; but his measures were much stronger in abrogating the obligations of the Mussulman religion, which, till now, had been enforced by law. Prayers, fasts, alms, pilgrimages, and public worship were left optional: the prohibition of unclean animals, that of the moderate use of wine, and that of gaming with dice were taken off; and circumcision was not permitted until the age of twelve, when the person to undergo it could judge the propriety of the rite.

Some of the other measures adopted seemed to go beyond indifference, and to show a wish to discountenance the Mohammedan religion. The era of the Hegira and the Arabian months were changed for a solar year, dating from the vernal equinox nearest the king's accession, and divided into months named after those of ancient Persia. The study of the Arabic language was discouraged: Arabian names (as Muhammed, Ali, etc.) were disused. Even wearing the beard, a practice enjoined by the Koran, was so offensive to Akbar, that he would scarcely admit a person to his presence who conformed to it. This last prohibition gave peculiar disgust to the Mohammedans, as did a regulation introducing on certain occasions the Persian custom of prostrating (or kissing the ground, as it was called) before the king; a mark of respect regarded by the Mohammedans as exclusively appropriated to the Deity.

As the Hindus had not been supported by the government, Akbar had less occasion to interfere with them; and, indeed, from the tolerant and inoffensive character of their religion, he seems to have had little inclination. He, however, forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty, and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time, contrary to the Hindu law; above all, he positively prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will, and took effectual precautions to ascertain that their resolution was free and uninfluenced. On one occasion, hearing that the rajah of Jodpur was about to force his son's widow to the pyre, he mounted his horse and rode to the spot to prevent the intended sacrifice.

In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the *jezia* or capitation tax on infidels; an odious impost which served to keep up animosity between people of the predominant faith and those under them. Another humane edict, issued still earlier, (1561), though not limited to any one class, was,

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in practice, mainly beneficial to the Hindus: it was a prohibition against making slaves of persons taken in war.

Akbar's revenue system, though so celebrated for the benefits it conferred on India, presented no new invention. It only carried the previous system into effect with greater precision and correctness: it was, in fact, only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah, whose short reign did not admit of his extending it to all parts of his kingdom. The objects of it were: (1) to obtain a correct measurement of the land; (2) to ascertain the amount of the produce of each *bigah* of land, and to fix the proportion of that amount that each ought to pay to the government; (3) to settle an equivalent for the proportion so fixed, in money. When Akbar made these improvements respecting the land tax, he abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers.

SENTINEL GOD SIRA

The result of these measures was to reduce the amount of the public demand considerably, but to diminish the defalcation in realising it; so that the profit to the state remained nearly the same, while the pressure on individuals was much lessened. Abul Fazl even asserts that the assessment was lighter than that of Shir Shah, although he professed to take only one-fourth of the produce, while Akbar took one-third. The author of the reform was rajah Todar Mal, by whose name it is still called everywhere.

Amidst the reforms of other departments, Akbar did not forget his army. We have no means of guessing the number of the troops. Abul Fazl[i] says the local militia of the provinces amounted to 4,400,000; but this is probably an exaggerated account of those bound by their tenure to give a limited service in certain cases: probably few could be called on for more than a day or two to beat the woods for a hunting party; and many, no doubt, belonged to hill rajahs and tribes who never served at all.

The same methodical system was carried through all branches of Akbar's service. The *Ayeni Akberi* (Regulations of Akbar) by Abul Fazl, from which the above account of the civil and military arrangements is mostly taken, contains a minute description of the establishment and regulations of every department, from the mint and the treasury down to the fruit, perfumery, and flower offices, the kitchen and the kennel. The whole presents an astonishing picture of magnificence and good order; where unwieldy numbers are managed without disturbance, and economy is attended to in the midst of profusion. Akbar, according to Ferishta,[k] had never less than five thousand elephants and twelve thousand stable horses, one thousand hunting leopards, besides vast hunting and hawking establishments, etc.

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The greatest displays of his grandeur were at the annual feasts of the vernal equinox, and the king's birthday. They lasted for several days, during which there was a general fair and many processions and other pompous shows. The king's usual place was in a rich tent, in the midst of awnings to keep off the sun. At least two acres, according to Hawkins as quoted by Purchas,[i] were thus spread with silk and gold carpets and hangings, as rich as velvet, embroidered with gold, pearl and precious stones, could make them. The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the king; dresses, jewels, horses, and elephants were bestowed on the nobility; the king was weighed in golden scales against silver, gold, perfumes, and other substances, in succession, which were distributed among the spectators.

In the midst of all this splendour, Akbar appeared with as much simplicity as dignity. He is thus described by two European eye-witnesses, quoted by Purchas.[j] After remarking that he had less show or state than other Asiatic princes, and that he stood or sat below the throne to administer justice, they say, "He is affable and majestical, merciful, and severe; skilful in mechanical arts, as making guns, casting ordnance, etc.; of sparing diet, sleeps but three hours a day, curiously industrious, affable to the vulgar, seeming to grace them and their presents with more respective ceremonies than the grandees; loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies."[e]

Notwithstanding the virtues of Akbar's administration, the spirit of rebellion, inherent in the principles of Indian despotism, left him hardly a moment's tranquillity, during the whole course of a long and prosperous reign. Hussun revolted in Ajmir, and gained at first a victory over the imperial troops who were sent to oppose him. Hakim, brother of Akbar, a weak man, the governor of Kabul, began to act as an independent prince. A slave of his, approaching the king while marching with his troops, let fly an arrow which wounded him in the shoulder. Akbar, whom neither exertion nor danger dismayed, opposed himself to his enemies with an activity which often repaired the deficiencies of prudence. It would be tedious to follow minutely a series of expeditions, so much the same, to subdue one rebellious chieftain after another.

The province of Bengal paid a nominal submission to the throne of Delhi, but during several reigns had been virtually independent. After the other provinces of the empire were reduced to more substantial obedience, it was not likely that grounds of quarrel would long fail to be laid between Akbar and the king of Bengal. [That province like Guzerat in 1580 and Kashmir in 1586 was also added to Akbar's dominions.]

Next his brother, in Kabul, marched against Lahore. Akbar never allowed disobedience in the upper provinces to gain strength by duration. He hastened to Lahore, overcame his brother, followed him close to Kabul, and received a message from the vanquished prince, imploring forgiveness. Akbar, with his usual generosity, which was often inconsiderate and cost him dear, replaced him in his government. Soon after this, the governor of Kandahar, a province which hitherto had paid but a nominal submission to the Mughal throne, unable to defend himself against his rebellious brothers, and the Usbegs, who had now rendered themselves masters of Transoxania and Bactria, and were formidable neighbours to the northern provinces of Hindustan, offered to deliver up his government to Akbar; and received that of Multan in exchange.

Akbar, who now beheld himself master, from the mountains of Persia, and Tatary, to the confines of the Deccan, began to cast the eyes of ambition on

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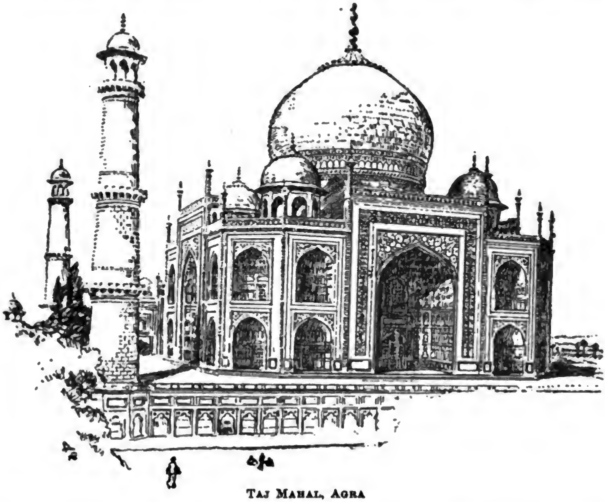
that contiguous land. He gave directions to his governors, in the provinces nearest the Deccan, to prepare as numerous armies as possible; and to omit no opportunity of extending the empire. He despatched ambassadors to the kingdoms of the Deccan, more with a design to collect information, than to settle disputes. And at last a great army, under Mirza,[1] the son of Bairam, marched in execution of this project of unprovoked aggression and unprincipled ambition.[f]

This expedition resulted in a long war and the conquest of Berar, which



TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

was incorporated in Akbar's dominions. It was the last addition to the Mughal Empire made before the death of the emperor, which took place in 1605.[a]

SELIM AND SHAH JAHAN (1605-1658 A.D.)

After Akbar's death there appear in the empire of the great Mughal of Delhi the same phenomena as are observable in the other eastern realms, at Constantinople and Ispahan — revolt and civil war, harem intrigues, family ties destroyed, the rule of women and the influences of favourites, debauchery and prodigality, crime and sensuality. All these evils appeared even under Akbar's son Selim, who assumed the title Jahangir, that is Conqueror of the World. In his day the fair Nur Mahal (Light of the Harem), whom Jahangir

[1] Mirza was his title; his name was Abdul Ruheem, but he was commonly called Mirza Khan: he was also entitled Khan-khanan.

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had won as David won the wife of Uriah, ruled both court and empire. [It was during this reign that the sovereign of Delhi received the first embassy despatched thither from the power which was to replace that of the great mughals.]

Jahangir's son and successor (reigned 1627-1658) who styled himself Shah Jahan (King of the World) was a great lover of display. His great peacock throne is said to have been worth more than six millions sterling. His magnificent palace in Delhi and the mausoleum [known as the Taj Mahal], which he built at Agra to the memory of his wife, are reckoned amongst the wonders of the world.[g] Crooke says of him: "The wealth and magnificence of this famous monarch are part of the world's history. In his early days he was a keen soldier; but he was three parts a Hindu, and to this was due the support of the Rajputs in the early part of his career. In his time that persecution of the Hindus, which was fated to cause the ruin of the dynasty, recommenced. Jahangir seems to have treated their religion with contemptuous toleration. His own belief was too vague to encourage iconoclasm. But in 1632, the year after the death of Mumtaz Mahal, Shah Jahan embarked in active persecution. The chronicler writes: 'It had been brought to the notice of his majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His majesty gave orders that at Benares, and throughout his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad, that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.' This evil example was followed with disastrous results by his bigoted successor. The popular idea is that Shah Jahan was always absorbed in the pleasures of the harem, and neglected the duties of administration; this is certainly incorrect."[l]

But his reign was clouded by domestic troubles. As in France during the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, so even during the lifetime of Shah Jahan a fratricidal war broke out between his four sons. The three youngest, Suja, Aurangzeb, and Morad, grudged the eldest, Dara, the succession which his father intended him. They declared themselves independent in the governments which had been assigned to them and assumed the titles of kings. Shah Jahan himself was conquered by their arms and ended his life as a prisoner. After long conflicts the crafty and treacherous Aurangzeb won the imperial seat at Delhi, after having caused his eldest brother to be put to death and the two others to be shut up in prison.[g]

It was in 1658 that Aurangzeb proclaimed himself emperor, and he swayed the sceptre of the great Mughal for nearly fifty years during an epoch which constitutes the apogee of the dynasty's power and which was followed by its swift decay. We must here pause to give some account of that southern portion of India whose conquest Akbar, as we have seen, had already begun more than half a century before.[a]

EARLY DYNASTIES IN SOUTHERN INDIA: MADURA; THE DECCAN

The earliest local traditions agree in dividing the extreme south into four provinces, Kerala, Pandya, Chola, and Chera, which together made up the country of Dravida, occupied by Tamil-speaking races. Of these kingdoms the greatest was that of Pandya, with its capital of Madura, the foundation of which is assigned on high authority to the fourth century, B.C. The local *purana*, or chronicle of Madura, gives a list of two Pandyan dynasties, the

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first of which has seventy-three kings, the second forty-three. Parakrama, the last king of the second dynasty, was overthrown by the Mohammedan invader Malik Kafur, in 1324; but the Mussulmans never established their power in the extreme south, and a series of Hindu lines ruled at Madura into the eighteenth century.

No other Dravidian kingdom can boast such a continuous succession as that of Madura. The chronicles enumerate fifty Chera kings, and no less than sixty-six Chola kings, as well as many minor dynasties which ruled at various periods over fractions of the south. Little confidence, however, can be placed in Hindu genealogies, and the early history of the Dravidian races yet remains to be deciphered from mouldering palm leaves and the more trustworthy inscriptions on copper and stone.

Authentic history begins with the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar or Narsingha, which exercised an ill-defined sovereignty over the entire south from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The foundation of the city of Vijayanagar is assigned to the year 1118, and to an eponymous hero, Raja Vijaya, the fifth of his line. Its extensive ruins are still to be traced on the right bank of the Tungabhadra river within the Madras district of Bellary. The city itself has not been inhabited since it was sacked by the Mohammedans in 1565, but vast remains still exist of temples, fortifications, tanks, and bridges, haunted by beasts of prey and venomous reptiles. The empire of Vijayanagar represents the last stand made by the national faith in India against conquering Islam. For at least three centuries its sway over the south was undisputed, and its rajahs waged wars and concluded treaties of peace with the sultans of the Deccan on equal terms.

The earliest of the Mohammedan dynasties in the Deccan was that founded by Ala-ud-din in 1347 or 1357, which has received the name of the Bahmani dynasty from the supposed Brahman descent of its founder. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the Bahmani Empire fell to pieces, and five independent kingdoms divided the Deccan among them. These were (1) the Adil Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bijapur, founded in 1489 by a son of Murad II, sultan of the Ottomans; (2) the Kutab Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Golconda, founded in 1512 by a Turkoman adventurer; (3) the Nizam Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Ahmadnagar, founded in 1490 by a Brahman renegade, from the Vijayanagar court; (4) the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, with its capital at Ellichpur, founded in 1484, also by a Hindu from Vijayanagar; (5) the Barid Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bidar, founded about 1492 by one who is variously described as a Turk and a Georgian slave.

It is, of course, impossible here to trace in detail the history of these several dynasties. In 1565 they combined against the Hindu rajah of Vijayanagar, who was defeated and slain in the decisive battle of Talikota. But, though the city was sacked and the supremacy of Vijayanagar forever destroyed, the Mohammedan victors did not themselves advance into the south. The Naiks or feudatories of Vijayanagar everywhere asserted their independence. From them are descended the well-known Palegars (Polygars) of the south, and also the present rajah of Mysore. One of the blood-royal of Vijayanagar fled to Chandragiri, and founded a line which exercised a prerogative of its former sovereignty by granting the site of Madras to the English in 1639. Another scion claiming the same high descent lingers to the present day near the ruins of Vijayanagar, and is known as the rajah of Anagundi, a feudatory of the nizam of Hyderabad. Despite frequent internal strife, the sultans of the Deccan retained their independence until conquered by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

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THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB (1658–1707 A.D.)

Aurangzeb's long reign, from 1658 to 1707, may be regarded as representing both the culminating point of Mughal power and the beginning of its decay. Unattractive as his character was, it contained at least some elements of greatness. None of his successors on the throne was anything higher than a debauchee or a puppet. He was the first to conquer the independent sultans of the Deccan, and to extend his authority to the extreme south. But even during his lifetime two new Hindu nationalities were being formed in the Marhattas [or Mahrattas] and the Sikhs; while immediately after his death the nawabs of the Deccan, of Oudh, and of Bengal raised themselves to practical independence. Aurangzeb had enlarged the empire, but he had not strengthened its foundations. During the reign of his father Shah Jahan he had been the viceroy of the Deccan, or rather of the northern portion only, which had been annexed to the Mughal Empire since the reign of Akbar. His early ambition was to conquer the Mohammedan kings of Bijapur and Golconda, who, since the downfall of Vijayanagar, had been practically supreme over the south. This object was not accomplished without many tedious campaigns, in which Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta confederacy, first comes upon the scene. In name Sivaji was a feudatory of the house of Bijapur, on whose behalf he held the rock forts of his native Ghats; but in fact he found his opportunity in playing off the Mohammedan powers against one another, and in rivalling Aurangzeb himself in the art of treachery.[d]

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE ON SIVAJI

Few conquerors have effected so much with equal means. Long disowned by his father, and unaided by the local chiefs, until by his own stripling arm he had rendered himself independent, he died the recognised ruler of a territory fifty thousand square miles in area; his name was dreaded from Surat to Tanjore, and in every quarter between those remote points his bands had levied contributions and tribute. The Mohammedan yoke was now forever broken in Maharashthra. The long-dormant military spirit of the people was aroused, to be quelled only in another disruption of that system on which it had risen. The genius of Sivaji emancipated the Mahrattas: succeeding chiefs, by neglecting the policy which had aggrandised their founder and adopting an organisation which they could never perfectly master, precipitated the state to a second downfall.

Personally brave, Sivaji never fought when he could fly, or when stratagem or treachery could effect his object: but whatever was his design, he weighed it deliberately, gained the most accurate information on all necessary points and then, when least expected, pounced upon his prey. The heavy and slow-moving Mughals must have been sadly puzzled at encountering such a foe. Many stories are told of the terror his very name inspired. He was equally feared as a soldier, a marauder, and an assassin. His own dagger, or those of his emissaries, could reach where his troops could not penetrate; no distance or precaution could keep his prey from him. It must be remembered that it was not with the chiefs that Sivaji commenced operations, but with the despised and half-starving peasantry. It was when Sivaji had gained a name, and had himself become a chief, that chiefs joined his standard. It is ever so in India. There is always ample material abroad to feed the wildest flame of insurrection; but not until it has assumed a head will those who have a stake in the land join it. They will attack, they will riot, they will plot; but seldom,

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unless in instances of great infatuation, when misled by false prophets, will the chiefs of the land join an insurrectionary move, so long as their own *izzut* has not been touched.

During Sivaji's whole career, he cannot be said to have enjoyed or rather suffered one single year of peace. He seems from the outset to have declared perpetual hostility against all who had anything to lose. His pacifications, or rather truces, were but breathing spaces, to enable him to recruit or collect a means, or to leave him unshackled to direct his whole force in another quarter. Aurangzeb played into Sivaji's hands by his timid and suspicious policy. The emperor was incessantly changing his commanders, and feared to trust any one of his sons or generals with means sufficient to quell the Deccan insurrections, lest the power, so deputed, should be used, as he himself had used it, to the usurpation of the throne. Thus distrusted, his children and officers managed the war with Sivaji, as with Bijapur and Golconda, for their own aggrandisement. They fought as little as they could, yet they plundered and received bribes as much as possible.

There was thus much in the times and there was more in the condition and feeling of the country favourable to Sivaji. His cause was, and appeared to be, that of the people. They had long groaned beneath a Mohammedan yoke, and some openly, all secretly, hailed a liberator of their own blood, caste, and country. It was this strong feeling in his favour that enabled him to procure the excellent intelligence for which he was noted; his spies were in every quarter. The Mohammedan government in India had, in short, lost its tact, elasticity, and vigour; luxury had sapped the Moslem strength, and deadened their one solitary virtue. Their hardihood declined, and with it their empire fell. Sivaji was first to take advantage of the imperial decay, and his example was soon followed in every quarter of India.

Sivaji early established a strict military system. Horse and foot of all ranks were hardy, active, and abstemious. Camp equipage was unknown among them, a single blanket, in addition to their light coarse vestments, completed their wardrobe; and a small bag of parched grain sufficed for their commissariat supplies. Thus furnished, the infantry would for days and days thread the defiles and jungles of their wild country, and, by paths known only to themselves, appear where least expected; while the cavalry, supplied with small saddle-bags to hold such grain or plunder as they might pick up, swept the country at the rate of fifty, sixty, and even eighty miles within twenty-four hours. The grand secret of Mahratta hardihood was that chiefs and officers shared equally in the privations of their men. During Sivaji's life all the plunder was public property. It was brought at stated periods to his darbar, where the man who had taken it was praised, rewarded, or promoted.

> "Then lands were fairly proportioned;
> Then spoils were fairly sold:
> The Burgees were like brothers
> In the brave days of old."

Sivaji had sense enough to perceive how much he would personally gain by the punctual payment of his army. All accounts were closed annually: assignments were given for balances on collectors, but never on villages. Cows, cultivators, and women were exempt from plunder. Rich Mohammedans and Hindus in their service were favourite game. Towns and villages were systematically sacked, and where money or valuables were not forthcoming, Sivaji would take promissory notes from the local authorities. He shed no unnecessary blood; he was not cruel for cruelty's sake, but on these

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occasions of plunder he mercilessly slaughtered and tortured all who were supposed to have concealed treasure. An Englishman, captured by Sivaji at Surat, reported that he found the marauder, surrounded by executioners, cutting off heads and limbs. The mountain fortresses were the keystones of his power. His treasure, plunder, and family safe, he could freely move wherever an opening offered.

It is only justice to state that this extraordinary man, while devastating other lands, was not unmindful of the duty he owed to his own subjects. In his conquered territory, and where the inhabitants had compounded for security, he was kind, considerate, and consequently popular. On the whole, we may pronounce the founder of the Mahratta Empire to have been the man of his day in India — greater than any of the Mahratta kings who succeeded him, and unrivalled since, even by Hyder Ali or Ranjit Singh. Sivaji could not only conquer and destroy, but he could legislate and build up. There is a germ of civil organisation in his arrangement; and had he lived the ordinary period of man's life, he might have left to his successors a united and well-established principality. He died suddenly, and with him his empire may be said to have expired.

Sivaji left immense treasure. The amount has been variously estimated; but always in millions of pounds sterling. Heaped together in his coffers at Rajjurh were the dollars of Spain, the sequins of Venice, the pagodas of the Carnatic, and all the various gold mohurs of the different quarters of India, with innumerable kinds of rupees of every shape and stamp. But all his spoil, the harvest of more than thirty years of crime and blood, of restless nights, of ceaseless and unseasonable marches, did not bring peace to the owner, nor save his son from a fearful death; it did not preserve his successors from the prison his own hands had prepared, nor his people from being split into factions that soon sealed their own destruction.[h]

THE GLORY OF AURANGZEB

The loss of Sivaji was, for the time at least, irreparable to the Mahrattas. Though never subdued, they were defeated and dispersed, and compelled to take shelter in their hill forts or impervious jungles. On the whole, it is probable that there never yet had been a time in Hindustan when the whole peninsula was so nearly brought beneath the supreme dominion of one man.

The power of Aurangzeb and the magnificence of the court of Delhi are described by more than one intelligent European traveller. "In riches and resources," says Tavernier,[n] "the great Mughal is in Asia what the king of France is in Europe. When I took leave of his majesty on the 1st of November, 1665, he was pleased to desire that I should stay, and see the festivals in honour of his birth day. On this occasion the emperor is weighed in state, and if he is found to weigh more than on the preceding year there are great public rejoicings. The grandees of the empire, the viceroys of the provinces, and the ladies of the court came to make their offerings, which, in precious stones, gold and silver, rich carpets and brocades, elephants, camels, and horses, amounted when I was present to upwards of thirty millions of our livres. The tents are of red velvet, embroidered with gold, so heavy that the poles which support them are as thick as the masts of ships, and some of them from thirty-five to forty feet in height. The great Mughal has seven splendid thrones; one covered with diamonds, others with rubies, with emeralds, and with pearls. The value of the one most precious (called the peacock throne) is estimated by the royal treasurers at a number of lacs of rupees equivalent to

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above one hundred and sixty millions of livres. While the emperor is on his throne fifteen horses stand ready caparisoned on his right and as many on his left, the bridles of each horse enriched with precious stones, and some great jewel dependent from his neck. Elephants are trained to kneel down before the throne, and do his majesty reverence with their trunks; and the emperor's favourite elephant costs five hundred rupees of monthly expense, being fed on good meat with abundance of sugar, and having brandy to drink. When the emperor rides abroad on his elephant he is followed by a great number of his *omrahs*, or nobles, on horseback — and the meanest of these *omrahs* commands two thousand cavalry."[b]

LAST YEARS OF AURANGZEB

It was in 1680 that Sivaji died, and his son and successor, Sambhaji, was betrayed to Aurangzeb and put to death. The rising Mahratta power was thus for a time checked, and the Mughal armies were set free to operate in the eastern Deccan. In 1686 the city of Bijapur was taken by Aurangzeb in person, and in the following year Golconda also fell. No independent power then remained in the south, though the numerous local chieftains, known as *palegars* and *naiks*, never formally submitted to the Mughal Empire. During the early years of his reign Aurangzeb had fixed his capital at Delhi, while he kept his dethroned father, Shah Jahan, in close confinement at Agra. In 1682 he set out with his army on his victorious march into the Deccan, and from that time until his death in 1707 he never again returned to Delhi.

In this camp life Aurangzeb may be taken as representative of one aspect of the Mughal rule, which has been picturesquely described by European travellers of that day. They agree in depicting the emperor as a peripatetic sovereign, and the empire as held together by its military highways no less than by the strength of its armies. The great road running across the north of the peninsula, from Dacca in the east to Lahore in the west, is generally attributed to the Afghan usurper, Shir Shah. The other roads branching out southward from Agra, to Surat and Burhanpur and Golconda, were undoubtedly the work of Mughal times. Each of these roads was laid out with avenues of trees, with wells of water, and with frequent *sarais* or rest-houses. Constant communication between the capital and remote cities was maintained by a system of foot-runners, whose aggregate speed is said to have surpassed that of a horse. Commerce was conducted by means of a caste of bullock-drivers, whose occupation in India is hardly yet extinct.

THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL AND THE MOHAMMEDAN POWERS (1707–1857 A.D.)

On the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, the decline of the Mughal Empire set in with extraordinary rapidity. Ten emperors after Aurangzeb are enumerated in the chronicles, but none of them has left any mark on history. His son and successor was Bahadur Shah, who reigned only five years. Then followed in order three sons of Bahadur Shah, whose united reigns occupy only five years more. In 1739 Nadir Shah of Persia, the sixth and last of the great Mohammedan conquerors of India, swept like a whirlwind over Hindustan, and sacked the imperial city of Delhi.

Thenceforth the great Mughal became a mere name, though the hereditary succession continued unbroken down to our own day. Real power had passed into the hands of Mohammedan courtiers and Mahratta generals, both of

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whom were then carving for themselves kingdoms out of the dismembered empire, until at last British authority placed itself supreme over all. From the time of Aurangzeb no Mussulman, however powerful, dared to assume the title of sultan or emperor, with the single exception of Tipu's brief paroxysm of madness.

The name of *nawab*, corrupted by Europeans into "nabob," appears to be an invention of the mughals to express delegated authority, and as such it is the highest title conferred upon Mohammedans at the present day, as *maharaja* is the highest title conferred upon Hindus. At first nawabs were found only in important cities, such as Surat and Dacca, with the special function of administering civil justice; criminal justice was in the hands of the *kotwal*. The corresponding officials at that time in a large tract of country were the *subahdar* and the *faujdar*. But the title of *subahdar*, or viceroy, gradually dropped into desuetude, as the paramount power was shaken off, and nawab became a territorial title with some distinguishing adjunct.

During the troubled period of intrigue and assassination that followed on the death of Aurangzeb, two Mohammedan foreigners rose to high positions as courtiers and generals, and succeeded in transmitting their power to their sons. The one was Chin Kulich Khan, also called Asof Jah, and still more commonly Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was of Turkoman origin, and belonging to the Sunni sect. His independence at Hyderabad in the Deccan dates from 1712. The other was Saadat Ali Khan, a Persian, and therefore a Shia, who was appointed subahdar or nawab of Oudh in 1720. Thenceforth these two important provinces paid no more tribute to Delhi, though their hereditary rulers continued to seek formal recognition from the emperor on their succession. The Mahrattas were in possession of the entire west and great part of the centre of the peninsula; while the rich and unwarlike province of Bengal, though governed by an hereditary line of nawabs founded by Murshid Kuli Khan in 1704, still continued to pour its wealth into the imperial treasury.

The central authority never recovered from the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, who carried off plunder variously estimated at from eight to thirty millions sterling. The Mahrattas closed round Delhi from the south, and the Afghans from the west. The victory of Panipat, won by Ahmad Shah Durani over the united Mahratta confederacy in 1761, gave the Mohammedan one more chance to rule. But Ahmad Shah had no ambition to found a dynasty of his own, nor were the British in Bengal yet ready for territorial conquest. Shah Alam, the lineal heir of the mughal line, was thus permitted to ascend the throne of Delhi, where he lived during the great part of a long life as a puppet in the hands of Mahadaji Sindhia. He was succeeded by Akbar II, who lived similarly under the shadow of British protection. Last of all came Bahadur Shah, who atoned for his association with the mutineers in 1857 by banishment to Burmah.

Thus ended the Mughal line, after a history which covers three hundred and thirty years. Mohammedan rule remodelled the revenue system, and has left behind forty millions of Mussulmans in British India.[d]

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CHAPTER II

THE EUROPEAN EMPIRE IN INDIA: THE RISE OF CLIVE

[1498–1774 A.D.]

PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH SETTLEMENTS

At about the same period that the Mughals were founding their empire along the Ganges the Portuguese discovered the passage of the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama and his brave companions stepped on the Indian shore at Calicut in the month of May, 1498. Seldom have truth and poetry been so closely combined; the achievement of that voyage by Vasco da Gama is the greatest feat of the Portuguese in arms; the celebration of that voyage by Luiz de Camoens is their greatest feat in letters. The valour of their captains overcame the resistance of the native chiefs, and made good their settlements from the coast of Malabar to the Gulf of Persia.[b]

The story of the valour, cruelty, and greed of their warriors, governors, and merchants, and their full century of monopoly of the trade from 1500 to 1600, has been told with such fulness in the history of Portugal, Chapters II and III, that it need not be recounted here further than to emphasise the importance in Indian history of such names as Vasco da Gama, Cabral, Almeida, Pacheco, the great Albuquerque, Silveira, Mascarenhas, and Da Cunha.[a]

The Dutch were the first European nation to break through the Portuguese monopoly. During the sixteenth century Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam became successively the great emporia whence Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany and even to England. At first the Dutch, following in the track of the English, attempted to find their way to India by sailing round the north coasts of Europe and Asia. William Barents is honourably known as the leader of three of these arctic expeditions, in the last of which he perished. The first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and Bantam in 1596.

Forthwith private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of the United Provinces, but in 1602 they were all amalgamated by the states general into The Dutch East India Company. Within a few years the

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Dutch had established factories on the continent of India, in Ceylon, in Sumatra, on the Persian Gulf, and on the Red Sea, besides having obtained exclusive possession ot the Moluccas. In 1618 they laid the foundation of the city of Batavia in Java, to be the seat of the supreme government of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which had previously been at Amboyna. At about the same time they discovered the coast of Australia, and in North America founded the city of New Amsterdam, or Manhattan, now New York. During the seventeenth century the Dutch maritime power was the first in the world.

The massacre of Amboyna in 1623 led the English East India Company to retire from the eastern seas to the continent of India, and thus, though indirectly, contributed to the foundation of the British Indian empire. The long naval wars and bloody battles between the English and the Dutch within the narrow seas were not terminated until William of Orange united the two crowns in 1689.

In the Far East the Dutch ruled without a rival, and gradually expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions. In 1635 they occupied Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca — a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered; in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East; in 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the first stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon; in 1664 they wrested from the Portuguese all their earlier settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar.

The rapid and signal downfall of the Dutch colonial empire is to be explained by its short-sighted commercial policy. It was deliberately based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and remained from first to last destitute of the true imperial spirit. Like the Phœnicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their rivals in commerce; and, like the Phœnicians, they failed to introduce a respect for their own higher civilisation among the natives with whom they came in contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1758 he attacked the Dutch at Chinsura both by land and water, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. In the great French war from 1781 to 1811 England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies, though Java was restored in 1816 and Sumatra in exchange for Malacca in 1824.

The earliest English attempts to reach India were made by the Northwest Passage. In 1553 the ill-fated Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted to force a passage along the north of Europe and Asia, the successful accomplishment of which was reserved for a Swedish savant of the nineteenth century. Sir Hugh perished miserably, but his second in command, Chancellor, reached an harbour on the White Sea, now Archangel. Thence he penetrated by land to the court of the grand duke of Moscow, and laid the foundation of "the Russia company for carrying on the overland trade between India, Persia, Bokhara, and Moscow."

Many subsequent attempts were made by the Northwest Passage from 1576 to 1616, which have left on our modern maps the imperishable names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Meanwhile, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and on his way home had touched at Ternate one of the Moluccas, the king of which island agreed to supply the English nation with all the cloves it produced.

The first Englishman who actually visited India was Thomas Stephens, in 1579 — unless there be any foundation for the statement of William of Malmesbury,[d] that in the year 833 Sighelmus of Sherborne, being sent by

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King Alfred to Rome with presents to the pope, proceeded from thence to the East Indies to visit the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore (Mailapur, also called Saint Thomé, a suburb of Madras), and brought back with him a quantity of jewels and spices. Stephens was educated at New College, Oxford, and was rector of the Jesuits' College in Salsette. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

In 1583 three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes, went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Ormuz, and again at Goa. At length Newberry settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa, Leedes entered the service of the great Mughal, and Fitch, after a lengthened peregrination in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England.

The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588, at which time the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England; and the successful voyage of Cornelius Houtman in 1596 showed the way round the Cape of Good Hope into waters hitherto monopolised by the Portuguese.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY FOUNDED (1600 A.D.)

The foundation of the English East India Company was on this wise: "In 1599 the Dutch, who had now firmly established their trade in the east, having raised the price of pepper against us from 3*s*. per pound to 6*s*. and 8*s*., the merchants of London held a meeting on the 22nd of September at Founders' Hall, with the lord mayor in the chair, and agreed to form an association for the purpose of trading directly with India. Queen Elizabeth also sent Sir John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the great Mughal to apply for privileges for the English company, for which she was then preparing a charter, and on the 31st of December, 1600, the English East India Company was incorporated by royal charter under the title of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies."

The original company had only one hundred and twenty-five shareholders, and a capital of £70,000, which was raised to £400,000 in 1612, when voyages were first undertaken on the joint-stock account. Courten's association, known also as the Assada Merchants, from a factory founded by them in Madagascar, was established in 1635, but after a period of internecine rivalry united with the London Company in 1650. In 1655 the Company of Merchant Adventurers obtained a charter from Cromwell to trade with India, but united with the original company two years later. A more formidable rival subsequently appeared in the English company, or General Societ trading to the East Indies, which was incorporated under powerful patronage in 1698, with a capital of £2,000,000 sterling.

According to Evelyn,*j* in his *Diary* for March 5th, 1698, "the old East India Company lost their business against the new company by ten votes in parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs." However, a compromise was speedily effected through the arbitration of Lord Godolphin in 1702, and the London and the English companies were finally amalgamated in 1709, under the style of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. At the same time the company advanced a loan to the state of £3,190,000 at 3 per cent. interest, in consideration of the exclusive privilege to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

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[1600-1640 A.D.]

The early voyages of the company, from 1600 to 1612, are distinguished as the "separate voyages," twelve in number. The subscribers individually bore the expenses of each voyage, and reaped the whole profits. With the exception of the fourth, all these separate voyages were highly prosperous, the profits hardly ever falling below 100 per cent. After 1612 the voyages were conducted on the joint-stock account.[1]

During the civil wars the company shared in the decline of every other branch of trade and industry. But soon after the accession of Charles II they obtained a new charter, which not only confirmed their ancient privileges but vested in them authority, through their agents in India, to make peace and war with any prince or people not being Christians, and to seize within their limits and send home as prisoners, any Englishmen found without a licence. It may well be supposed that in the hands of any exclusive company this last privilege was not likely to lie dormant. Thus, on one occasion, when one of their governors had been urged to enforce the penalties against interlopers with the utmost rigour, and had replied that unhappily the laws of England would not let him proceed so far as might be wished — Sir Josiah Child, as chairman of the court of directors, wrote back in anger as follows: "We expect that our orders are to be your rules, and not the laws of England, which are a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly know how to make laws for the good of their own families much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce."

ENGLISH COLLISIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

After the grant of the first charter by Queen Elizabeth and the growth of the company's trade in India, their two main factories were fixed at Surat and Bantam. Surat was then the principal sea-port of the Mughal Empire, where the Mohammedan pilgrims were wont to assemble for their voyages towards Mecca. Bantam, from its position in the island of Java, commanded the best part of the spice trade. But at Surat the company's servants were harassed by the hostility of the Portuguese, as at Bantam by the hostility of the Dutch.

To such heights did these differences rise that in 1622 the English assisted the Persians in the recovery of Ormuz from the Portuguese, and in 1623 the Dutch committed the outrage termed the Massacre of Amboyna — putting to death, after a trial and confession of guilt extorted by torture, Captain Towerson and nine other Englishmen, on a charge of conspiracy. In the final result many years afterwards the factories both at Bantam and Surat were relinquished by the company. Other and newer settlements of theirs had, meanwhile, grown into importance.

In 1640 the English obtained permission from a Hindu prince in the Carnatic to purchase the ground adjoining the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, on which they proceeded to raise Fort St. George and the town of Madras. "At the Company's first beginning to build a fort" — thus writes the Agency — "there were only the French *padre's* and about six fishermen's houses!" But in a very few years Madras had become a thriving town. About twenty years afterwards, on the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, the town and island of Bombay were ceded to the king of England as a part of the infanta's dowry. For some time the Portuguese governor continued to evade the grant, alleging that the patent of his majesty was not in accordance with the customs of Portugal; he was compelled to yield; but the possession being found on trial to cost more than it produced, it was given

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up by King Charles to the East India Company, and became one of their principal stations.

Considering the beauty and richness of Bengal, a proverb was current among the Europeans that there are a hundred gates for entering and not one for leaving it. The Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English had established their factories at or near the town of Hooghly [Hugli] on one of the branches — also called Hooghly — of the Ganges. But during the reign of James II the imprudence of some of the company's servants, and the seizure of a Mughal junk had highly incensed the native powers. The English found it necessary to leave Hooghly, and drop twenty-five miles down the river to the village of Sutanati. Some petty hostilities ensued, not only in Bengal but along the coasts of India; several small factories of the company were taken and plundered, nor did they speed well in their endeavours either for defence or reprisal.

It was about this period that their settlement at Surat was finally transferred to Bombay. So much irritated was Aurangzeb at the reports of these hostilities that he issued orders for the total expulsion of the company's servants from his dominions, but he was appeased by the humble apologies of the English traders, and the earnest intercession of the Hindu, to whom this commerce was a source of profit. The English might even have resumed their factory at Hooghly, but preferred their new station at Sutanati, and in 1698 obtained from the Mughal, on payment of an annual rent, a grant of the land on which it stood. Then, without delay, they began to construct for its defence a citadel, named Fort William, under whose shelter there grew by degrees from a mean village the great town of Calcutta — the capital of modern India.

Thus before the accession of the house of Hanover these three main stations — Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay — had been erected into presidencies or central posts of government, each independent of the rest. Each was governed by a president and a council of nine or twelve members, appointed by the court of directors in England. Each was surrounded with fortifications, and guarded by a small force, partly European and partly native, in the service of the company. The Europeans were either recruits enlisted in England or strollers and deserters from other services in India. Among these the descendants of the old settlers, especially the Portuguese, were called Topasses — from the *tope* or hat which they wore instead of turban. The natives, as yet ill-armed and ill-trained, were known by the name of sepoys — a corruption from the Indian word *sipahi*, a soldier. But the territory of the English scarcely extended out of sight of their towns, nor had their military preparations any other object than the unmolested enjoyment of their trade. Far from aiming at conquest and aggrandisement, they had often to tremble for their homes. So late as 1742 the Mahratta Ditch was dug round a part of Calcutta, to protect the city from an inroad of the fierce race of Sivaji.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS: LA BOURDONNAIS AND DUPLEIX

Even before the commencement of the eighteenth century, it might be said that all rivalry had ceased in India between the company's servants and the Dutch or Portuguese. The latter, besides their treaties of close alliance with England, had utterly declined from their ancient greatness and renown. The Dutch directed by far their principal attention to their possessions in Java and the adjoining islands. But another still more formidable power had already struck root on the Indian soil.

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The French under Louis XIV had established an East India Company[1] in emulation of the English; like them, they had obtained a settlement on the Hooghly river — at Chandernagor, above Calcutta; like them, they had built a fort on the coast of the Carnatic, about eighty miles south of Madras, which they called Pondicherry. In Malabar and Khandesh they had no settlement to vie with Bombay; but on the other hand they had colonised two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean — the one formerly a Dutch possession, and called Mauritius, from Prince Maurice of Orange; the second, discovered by the Portuguese, with the appellation of Mascarenhas. The first now received the name of Isle de France, and the second of Isle de Bourbon, and both, under the assiduous care of their new masters, rapidly grew in wealth and population. On the whole, the settlements of the French on the Indian coasts and seas were governed by two presidencies — the one at Isle de France, the other at Pondicherry.

It so chanced that at the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1744 both the French presidencies were ruled by men of superior genius. Mahé de la Bourdonnais commanded at Isle de France; a man of Breton blood, full of the generous ardour, of the resolute firmness, which have ever marked that noble race. Since his tenth year he had served in the navy on various voyages from the Baltic to the Indian seas, and he had acquired consummate skill, not only in the direction and pilotage but in the building and equipment of a fleet. Nor was he less skilled in the cares of civil administration. It is to him that Mauritius owes the first dawn of its prosperity. Ever zealous for his country's welfare, he was yet incapable of pursuing it by any other means than those of honour and good faith.

Dupleix was the son of a farmer general, and the heir of a considerable fortune. From early youth he had been employed by the French East India Company, and had gradually risen to the government of Pondicherry and of all the subordinate factories on the continent of Hindustan. During his whole career he had zealously studied the interests of the company without neglecting his own, and the abilities which he had displayed were great and various. The calculations of commerce were not more habitual or more easy to him than the armaments of war or the wiles of diplomacy. With the idea of Indian sovereignty ever active in his mind, he had plunged headlong into all the tangled and obscure intrigues of the native powers. Above all he caballed with the native *nawab* [or *nabob*] or deputed prince of Arcot, or, as sometimes called, of the Carnatic (Arcot being the capital, and Carnatic the country), and with his superior the subahdar or viceroy of the Deccan, more frequently termed the *nizam*.

Beguiled by a childish vanity, he was eager to assume for himself, as they did, the pompous titles of *nawab* and *bahadur*, which, as he pretended, had been conferred upon him by the court of Delhi. His breach of faith on several occasions with his enemies is even less to be condemned than his perfidy to some of his own countrymen and colleagues. But fortunate was it perhaps for the supremacy of England in the East, that two such great commanders as Dupleix and La Bourdonnais should by the fault of the first have become estranged from any effective combination, and have turned their separate energies against each other.

[[1] The first French East India Company was founded in 1604; a second in 1611; a third in 1615; Richelieu's in 1643; Colbert's in 1644, and a sixth in 1719, called the "Compagnie des Indes," and formed by the union of the East and West Indian companies with those of Senegal and China. The monopoly was suspended by the king in 1769, and the company abolished by the National Assembly in 1796.]

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FRENCH VICTORIES OVER THE ENGLISH (1746 A.D.)

On the declaration of war in 1744 an English squadron under Commodore Barnet had been sent to the Indian seas. La Bourdonnais, exerting his scanty means with indefatigable perseverance, succeeded in fitting out nine ships, but nearly all leaky and unsound, and he embarked upwards of three thousand men, but of these there were four hundred invalids and seven hundred Kaffirs or Lascars. On the 6th of July, 1746, the two fleets engaged near Fort St. David, but the battle began and ended in a distant cannonade. Next morning the English stood out to sea, while the French directed their course to Pondicherry. The object of La Bourdonnais was the capture of Madras, and he made a requisition on Dupleix for some stores and sixty pieces of artillery. But the jealous mind of Dupleix could ill brook contributing to his rival's success. He refused the stores, allowed only thirty cannon of inferior calibre, and sent on board water so bad as to produce a dysentery in the fleet.

Not disheartened, however, by these unexpected difficulties, La Bourdonnais appeared off Madras in September, 1746, and proceeded to disembark his motley force. The city, though at this period rich and populous, was ill-defended; one division, called the Black Town, only covered by a common wall; the other, the White Town, or Fort St. George, begirt with a rampart and bastions, but these very slight and faulty in construction. There were but three hundred Englishmen in the colony, and of them only two hundred were soldiers. Under such circumstances no effective resistance could be expected; nevertheless the garrison sustained a bombardment during three days, and obtained at last an honourable capitulation. It was agreed that the English should be prisoners of war upon parole, and that the town should remain in possession of the French until it should be ransomed, La Bourdonnais giving his promise that the ransom required should be fair and moderate. The sum was fixed some time afterwards between the French commander and the English council at 440,000*l*. On these terms the invaders marched in; the keys were delivered by the governor at the gate, and the French colours were displayed from Fort St. George. Not a single Frenchman had been killed during the siege, and only four or five English from the explosion of a bomb.

Dupleix could not restrain his resentment when he heard the terms of the capitulation. To his views of sovereignty in India it was essential that the English should be expelled the country, and Madras be either retained or rased to the ground. Accordingly when La Bourdonnais again disembarked at Pondicherry with the spoils of the conquered town, a long and fierce altercation arose between the rival chiefs.

These differences with Dupleix prevented La Bourdonnais from pursuing as he had designed, his expedition against the other British settlements in India. All his proposals for a union of counsels and resources were scornfully rejected by Dupleix, who had now no other object than to rid himself of an aspiring colleague. For this object he stooped at length to deliberate falsehood. He gave a solemn promise to fulfil the capitulation of Madras, on the faith of which La Bourdonnais consented to re-embark, leaving a part of his fleet with Dupleix, and steering with the rest to Achin in quest of some English ships. Not succeeding in the search he returned to the Mauritius, and from thence to France, to answer for his conduct. On his voyage home he was taken by the English, and conveyed to London, but was there received with respect and dismissed on parole.

At Paris, on the contrary, he found himself preceded by the perfidious

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insinuations of his rival. He was thrown into the Bastille, his fortune plundered, his papers seized, and his will torn open. He was secluded from his wife and children, and even debarred the use of pen and ink for his defence. When after many months' suspense he was examined before a royal commission he heard his services denied, his integrity questioned, and the decline of commerce resulting from the war urged as his reproach. "Will you explain," asked of him one of the East Indian Directors, "how it happened that under your management your own private affairs have thriven so well and those of the Company so ill?"

"Because," answered La Bourdonnais without hesitation, "I managed my own affairs according to my own judgment, and I managed the Company's according to your instructions!" After many harassing inquiries, and three years' detention, his innocence was publicly acknowledged; but his long imprisonment had broken his health, or rather, perhaps, his heart; he lingered for some time in a painful illness, and in 1754 expired. The government, wise and just too late, granted a pension to his widow.

THE AMBITIONS AND SUCCESSES OF DUPLEIX

Only seven days after La Bourdonnais had sailed from Pondicherry, Dupleix, in utter defiance of his recent promise, obtained a warrant from his council annulling the capitulation of Madras. Thus, so far from restoring the city within a few weeks, on payment of the stipulated sum, the principal inhabitants were brought under a guard to Pondicherry, and paraded in triumph through the streets. Such conduct had, at least, the advantage of absolving them from the obligation of their previous parole, and several of them, assuming Hindu attire or other disguises, made their way from Pondicherry to Fort St. David, the two settlements being less than twenty miles asunder. Among those who thus escaped was young Robert Clive, then a merchant's clerk, afterwards a conqueror and statesman.

It was not long ere some troops were sent out by Dupleix (Dupleix himself was no warrior) for the reduction of Fort St. David; but the nawab of Arcot, to whom the cession of Madras had been promised, being now disappointed in his hopes and filled with resentment, joined his forces to the English, and the invaders were repulsed with loss. Not discouraged, Dupleix opened a new negotiation with the nawab, who, on some fresh lures held out to him, consented to desert the English, and again embrace the French interest. Thus, in March, 1747, Dupleix could under better auspices resume his expedition against Fort St. David, and his soldiers were advancing, as they thought, to a certain conquest, when a number of ships were descried in the offing as about to anchor in the roads. These were no sooner recognised as English than the French relinquished their design, and hastened back to Pondicherry.

The English fleet, thus opportune in its appearance, was commanded by Admiral Griffin, who had been sent from England with two men-of-war to strengthen the Bengal squadron. In the next ensuing months further reinforcements, both naval and military, were brought at different times by Admiral Boscawen and Major Lawrence; the former taking the chief command at sea, and the second on shore. So large was this accession of force as to turn at once, and heavily, the scale against the French. It became possible nay, even, as it seemed, not difficult, to retaliate the loss of Madras by the capture of Pondicherry. With this view the English took the field in August, 1748, having in readiness two thousand seven hundred European troops, one

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thousand sailors who had been taught the manual exercise during the voyage, and two thousand sepoys in the service of the company.

At the news of this armament, the greatest perhaps from modern Europe which India had yet seen, the nawab of Arcot hastened to change sides once more, and declare himself an English ally; he even promised the succour of two thousand horse, but only sent three hundred. Dupleix, on his part, could muster eighteen hundred Europeans and three thousand sepoys, but his dispositions were by far the more skilful and able. He knew how to inspire his men with military ardour, while the English were dispirited by the want of practice in their commanders, wasted by sickness, and harassed by rains which had begun three weeks before the usual season. At length they found it necessary to raise the siege, after thirty-one days of open trenches, and the loss of one thousand men. The French governor, in his usual boastful strain, immediately proclaimed his triumph by letters to all the chief subahdars of India, and even to the great Mughal.

Such was the state of affairs in India when the tidings came that a peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen], and that a restitution of conquests had been stipulated. It became necesssary for Dupleix to yield Madras to the English, which he did with extreme reluctance and after long delay. On this occasion of recovering Madras, the English also took possession of St. Thomé, which the natives had conquered from the Portuguese.

The rival settlements of Pondicherry and Madras, though now debarred from any further direct hostility, were not long in assailing each other indirectly, as auxiliaries in the contests of the native princes. A new scene was rapidly opening to the ambition of Dupleix. The nizam, or viceroy of the Deccan under the Mughal, had lately died, and been succeeded by his son, Nasir Jang, but one of his grandsons, Muzaffar Jang, had claimed the vacant throne. At the same time in the dependent province of the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib, son-in-law of a former nawab, appeared as a competitor to the reigning prince, Anwaru-din.

Dupleix eagerly seized the opportunity to enhance his own importance, by establishing through his aid a viceroy of the Deccan and a nawab of the Carnatic. He promised his support to the two pretenders, who had combined their interests and their armies, and who were now reinforced with two thousand sepoys and several hundred Europeans. Nor did they want skilful officers from Pondicherry; one, above all, the marquis de Bussy, showed himself no less able in the field than Dupleix was in council. In August, 1749, a battle ensued beneath the fort of Ambur, when the discipline of the French auxiliaries turned the tide of victory, and when the veteran and subtle nawab, Anwaru-din, was slain. His capital, Arcot, and the greater part of his dominions fell into the hands of the conquerors.

His son, Muhammed Ali, with the wreck of his army, fled to Trichinopoli, and endeavoured to maintain himself, assuming the title of nawab of Arcot, and acknowledged as such by the English; but their zeal in his behalf was faint and languid, and, moreover, they were at this juncture entangled with some insignificant operations in Tanjore. Dupleix, on the contrary, was all activity and ardour. Even on learning that his confederate, Muzaffar Jang, had suffered a reverse of fortune and was a prisoner in the camp of Nasir Jang he did not slacken either in warfare or negotiation. When, at length, in December, 1750, the army which he had set in motion came in sight of Nasir Jang's, the Indian prince viewed its scanty numbers with scorn. But a conspiracy had been formed by the French among his own followers; one of them aimed a carabine as Nasir Jang rode up on his elephant, and the Indian

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prince fell dead on the plain. His head was then severed from his body, and carried on a pole before the tent of Muzaffar Jang, who, freed from his fetters, was by the whole united army hailed as the nizam.

The exultation of Dupleix knew no bounds. On the spot where Nasir Jang had fallen he began to build a town with the pompous title of Dupleix Fathabad — the City of the Victory of Dupleix — and in the midst of that town he laid the foundation of a stately pillar, whose four sides were to bear inscriptions proclaiming in four different languages the triumph of his arms. With the same vainglorious spirit he resolved to celebrate, at the seat of his own government, the installation of the new nizam. On the day of that ceremony he might have passed for an Asiatic potentate as he entered the town in the same palanquin with his ally, and in the garb of a Mohammedan amir, with which the prince himself had clothed him. He accepted, or assumed, the government, under the Mughal, of all the country along the eastern coast between the river Kistna and Cape Comorin; a country little less in extent than France itself.

No petition was granted by the nizam unless signed by the hand of Dupleix; no money was henceforth to be current in the Carnatic except from the mint of Pondicherry. "Send me reinforcements," wrote Bussy to his chief, "and in one year more the emperor shall tremble at the name of Dupleix!" But the French governor soon discovered that his own vanity had been a fatal bar in the way of his ambition. His rivals at Fort St. George and Fort St. David took an alarm at his lofty titles which they might not have felt so soon as his extended power.

It appeared on this occasion, to the heads of the English factory, that, although the contest for the Deccan had been decided by the fall of Nasir Jang, they might still advantageously take part in the contest for the Carnatic. Accordingly they sent several hundred men under Captain Gingens to reinforce their confederate, Muhammed Ali; but these troops were put to flight at Volkondah, and compelled to take shelter with Muhammed Ali in his last stronghold of Trichinopoli. There he was soon besieged and closely pressed by the army of Chanda Sahib, and the auxiliaries of Dupleix. If the place should fall it was clear that the French would gain the mastery over all the provinces adjoining Fort St. George and Fort St. David, and would at the first opportunity renew their attack upon those settlements. On the other hand, the English were at this time ill prepared for any further active hostilities; their only officer of experience, Major Lawrence, had gone home, and the garrisons remaining for their own defence were extremely small. There seemed almost equal danger in remaining passive or in boldly advancing. These doubts were solved, these perils overcome, by the energy of one man — Robert Clive.

THE RISE OF ROBERT CLIVE

The father of Clive was a gentleman of old family but small estate, residing near Market Drayton in Shropshire. There Robert, his eldest son, was born in 1725. From early childhood the boy showed a most daring and turbulent spirit. At various schools to which he was sent he appears to have been idle and intractable. Even in after life he was never remarkable for scholarship; and his friendly biographer, Malcolm,[e] admits that wide as was his influence over the native tribes of India, he was little, if at all, acquainted with their languages. His father was soon offended at his waywardness and neglect of his studies, and instead of a profession at home, obtained for him

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a writership in the East India Company's service, and in the presidency of Madras.

There is no doubt that the climate at Madras was unfavourable to his health, and his duty at the desk ill-suited to his temper. But worse than all other discomfort was his own constitutional and morbid melancholy — a melancholy which may yet be traced in the expression of his portraits, and which, afterwards heightened as it were by bodily disease and mental irritation, closed the career of this great chief by the act of his own hand before he had attained the age of fifty years. As a writer at Madras he twice one day snapped a pistol at his own head. Finding it miss fire, he calmly waited until his room was entered by an acquaintance, whom he requested to fire the pistol out of the window. The gentleman did so, and the pistol went off. At this proof that it had been rightly loaded Clive sprang up with the exclamation, "Surely then I am reserved for something!" and relinquished his design.

We have already found occasion to relate how Clive was led a prisoner from Fort St. George to Pondicherry, and how he effected his escape from Pondicherry to Fort St. David.

From this time forward, however, the undaunted spirit of Clive found a nobler scope against the public enemy. During the petty hostilities which ensued — when the merchants' clerks were almost compelled in self-defence to turn soldiers — the name of Ensign or Lieutenant Clive is often, and always honourably, mentioned, and during the intervals of these hostilities he returned to his ledgers and accounts; but on the emergency produced by the successes of Dupleix, the siege of Trichinopoli, and the departure of Major Lawrence, he accepted a captain's commission, and bade adieu to trade. With no military education, with so little military experience, this young man of twenty-five shone forth not only, as might have been foreseen, a most courageous, but a most skilful and accomplished commander.

At this crisis he discerned that although it was not possible to afford relief to Trichinopoli a diversion might still be effected by a well-timed surprise of Arcot, thus compelling Chanda Sahib to send a large detachment from his army. The heads of the presidency on whom he strenuously urged his views not only approved the design, but accepted the offer of his own services for its execution. Accordingly, in August, 1751, Captain Clive marched from Madras at the head of only three hundred sepoys and two hundred Europeans. Scanty as seems this force, it could only be formed by reducing the garrison at Fort St. David to one hundred and the garrison of Madras to fifty men; and of the eight officers under Clive, six had never before been in action, and four were merchants' clerks who, incited by his example, took up the sword to follow him. A few days' march brought the little band within ten miles of Arcot, and within sight of the outposts of the garrison. There a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain arose, through which, however, Clive undauntedly pushed forward. Slight as seems this incident it became attended with important results, for the garrison, apprised by their outposts of the behaviour of the English, were seized with a superstitious panic, as though their opponents were in league with the heavens, and they fled precipitately not only from the city but from the citadel. Thus Clive, without having struck a blow, marched through the streets amidst a concourse of a hundred thousand spectators, and took quiet possession of the citadel or fort. In that stronghold the Arcot merchants had, for security, deposited effects to the value of 50,000*l.*, which Clive punctually restored to the owners; and this politic act of honesty conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest.

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Clive, learning that the fugitive garrison had been reinforced and had taken post in the neighbourhood, made several sallies against them; in the last he surprised them at night, and scattered or put them to the sword. But his principal business was to prepare against the siege which he expected, by collecting provisions and strengthening the works of the fort. As he had foretold, his appearance at Arcot effected a diversion at Trichinopoli. Chanda Sahib immediately detached four thousand men from his army, who were joined by two thousand natives from Vellore, by one hundred and fifty Europeans from Pondicherry, and by the remains of the fugitive garrison. Altogether, the force thus directed against Arcot exceeded ten thousand men, and was commanded by Raja Sahib, a son of Chanda Sahib.

The fort in which the English were now besieged was, notwithstanding some hasty repairs, in great measure ruinous; with the parapet low and slightly built, with several of the towers decayed, with the ditch in some parts fordable, in others dry, and in some choked up with fallen rubbish. But Clive undauntedly maintained, day after day, such feeble bulwarks against such overwhelming numbers. Nor did he neglect, amidst other more substantial means of defence, to play upon the fears and fancies of his superstitious enemy.

After several weeks' siege, however, the besiegers, scanty and ill-served as was their artillery, had succeeded in making more than one practicable breach in the walls. Some succour to the garrison was attempted from Madras, but in vain. Another resource, however, remained to Clive. He found means to despatch a messenger through the enemy's lines to Murari Rao, a Mahratta chieftain, who had received a subsidy to assist Muhammed Ali, and who lay encamped with six thousand men on the hills of Mysore. He sent down a detachment of his troops from the hills.

Raja Sahib, when he learned that the Mahrattas were approaching, perceived that he had no time to lose. He sent a flag of truce to the garrison promising a large sum of money if Clive would surrender, and denouncing instant death if Clive awaited a storm; but he found his offers and his threats received with equal disdain. Exasperated at the scornful answer, he made every preparation for a desperate attack on the morrow. It was the 14th of November, the fiftieth day of the siege, and the anniversary of the festival in commemoration of that martyr of early Islam, Hosein, when, according to the creed of the Mohammedans of India any one who falls in battle against unbelievers is wafted at once into the highest region of paradise. But every assault was repulsed with heavy loss. In the first part of the night their fire was renewed, but at two in the morning it ceased, and at the return of daylight it appeared that they had raised the siege, and were already out of sight, leaving four hundred men dead upon the ground, with all their ammunition and artillery.

Elated at this result of his exertions, Clive was not slow in sallying forth and combining his little garrison with the detachment from Murari Rao, and with some reinforcements from Europe which had lately landed at Madras. Thus strengthened, he sought out Raja Sahib, and gave him battle near the town of Arni. On this occasion he beheld for the first time in action — happily for him, ranged on his own side — the activity and bravery of the Mahrattas. On the other hand, Raja Sahib, though the greater part of his own troops were dispersed, had been reinforced from Pondicherry with three hundred Europeans and nearly three thousand sepoys. The issue of the battle, however, was a complete victory for Clive, the enemy's military chest, containing a hundred thousand rupees, fell into the hands of his Mahrattas;

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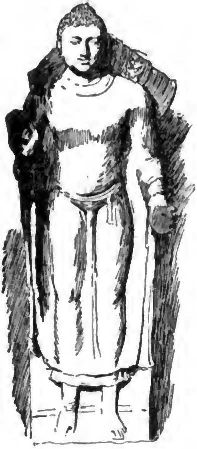
and not less than six hundred of the French sepoys, dispirited by their failure came over with their arms and consented to serve in the English ranks.

Clive next proceeded against the great *pagoda* or Hindu temple of Conjeveram, into which the French had thrown a garrison, and, entering the place, after three days' cannonade, found the French garrison escaped by night and the English officers unhurt.

Notwithstanding these events, Raja Sahib was not disheartened. In January, 1752, finding that Clive had marched to Fort St. David, he suddenly collected a body of his own troops and of his French auxiliaries and pushed forwards to Madras. Clive was recalled in haste from the south, and again encountered Raja Sahib with complete success. From the scene of action he marched back in triumph to Fort St. David, passing on his way near the newly raised City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the foundation of the pompous pillar. Clive directed that these monuments of premature exultation should be rased to the ground.



AN IMAGE OF BUDDHA

At Trichinopoli the effect of Clive's earliest successes had been to turn the siege into a languid blockade. At this period, however, Major Lawrence returned from Europe.

The expedition to Trichinopoli, led by Lawrence and Clive, was crowned with triumphant success. In the result the French besiegers of Muhammed Ali were themselves besieged in the island of Srirangam in the river Kaveri, and were compelled to lay down their arms. Chanda Sahib himself surrendered to a native chief named Manakji, who took an oath for his safety on his own sabre and poniard — the most sacred of all oaths to an Indian soldier — but who, nevertheless, shortly afterwards put his prisoner to death.[1]

THE LAST DAYS OF DUPLEIX

It might have been expected that such successes — and above all the murder of one of the competitors — would finally decide the conquest for the government of the Carnatic. But immediately after his victory Muhammed Ali had become involved in dissensions with his allies, the Mahrattas and Mysoreans, to whom he had promised, without ever really intending, the cession of Trichinopoli. These bickerings gave fresh life and spirit to Dupleix. Although he found his recent policy disapproved by his employers in Europe, although he received from them only reproofs instead of supplies, although the recruits sent out to him were according to his own description, no other than "boys, shoe-blacks, and robbers," he yet clung to his own schemes with unconquerable perseverance. He laboured to train and discipline his recruits; and, in the want of other funds, he advanced for the public service not less than 140,000*l.* of his own money. Dupleix now resumed hostilities — again attempted Arcot, and again besieged Trichinopoli. Notwithstanding all his exertions, the warfare proved weak and languid, and was far from enabling the French to recover their lost ground.

[[1] Colonel Malleson is of opinion that Major Lawrence connived at this act.]

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Clive had for some time continued to distinguish himself in the desultory operations which followed the surrender of Srirangam. He had reduced in succession the two important forts of Kovlaon and Chingleput. But his health was beginning to fail beneath the burning sun of India; his return to England had become essential to his recovery, and he embarked at Madras early in the year 1753, immediately after his marriage to Miss Margaret Maskelyne. He found himself received at home with well-earned approbation and rewards. The court of directors at one of their public dinners drank the health of the young captain by the name of "General Clive," and, not satisfied with this convivial compliment, voted him the gift of a sword set with diamonds.

Far different were the feelings which the directors of the French East India Company entertained towards Dupleix. They looked with slight interest on the struggles for the Carnatic, and thought the failure of their dividends an unanswerable argument against the policy of their governor. A negotiation for the adjustment of all differences was carried on for some time in London between them and their English rivals. At length they determined to send over M. Godeheu as their commissioner to India, with full powers to conclude a peace and to supersede Dupleix. Godeheu landed at Pondicherry in August, 1754, and hastened to sign with the chiefs of the English presidency a provisional treaty, to be confirmed or annulled in Europe, according to which the French party yielded nearly all the points at issue and virtually acknowledged Muhammed Ali as nawab of the Carnatic.

Dupleix, who looked on this pacification with unavailing grief and anger, had even before its final conclusion embarked for France. There he found neither reward for the services he had rendered nor even repayment for the sums he had advanced. Where was now that proud and wily satrap so lately bedecked with pompous titles and glittering with the gold of Trichinopoli or the diamonds of Golconda? Had any curious travellers at the time sought an answer to that question they might have found the fallen statesman reduced, as is told us by himself, to the most deplorable indigence — compiling in some garret another fruitless memorial, or waiting for many a weary hour in some under-secretary's antechamber. For several years he pursued most unavailingly his claims and his complaints, until in 1763 he expired, sick at heart and broken in fortunes, like his rival and his victim, La Bourdonnais.[b]

COLONEL MALLESON'S ESTIMATE OF DUPLEIX

"It is impossible to deny to Dupleix the possession of some of the greatest qualities with which man has ever been endowed. He was a great administrator, a diplomatist of the highest order, a splendid organiser, a man who possessed supremely the power of influencing others. He had an intellect quick and subtle, yet large and capable of grasping; an energy that nothing could abate; a persistence, a determination, that were proof against every shock of fortune. He possessed a noble, generous, and sympathising nature; he was utterly incapable of envy or jealousy; and was endowed besides with that equanimity of temper that enabled him to bear the greatest reverses, the most cruel injustice towards himself, with resignation and composure. He was not indeed a general. He did not possess a taste for leading armies into the field. Yet he showed on many occasions — notably on the occasion of the siege of Pondicherry by Boscawen — that he could not only stand fire, but could defeat by his unassisted and natural skill all the efforts of the enemy."[g]

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CLIVE'S RETURN AS GOVERNOR (1756 A.D.)

Within two years the health of Clive grew strong in his native air, and his spirit began to pine for active service. On the other hand, experience of his merits, and apprehension of a war with France, rendered both the king's ministers and the East India Company eager to employ him. From the former he received the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, from the latter the office of governor of Fort St. David. Landing at Bombay with some troops in November, 1755, he found there Admiral Watson and a British squadron. There was little at that time on the coast of Coromandel to demand the exertions of these two commanders, and they thought the opportunity tempting to reduce in conjunction a formidable nest of pirates, about two degrees south of Bombay. Their spoils, valued at £120,000, were shared as prize-money between the naval and military captors.

Having performed this service in February, 1756, Clive pursued his voyage to Fort St. David, and took the charge of his government on the 20th of June — the very day when the nawab of Bengal was storming Fort William. In fact a crisis had now occurred on the shores of the Hooghly, threatening the utmost danger, and calling for the utmost exertion.

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA

The viceroys of Bengal, like the viceroys of the Deccan, retained only a nominal dependence on the Mughal Empire. From their capital, Murshidabad (Moorshedabad) — "a city," says Clive, "as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London" — they sent forth absolute and uncontrolled decrees over the wide provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, ill-disguised by the mockery of homage to that empty phantom "the Kings of Kings" at Delhi. The old nawab, Ali Vardi Khan, had died in April, 1756, and been succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah), a youth only nineteen years of age. Siraj-ud-Daula combined in no small degree a ferocious temper with a feeble understanding. The torture of birds and beasts had been the pastime of his childhood, and the sufferings of his fellow-creatures became the sport of his riper years. His favourite companions were buffoons and flatterers, with whom he indulged in every kind of debauchery, amongst others, the immoderate use of ardent spirits. Towards the Europeans, and the English especially, he looked with ignorant aversion, and still more ignorant contempt. He was often heard to say that he did not believe there were ten thousand men in all Europe.

Differences were not slow to arise between such a prince as Siraj-ud-Daula and his neighbours, the British in Bengal. He seized the British factory at Kasimbazar, the port of Murshidabad upon the river, and he retained the chiefs of that settlement as his prisoners. Siraj-ud-Daula had heard much of the wealth at Calcutta; that wealth he was determined to secure; and he soon appeared before the gates at the head of a numerous army.

THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA (1756 A.D.)

The defences of Calcutta, notwithstanding the wrath which they had stirred in the nawab, were at this time slight and inconsiderable. For a garrison there were less than two hundred Europeans, and scarcely more than one thousand natives, hastily trained as militia, and armed with matchlocks.

No example of spirit was set them by their chiefs. On the contrary, the gov-

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ernor, Mr. Drake, and the commanding officer, Captain Minchin, being struck with a disgraceful panic, embarked in a boat and escaped down the Hooghly.

Under these circumstances a civilian, Mr. Holwell, though not the senior servant of the company, was by the general voice called to the direction of affairs. At this time the nawab's artillery was already thundering at the walls, yet under every disadvantage Mr. Holwell protracted for two days longer the defence of the fort. When at length, on the evening of the 20th of June, all resistance had ceased, the nawab seated himself in the great hall of the factory, and received the congratulations of his courtiers on his prowess. Soon after he sent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English in daring to defend their fort, and much dissatisfaction at his having found so small a sum — only 50,000 rupees — in their treasury. On the whole, however, he seemed more gracious than his character gave reason to expect, and he promised, "on the word of a soldier," as he said, that the lives of his prisoners should be spared.

Thus dismissed by the tyrant, and led back to the other captives, Mr. Holwell cheered them with the promise of their safety. We are told how, relieved from their terrors and unconscious of their doom, they laughed and jested amongst themselves. But their joy and their jesting were of short duration. They had been left at the disposal of the officers of the guard, who determined to secure them for the night in the common dungeon of the fort — a dungeon known to the English by the name of the Black Hole — its size only eighteen feet by fourteen; its airholes only two small windows, and these overhung by a low veranda. Into this cell — hitherto designed and employed for the confinement of some half dozen malefactors at a time — it was now resolved to thrust a hundred and forty-five European men and one Englishwoman, some of them suffering from recent wounds, and this in the night of the Indian summer-solstice, when the fiercest heat was raging! Into this cell accordingly the unhappy prisoners, in spite of their expostulations, were driven at the point of the sabre, the last, from the throng and narrow space, being pressed in with considerable difficulty, and the doors being then by main force closed and locked behind them.[b]

Nothing in history or fiction [says Macaulay], not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the nawab's orders, that the nawab was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him.

Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down; fought for the places at the windows; fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies; raved, prayed, blasphemed; implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The nawab had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work.

When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the

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charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously and covered up.

But these things which after the lapse of years cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage nawab. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be gained, were suffered to depart; but those from whom it was thought that any thing could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the nawab procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the harem of the prince at Murshidabad.[h]

ENGLISH ALLIANCE WITH THE NAWAB

At Calcutta meanwhile Siraj-ud-Daula was lending a ready ear to the praises of his courtiers, who assured him that his reduction of the British settlement was the most heroic and glorious achievement performed in India since the days of Timur. In memory of the Divine blessing (for so he deemed it) he ordered that on his arms Calcutta should thenceforward bear the name of *Alinagar* — "the Port of God." Another edict declared that no Englishman should ever again presume to set foot within the territory. Then, leaving a garrison of three thousand men in Calcutta, and levying large sums, by way of contribution, from the Dutch at Chinsura and the French at Chandarnagar, Siraj-ud-Daula returned in triumph to his capital.

It was not till the 16th of August that tidings of the events of Calcutta reached Madras. Measures were then in progress for sending a detachment into the Deccan to counteract the influence of Bussy. But all other considerations were overborne by the cry for vengeance against Siraj-ud-Daula, and the necessity of an expedition to Bengal. It happened fortunately that Admiral Watson and his squadron had returned from the western coast and were now at anchor in the roads. It happened also, from the projected march to the Deccan, that the land-forces were at this period combined, and ready for action. The presidency summoned Clive from Fort St. David, and appointed him chief of the intended expedition.

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

On the whole the force entrusted to Clive amounted to nine hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred sepoys. The powers granted him were to be in all military matters independent of the members of the council of Calcutta; but his instructions were positive and peremptory, to return at all events and under any circumstances by the month of April next, about which time a French expedition was expected on the coast of Coromandel.

The armament of Clive and Watson having been delayed two months by quarrels at Madras, and two more by contrary winds at sea, did not enter the Hooghly until the middle of December, and then they pushed forward against Calcutta. The scanty garrison left by Siraj-ud-Daula ventured to sally forth, but was easily routed with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. Calcutta,

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after one or two random discharges from the wall, was quietly abandoned to the English, who thus on the 2nd of January, 1757, again became masters of the place. Nay, more, after this first success, Clive and Watson advanced against the town of Hooghly, which they stormed and sacked with little loss. This was the first opportunity of distinction to Captain Coote, afterwards Sir Eyro.

At these tidings, Siraj-ud-Daula, much irritated, but also in some degree alarmed, marched back from Murshidabad at the head of forty thousand men. By this time intelligence had reached India of the declaration of war between France and England, and the nawab proposed to the French at Chandarnagar that they should join him with their whole force, amounting to several hundred Europeans. But the memory of their reverses on the coast of Coromandel was still present in their minds, and they not only rejected the nawab's overture, but made an overture of their own to the English for a treaty of neutrality. As, however, the French at Chandarnagar did not, like the English at Calcutta, form a separate presidency, but were dependent on the government of Pondicherry, they had not in truth the powers to conclude the treaty they proposed, and for this and other reasons it was finally rejected by the British chiefs.

During this time Siraj-ud-Daula had advanced close upon Fort William, at the head of his large but ill-disciplined and irregular army. Clive, considering the disparity of numbers, resolved to surprise the enemy in a night attack. The loss of the English in the action which ensued was no less than one hundred sepoys and one hundred and twenty Europeans — a great proportion of their little army.

Yet if the object of Clive had been mainly to show the superiority of the Europeans in warfare, and to strike terror into the mind of the nawab, that object was fully attained. Siraj-ud-Daula passed from an ignorant contempt of the English to a kind of timid awe. He agreed to grant them the confirmation of their previous privileges — the right to fortify Calcutta in any manner they pleased — the exemption of all merchandise under their passes from fees and tolls — and the restoration of or compensation for all such of their plundered effects as had been carried to the nawab's account.

Three days after a peace had been signed on these conditions the new-born friendship of the nawab for the English, joined to some fear of a northward invasion from the Afghans, led him so far as to propose another article for an intimate alliance, offensive and defensive. It seemed ignominious, and a stain on the honour of England, to conclude such a treaty, or indeed any treaty, with the author of the atrocities of the Black Hole, while those atrocities remained without the slightest satisfaction, requital, or apology. But, as Clive had previously complained, the gentlemen at Calcutta were then callous to every feeling but that of their own losses. "Believe me," says Clive [in a letter to the governor of Madras], "they are bad subjects, and rotten at heart. The riches of Peru and Mexico should not induce me to live among them." Nevertheless it must be observed that whatever may have been Clive's feelings on this occasion he showed himself to the full as eager and forward as any of the merchants in pressing the conclusion of the treaty of alliance. Among the chiefs none but Admiral Watson opposed it, and it was signed and ratified on the 12th of February, the same day that it was offered.

This new and strange alliance seemed to the English at Calcutta to afford them a most favourable opportunity for assailing their rivals at Chandarnagar. Clive wrote to the nawab applying for permission, and received an evasive

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answer, which he thought fit to construe as assent. Operations were immediately commenced; Clive directing them by land, and Watson by water. The French made a gallant resistance, but were soon overpowered and compelled to surrender the settlement, on which occasion above four hundred European soldiers became prisoners of war.

The nawab, who by this time had gone back to his capital, was most highly exasperated on learning of the attack upon Chandarnagar, which he had never really intended to allow. It produced another complete revolution in his sentiments. His former hatred against the English returned, but not his former contempt. On the contrary, he now felt the necessity of strengthening himself by foreign alliances against them, and with that view he entered into correspondence with Bussy in the Deccan. His letters pressed that officer to march to his assistance against the Englishman, *Sabut Jung*, "The daring in war" — a well-earned title, by which Clive is to this day known among the natives of India. Copies of these letters fell into the hands of the English, and left them no doubt as to the hostile designs of the nawab.

CLIVE'S DUPLICITY TOWARDS OMICHUND

With this conviction strongly rooted in his mind, and the danger to Bengal full before his eyes, the bold spirit of Clive determined to set aside of his own authority the instructions commanding his immediate return to Madras. He entered eagerly into the conspiracy forming at Murshidabad to depose Siraj-ud-Daula, and to place on the throne the general of the forces, Mir Jafar. It may readily be supposed that in these negotiations Mir Jafar was liberal, nay lavish, in his promises of compensation to the company, and rewards to their soldiers. Still more essential was the engagement into which he entered, that on the approach of an English force, he would join their standard with a large body of his troops.

In these negotiations between the native conspirators and the English chiefs, the principal agent next to Mr. Watts was a wealthy Hindu merchant of the name of Omichund. A long previous residence at Calcutta had made him well acquainted with English forms and manners, while it had lost him none of the craft and subtlety that seemed almost the birthright of a Bengal. As the time for action drew near, he began to feel — not scruples at the treachery — not even the apprehensions as to the success — but doubts whether his own interests had been sufficiently secured. He went to Mr. Watts and threatened to disclose the whole conspiracy to Siraj-ud-Daula unless it were stipulated that he should receive thirty lacs of rupees, or 300,000*l.*, as a reward for his services — which stipulation he insisted on seeing added as an article in the treaty pending between Mir Jafar and the English. Mr. Watts, in great alarm for his own life, soothed Omichund with general assurances, while he referred the question as speedily as possible to the members of the select committee at Calcutta.

The committee were equally unwilling to grant and afraid to refuse the exorbitant claim of Omichund. But an expedient was suggested by Clive. Two treaties were drawn up; the one on white paper intended to be real and valid and containing no reference to Omichund, the other on red paper with a stipulation in his favour, but designed as fictitious and merely with the object to deceive him. The members of the committee, like Clive, put their names without hesitation to both treaties; but Admiral Watson, with higher spirit, would only sign the real one. It was foreseen that the omission of such a

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name would rouse the suspicion of Omichund, and in this emergency Clive directed another person to counterfeit the admiral's signature.

For his share in these transactions Clive was many years afterwards taunted to his face in the house of commons. Unable to deny he endeavoured to defend his conduct. "It was," he said, "a matter of true policy and of justice to deceive so great a villain as Omichund." The villainy of Omichund, however, appears mainly this — that for the treachery which the English encouraged and abetted he claimed a larger reward than the English were willing to pay. But even admitting to the fullest extent the guilt of the Hindu intriguer, this does not suffice to vindicate the British chief; this does not prove that it was justifiable, as he alleges, to deceive the deceiver, and to foil an Asiatic by his own Asiatic arts. Such expedients as fictitious treaties and counterfeited signatures are not to be cleared by any refinements of ingenuity, or any considerations of state advantage, and they must forever remain a blot on the brilliant laurels of Clive.

Omichund having thus been successfully imposed upon, and the conspiracy being now sufficiently matured, Mr. Watts made his escape from Murshidabad, and Clive set his army in motion from Calcutta. He had under his command three thousand men, all excellent troops, and one third Europeans.

Siraj-ud-Daula proceeded to assemble near the village of Plassey his whole force amounting to fifteen thousand cavalry, and thirty-five thousand foot. Nor was it merely in numbers of men that he surpassed the English; while Clive brought only eight field pieces and two howitzers, Siraj-ud-Daula had above forty pieces of cannon of the largest size, each drawn by forty or fifty yoke of white oxen, and each with an elephant behind, trained to assist in pushing it over difficult ground. Forty Frenchmen in the nawab's pay directed some smaller guns. The greater part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the rest with various weapons — pikes, swords, arrows, and even rockets.

The nawab, distrustful of Mir Jafar, had before he left the capital exacted from him an oath of fidelity upon the Koran. Either a respect for this oath, or, what is far more probable, a doubt as to the issue of the war, seemed to weigh with Mir Jafar; he did not perform his engagement to the English, of joining them with his division at the appointed place of meeting, but kept aloof, sending them only evasive answers or general assurances. The troops were led across the river; and at one o'clock in the morning of the memorable 23rd of June, 1757, they reached the mango-grove of Plassey. The mingling sounds of drums, clarions, and cymbals convinced them that they were now within a mile of the nawab's camp. For the remainder of that night Clive took up his quarters in a small hunting-house belonging to the nawab, but could not sleep; while his soldiers, less concerned than their general, stretched themselves to rest beneath the adjoining trees.

BATTLE OF PLASSEY (1757 A.D.)

At sunrise Clive ascended the roof of the hunting-house, and surveyed with a steadfast eye the rich array and the spreading numbers of his enemy. He saw them advance from several sides, as if to enclose him, but they halted at some distance.[b]

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the nawab did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several of the most distinguished officers in Siraj-ud-Daula's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expedi-

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ency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Siraj-ud-Daula were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of near sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.[h]

Of this battle it may be said that it was gained against a disparity of force nearly such as the Spaniards encountered in Mexico and Peru. But there is a difference highly honourable to the English. The natives of Mexico and Peru were wholly ignorant of gunpowder, and viewed the Spaniards with their fire-arms as demi-gods, wielding the lightning and thunder of the heavens. The natives of India, on the contrary, were well acquainted with the natives of Europe; they looked on them with no superstitious awe; and however unskilful in the use of artillery, they were at least not surprised at its effects. From the day of Plassey dates the British supremacy above them. From that day they began to feel that none of the things on which they had heretofore relied — not their tenfold or twentyfold numbers — their blaze of rockets — the long array of their elephants — the massy weight of their ordnance — their subterfuges and their wiles — would enable them to stand firm against the energy and discipline of the island-strangers. They began to feel that even their own strength would become an instrument to their subjugation; that even their own countrymen, when, under the name of sepoys, trained in European discipline, and animated by European spirit, had been at Plassey, and would be again, the mainstay and right arm of the British power.

On the morning after the battle Mir Jafar appeared at the English camp, far from confident of a good reception since his recent conduct. As he alighted from his elephant the guard drew out, and rested their arms to do him honour; but Mir Jafar, not knowing the drift of this compliment, started back in great alarm. Clive, however, speedily came forward, embraced his trembling friend, and hailed him nawab of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. It was agreed between them that Mir Jafar should immediately push forward with his division to Murshidabad, and that Clive and his English should follow more at leisure. But they neither expected nor found the slightest further resistance.

Even before the day of Plassey was decided Siraj-ud-Daula had mounted a camel, and ignominiously fled from the field. He was seized and brought back in chains to the palace of Murshidabad — to the very presence chamber, once his own, now that of Mir Jafar. The fallen prince, still more abject in spirit than in fortunes, flung himself down before his triumphant subject, and with an agony of tears implored his life. It is said that Mir Jafar was touched with some compassion, and merely directed that his prisoner should be led away; but his son Meeran, a youth no less ferocious and cruel than Siraj-ud-Daula himself, gave the guards orders that he should be despatched in his cell. Barely sufficient respite was granted him, at his own urgent entreaty, to make his ablutions and to say his prayers. Next morning the

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mangled remains were exposed to the city on an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Ali Vardi, while Mir Jafar excused himself to the English for the deed of blood committed without their knowledge and consent.

The installation of Mir Jafar, as nawab of Bengal, was performed with great solemnity. Clive himself led his friend to the *masnad*, or seat of honour, and, according to the Indian custom, presented him with a plate full of gold rupees; he then, through an interpreter, addressed the native chiefs, exhorting them to be joyful that fortune had given them so good a prince. Nor did the new nawab fail to bestow on his allies marks as splendid and more substantial of his favour. It was agreed, according to the previous stipulation, that the English should have the entire property of the land within the Mahratta ditch, and for six hundred yards beyond it, and also the *zamindari*, or feudal tenure on payment of rent, of all the country between Calcutta and the sea.

The money granted them in compensation for their losses, and in donatives to the fleet, the army, and the committee, amounted to no less than 2,750,000*l.*, although, as the wealth of Siraj-ud-Daula proved far less than was expected, it was not found possible to pay the whole of this sum at once. Clive accepted for his own share a gift of above 200,000*l.* When, some years afterward, before a committee of the house of commons, he was accused for taking so much, he defended himself by saying that he might, if he had pleased, have taken much more. "When I recollect," he said, "entering the nawab's treasury at Murshidabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left, and these crowned with jewels" — here he added an oath, and violently struck his hand to his head — "at this moment do I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

A painful office remained — to tell Omichund that notwithstanding the promise in his favour, he should have no share in all this wealth. As interpreter and spokesman for that purpose the British chief employed Mr. Scrafton, a civil servant of the company. A meeting having been held at the house of one of the principal bankers of Murshidabad, Clive, at its conclusion, said to Mr. Scrafton: "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." Mr. Scrafton, as if ashamed of the task, performed it in the fewest and shortest words. "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing." At this announcement the unhappy dupe staggered back as from a blow; he fainted away, and was borne by an attendant to his house, where, on recovering from his swoon, he remained for many hours silent and abstracted, and then began to show symptoms of imbecility. Some days afterwards he visited Clive, who received him kindly, advised him, for change of scene, to undertake a pilgrimage to some one of the Indian shrines, and was willing, on his return, to employ him again in public business. But the intellect of Omichund had been wholly unhinged, and he expired not many months from this period in a state of second childhood.

CLIVE RETURNS AGAIN TO ENGLAND (1760 A.D.)

The return of Clive to Calcutta was attended with general rejoicing and applause, and from this time forward, during several years, he was, in truth, master of Bengal. The East India directors had, indeed, formed a most unwise scheme for conducting the government of Calcutta, by a system of rotation, but at the news of the victory of Plassey they gladly conferred the office of governor on Clive. As a statesman he displayed scarcely less ability than as a soldier. It was his energy as both which upheld the feeble character

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and the tottering throne of Mir Jafar. Thus, when, in 1759, Shah Alam, the eldest son of the emperor of Delhi, succeeded in collecting a large army of adventurers, and marched down upon Behar, the terrified nawab was eager to purchase peace by the cession of a province or the payment of a tribute.

Far different were the views of the British chief. With a little army, comprising less than five hundred Europeans, he undauntedly marched to the aid of his ally; and such were now the terrors of his name that at his approach the mighty host of Shah Alam melted away; the siege of Patna was raised, and the war ended without a blow. In gratitude for this great service Mir Jafar bestowed upon Clive a splendid *jagir*, or domain, producing, according to Clive's own computation, an income of 27,000*l.* a year.

At nearly the same period Clive was directing from afar hostilities in the districts known in the Carnatic by the name of the Northern Circars, a tract of coast extending from the mouth of the Kistna to the pagoda of Juggernaut. These districts had been invaded by Bussy from the Deccan, and on his departure a French force, commanded by the marquis de Conflans, had been left for their defence. On the other hand, Clive sent thither a large detachment, under Colonel Forde, an officer trained under his own eye. The result was complete success; the French were worsted in a pitched engagement, and the English reduced Masulipatam against a garrison superior in numbers to themselves.

Towards the close of the same year, 1759, the English in Bengal were threatened with danger, equally great and unforeseen, from the Dutch in Java. Although peace prevailed between the two nations the Dutch could not view without jealousy the success and renown of their commercial rivals; they entered into secret negotiations with Mir Jafar, who, with the usual fickleness of Asiatics, had become desirous of deserting the English alliance; and they sent into the Hooghly an armament of seven large ships and fourteen hundred soldiers. If Clive suffered the Dutch ships to pass up the river and the Dutch troops to join the nawab's, the English might be overpowered and driven from Bengal. If he attempted to stop them, there was the risk of kindling a war between the two nations, or on the other hand, of being disavowed by the authorities in England, and consigned to disgrace and ruin. Nor were other personal motives wanting to dissuade Clive from action. At this very period he had entrusted a large share of his fortune to the Dutch East India Company, for speedy remittance to Europe.

Nevertheless in this emergency Clive showed himself, as ever, firm, resolute, unwavering. He was informed that the Dutch had landed their troops and committed various acts of violence, and a letter was addressed to him by Colonel Forde, stating, that if he had an order of council he could now attack the invaders with a fair prospect of destroying them. Clive was playing at cards in the evening when he received this letter, and without leaving the table he wrote an answer in pencil: "Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council to-morrow." Accordingly the Dutch were attacked both by land and water, and notwithstanding their superiority of force in both, they were defeated. Of their seven ships every one fell into the hands of the English.

Only a few weeks after these events, in February 1760, Clive, who was suffering from ill-health, embarked for England. "With him it appeared" (to use the strong language of a contemporary)," that the soul was departing from the body of the government of Bengal." At home he was rewarded with an Irish peerage, as Lord Clive, baron of Plassey, and speedily obtained

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a seat in the English house of commons. During his second residence in India, a period of less than five years, he had acquired a fortune amounting at the very lowest computation to 40,000*l*. a year. Several of the transactions in which he had engaged for the public advantage or his own seem repugnant to justice and good faith.

Those who explore his character with minute attention may moreover detect, not merely some great faults, but some little foibles. Thus, although he was plain and free from all ostentation in the field, he might be thought in society fonder of fine clothes than becomes a hero. But with every drawback or deduction which can fairly be made from his character, there will still remain very much to call forth praise and inspire admiration. He was indeed, as Chatham once called him, "a heaven-born general," who, with no military training, had shown consummate military genius. With nearly as little study of politics he displayed nearly as great abilities for government. Energy — which, perhaps, of all human qualities is the one most conducive to success — energy and fearlessness were peculiarly his own. Whatever gratitude Spain owes to her Cortes, or Portugal to her Albuquerque, this — and in its results more than this — is due from England to Clive.

THE ARRIVAL OF COUNT LALLY (1758 A.D.); FRENCH SUCCESSES

The Carnatic had meanwhile been the scene of important transactions. The declaration of war between France and England found the chiefs both at Pondicherry and Madras ill-prepared for any expedition of importance, and engaging in none but desultory and feeble hostilities. The English set fire to Wandewash; the French, in retaliation, to Conjeveram. The latter, under Auteuil, besieged Trichinopoli; the former, under Captain Calliaud, relieved the place. But the attention of both parties was intently fixed on a great armament which France had announced the intention of despatching to the Indian seas; comprising nearly twelve hundred regular troops, and commanded by Lieutenant-General Count de Lally. This officer had sprung from an Irish family which had followed James II into exile; his true name being Lally of Tully-dale, since Gallicised to Tollendal. A soldier from his earliest years, he had highly distinguished himself both at Dettingen and Fontenoy; in December 1745 he had warmly pressed the expedition against England from Dunkirk, and had been appointed one of its chiefs. Brave, active, and zealous, he was well qualified for military service; but a hasty temper and a caustic wit too frequently offended his inferiors, and marred his exertions.

The armament of Lally was delayed by various causes, both in its departure and on its voyage, and it was not till near the close of April, 1758, that it cast anchor before Pondicherry. Almost immediately on its arrival the French squadron, which was commanded by the count d'Aché, was engaged by the British, but the battle proved indecisive. In August another naval engagement, equally indecisive, ensued. The count d'Aché, satisfied with this result, and with having landed the troops, then sailed back to the Mauritius.

Lally, who had brought out a commission as governor-general of the French in India, displayed from the first hour of his landing the impetuosity of his temper. His instructions prescribed the siege of Fort St. David, and he sent forth a body of troops for that object on the very same night that he arrived. The troops hurriedly despatched, without provisions or guides, arrived before Fort St. David wayworn and hungry, and ill-disposed for action. In a few days, however, they were quickened by large reinforcements and by the

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presence of Lally. The works of the siege were now vigorously pushed forward; a part in them all being urged by compulsion on the reluctant and scrupulous natives.

"In India," says Orme,[f] "even the lower castes have their distinction, insomuch that the coolie, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his shoulder. Distinctions likewise prevail amongst the soldiery, for the man who rides will not cut the grass that is to feed his horse; nor at this time would the sepoy dig the trench which was to protect him from a cannon-ball." Such prejudices were now derided and set at nought by Lally. Thus he carried his immediate object, but thus also he forfeited forever all claim to the attachment and regard of the native population. According to Mill,[c] "the consternation created by such an act was greater than if he had set fire to the town, and butchered every man whom it contained."

At this juncture Fort St. David was the strongest that the East India Company possessed, and it held a sufficient garrison; but the commanding officer was far from able, and part of the men are represented as drunken and disorderly. So early as the 2nd of June terms of surrender, by no means honourable to themselves, were proposed by the besieged, and on the evening of the same day were accepted by the besiegers. Lally, in pursuance of the instructions which he had brought from France, immediately rased the fortifications to the ground, nor have they ever been rebuilt. Thus the name of Fort St. David — up to that time so conspicuous in the annals of the company — henceforth no longer appears.

Elated with this conquest, Lally pursued his warfare; he failed in an expedition against Tanjore, but succeeded in an expedition against Arcot. His aspiring views extended to the siege of Madras, and to the extinction of the British name in the Carnatic. For this great object he mustered every man at his disposal, even recalling Bussy from the Deccan, which had so long been the scene of that officer's active and able exertions. His want of money was no small obstacle in the way of his designs; to supply it he again offended the natives by plundering a pagoda of its wealth; and in a more praiseworthy spirit subscribed largely from his own private funds, exhorting his subordinates to follow his example. But he had already made nearly all of them his personal enemies by his haughty reproaches and his bitter jests. Thus, for example, when he found his council less alert than they might have been in providing the beasts of burden he required, he exclaimed that he could not do better than harness to his waggons the members of council themselves! All his letters at this period were filled with invectives of no common asperity.

In December, 1758, Lally appeared before Madras, at the head of twenty-seven hundred European and four thousand native troops. The English had already, in expectation of a siege, called in nearly all their garrisons and outposts, and could muster within their walls four thousand soldiers, of whom 1,800 were of European race. The French had no difficulty in making themselves masters of the Black Town; but this, from the large stores of arrack it contained, proved rather an obstacle to their further progress, as augmenting the insubordination of the men. On the other hand, the English steadily continued the defence of Fort St. George. When, after nearly two months' investment, a breach had been effected by Lally's batteries, his principal officers declared that it was not accessible, adding their opinion that a prolongation of the siege would be merely a wanton waste of human lives. The sepoys had deserted in great numbers, and some of the Europeans threatened to follow their example.

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ENGLISH NAVAL SUCCESSES

On the 16th of February 1759, Admiral Pocock and his squadron, which had sailed to Bombay several months before, returned with some fresh troops on board. The French, apprehensive of a combined attack upon them, commenced that very night their march to Arcot, leaving behind their sick and wounded, fifty-two pieces of artillery, and a hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder.

After this great reverse to the French arms, and the return of their chief to Pondicherry, hostilities languished for some time between the rival nations. But in the autumn there ensued another naval engagement, from another voyage of D'Aché to this coast. On the 2nd of September his squadron was encountered by Pocock's; the English having nine ships of the line and the French eleven, with a great superiority both in guns and men. The result, however, as on the two last occasions, was by no means decisive; the loss of men was nearly equal on both sides, and the English suffered the most damage in their ships. D'Aché immediately proceeded to disembark a few men and a little money at Pondicherry, and then, notwithstanding the vehement remonstrances of the governor and council, returned with his squadron to the islands.

At nearly the same period the English at Madras were cheered with the tidings that Eyre Coote had been promoted in England to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was coming over at the head of the king's 84th regiment and other reinforcements. Major Brereton, who meanwhile commanded in the field, appears to have been desirous of distinguishing himself before the arrival of his chief. Thus he attempted to reduce the fort of Wandewash by three divisions in a night-attack, but signally failed, with the loss of two hundred men. So indignant was Brereton himself at his repulse that, on seeing the crowd of English fugitives, he drew his sword and ran the first man he met through the body! Orme *f* adds: "Unfortunately the man was one of the bravest in the army, so that this example carried little influence."

Colonel Eyre Coote, with the last division of his force, landed at Madras on the 27th of October, 1759. Born in 1726, Coote was now in the prime of life, with none of those infirmities of body or mind which clouded over his later years, and obscured the lustre of his fame. One of his earliest measures on reaching the Carnatic was to retrieve the recent check to the British arms, by a more regular and skilful attack on Wandewash. In this enterprise Major Brereton did good service at the head of a division, and the fort was carried with little loss on the last day of November.

At this news Lally took the field. His dissensions with the civil service still continued, and his want of money to pay the troops had already produced more than one mutiny among them. He had, however, obtained as auxiliaries a body of Mahrattas, and he had under his command the sagacious and experienced Bussy, but, unhappily for himself, was jealous of his influence and distrustful of his counsels. Bussy strongly urged the imprudence of attempting to recover Wandewash, in the face of the English army. Lally, however, thought the honour of his arms at stake, and persevered in the design.

At nearly the commencement of the battle, January 22nd, 1760, the French horse, led on by Lally in person, was thrown into disorder by two English pieces of artillery, and was driven back to the encampment. Lally hastened to put himself at the head of the foot soldiers, and cheered them on to the charge. The battle now became general, and fiercely contested among the Europeans, but ere long began to declare in favour of Coote — a result hastened by the accidental explosion of a tumbril in the French ranks.

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Bussy, attempting to rally the fugitives, and fighting with undaunted spirit at the head of a handful of men that still adhered to him, was surrounded and made prisoner sword in hand. The day was now decided. The French, notwithstanding the efforts of Lally, gave way in all directions from the field. In the battle or pursuit their loss was estimated at nearly six hundred men; the English had one hundred and ninety killed and wounded. It deserves notice that the brunt of the conflict had fallen entirely on the Europeans of both armies, the native troops taking no part in it since the first cannonade.

The joy this day at Madras, says a contemporary, could only be compared to that at Calcutta on the news of Plassey. In truth, as the one victory gained Bengal for the British, so did the other the Carnatic. It is remarkable, however, in all these operations by or against Lally, how little weight the native powers threw into either scale. Arcot, Trincomalee, Devicota, Cuddalore, and several other places fell successively into Coote's hands.

END OF THE FRENCH POWER IN INDIA

The net was now closing round Pondicherry itself. Through the boundary hedge of thorns and prickly plants, which, as in many other Indian towns, encompassed its outer defences, the inhabitants could discern the hostile army encamped, and ready for the siege. The departure of D'Aché's squadron had left the English undisputed masters of the sea, and scarce any further supplies, either by land or water, could reach the beleaguered city. The French valour, the rainy season, and a most violent storm in the roads, interposed, however, considerable obstacles in the way of Coote. Nor was discord, which raged so fiercely within the walls of Pondicherry, altogether absent from the English camp. In consequence of orders from home, given in ignorance of the late events, a dispute as to the chief command arose between Colonel Coote and Colonel Monson. At one period Coote had already relinquished his post, and was preparing to embark for Bengal; but Monson receiving a severe wound, and becoming for a time disabled, the leadership happily reverted to the victor of Wandewash.

In the night between the 8th and 9th of December four English batteries opened against the walls of Pondicherry. The besieged were firm and resolute in their defence, fighting every foot of ground, and making more than one successful sally. Before the middle of January, there only remained sufficient provisions for two days. In this extremity Lally and his council sent deputies to capitulate, and failing to obtain more favourable terms, were compelled to surrender at discretion. Accordingly, on the 16th of January, 1761, the English marched into the place. Great civilities passed between the chiefs; Coote dining that day at Lally's table; but Lally and his French, still amounting to above two thousand, remained prisoners of war. "All," says Orme, "wore the face of famine, fatigue, or disease."

Almost immediately after the surrender a dispute arose among the victors for the possession of the place. Coote and his officers claimed it for the king; Pigot and the other civilians from Madras claimed it for the company. The quarrel grew high, until at length Pigot declared, that unless his pretensions were admitted he should refuse to supply funds for the subsistence of the troops. This threat barred all further argument. In return for the destruction of Fort St. David, and in pursuance of orders from home, Pigot took measures for rasing to the ground the fortifications of Pondicherry, nay, even all the buildings that stood within them.

Thus ended the French power in India. For although Pondicherry was

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restored to them by the peace of 1763, and although the stipulation in that peace against their raising fortresses or maintaining troops applies only to Bengal, yet even in the Carnatic they could never again attain their former influence nor recover their lost ground; and the extinction of their East India Company speedily ensued.

THE FATE OF LALLY

This result, however mortifying to French ambition, has been acknowledged by French writers as a just retribution on that company, and on the government of Louis XV, for their cruel oppression of almost every great commander who had served them faithfully in India. The closing scenes of La Bourdonnais and of Dupleix have been already described; there remains to tell the still more tragic fate of Lally. On arriving a prisoner in England and hearing of the charges brought against him in France, he wrote to Pitt, soliciting that he might return on his parole, and confront his accusers, and with this request the British minister complied. But no sooner was Lally at Paris than he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained fifteen months without even a preliminary examination. When at length his trial did come on before the parliament of Paris, it was pressed with the utmost acrimony, both by the crown and East India Company; and a legal quibble on the term "high treason" enabled his judges to sentence him to death. When informed of their decision, "Is this," he passionately cried, "the reward of forty-five years' service!" and snatching up a compass with which he had been drawing maps during his imprisonment, he struck it at his breast. His hand, however, was held back by some person near him; and that same afternoon, the 9th of May, 1766, he was dragged along to public execution in a dung-cart, with a gag between his lips, and beheaded on the Place de Grève. Such was the end of a veteran, who had fought and bled for his adopted country, seldom, indeed, with prudence and discretion, but always with courage and honour.

ENGLISH CONFLICTS WITH THE NATIVES

By the downfall of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and, above all, the French power in India, a wide and still-extending scope was left to that of England. The best chance of supremacy to the native states had lain in resisting Europeans by Europeans — in setting the skill and energy of one northern race against another. Single-handed they fell one by one — some dropping from their own rottenness, like fruit from a tree, others resisting fiercely, but without avail.

The British had struck down their European rivals at Pondicherry, at Chandarnagar, and at Chinsura. They had shot high above their titular liege-lords in the Deccan and Bengal. Of Bengal, indeed, they were in truth the masters, since Mir Jafar, as their tool and instrument, sat enthroned on the masnad of that province. On the other hand they had no longer a chief of genius and of energy to guide them. The principal authority since the departure of Clive had devolved on Henry Vansittart, a man of good intentions, but of moderate capacity. Thus the discipline of the victors was relaxed by their own successes. Thus their rapine ceased to be checked by a strong hand. Almost every Englishman in Bengal began to look upon speedy enrichment as his right, and upon the subservient natives as his prey.

Nor was it long ere a growing difference sprung up between them and

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their new nawab. So early as the autumn of 1760, Mir Jafar was found to engage in cabals against the company. He was surounded in his palace at the dead of night, compelled to resign the government, and then, at his own request, permitted to retire to Fort William, under the protection of the British flag; while his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, was in his stead proclaimed the viceroy of Bengal.

According to a compact made beforehand with the English, Mir Kasim forthwith yielded to them, as the price of their assistance, both an amount of treasure and an increase of territory. But his temper, which was bold and active, and by no means scrupulous, chafed at these sacrifices. Still less could he brook the oft-repeated acts of insolence and rapine of the *gomastahs* — the native factors or agents in the British pay. Ere long, therefore, he took some measures to shake off his subjection. He removed his court from Murshidabad to Monghyr, two hundred miles further from Calcutta. He increased and disciplined his troops. He imprisoned or disgraced every man of note in his dominions who had ever shown attachment to the English. He began to enforce against the private traders the revenue laws, from which they claimed exemption.

Angry disputes arose above all with the numerous English factory at Patna. Vansittart repaired to Monghyr in the hope to avert hostilities. He concluded a treaty, agreeing that his countrymen should pay the inland duties to the amount of 9 per cent.; and not refusing on that occasion a present to himself of seven lacs of rupees from Mir Kasim. But the council of Calcutta voted the terms dishonourable. As a last effort to avert hostilities, another deputation was sent from Calcutta to Monghyr. At its head was Amyatt, one of the principal members of the council. Not only, however, did these gentlemen wholly fail in their mission, but while passing the city of Murshidabad on their way back, they were inhumanly murdered by a body of Kasim's own troops. After such an outrage, peace was no longer possible. Thus, in the summer of 1763, war again commenced, the council of Calcutta resolving to depose Mir Kasim, and proclaiming the restoration of Mir Jafar.

MASSACRE OF PATNA

The British forces that took the field in this campaign amounted at first to scarcely more than six hundred Europeans, and twelve hundred sepoys. With these, however, their commander, Major Adams, obtained rapid and great successes. He drove the enemy from their strongholds, entered Murshidabad, gained a battle on the plains of Geriah, and, after a nine days' siege, reduced Monghyr. Nothing was left to Mir Kasim but Patna, and even Patna he perceived that he should not be able to maintain. Accordingly, he prepared for flight to the dominions of his powerful neighbour, Sujah-ud-Daula, the nawab of Oudh.

But first he wreaked his vengeance on the English by an act of savage barbarity, second in its horrors only to those of the Black Hole. His prisoners of the factory at Patna exceeded one hundred and fifty persons. They were comprised of many peaceful traders and one infant. All these the tyrant indiscriminately doomed to death — the massacre of Patna, as it has ever since been termed. For his purpose Mir Kasim found a congenial instrument in one Sombre, otherwise Sumroo, a Frenchman by birth, and a deserter from the European service. This wretch gave his victims a significant though trivial token of their coming doom by sending, in the first place, to seize and

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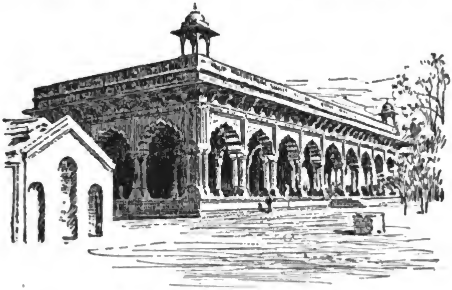
carry off all their knives and forks, which might have been weapons in their hands.

Next day, the 5th of October, in the evening, was the time of slaughter. Then the prison-house was surrounded by Sumroo and his band. Then the butchery of the prisoners was begun. It is said that they made all the resistance in their power, by throwing bottles and stones at their murderers. But of course, in vain. Some were cut to pieces with sabres, others shot down with musketry, and then barbarously mutilated. In both cases, the mangled limbs were flung into two wells, which were afterwards filled up with stones. Of the whole number of intended victims, only one was spared; a surgeon known to the nawab, and William Fullarton by name.

The reduction of Patna by the English, which speedily followed the atrocious act within its walls, completed their conquest of Bengal. Under their auspices, Mir Jafar was once more proclaimed as nawab throughout the



HALL OF PUBLIC AUDIENCE, DELHI

province. But, meanwhile, the thrusting forth of Mir Kasim — the dispossession by an European force of one of the native princes — seemed to the latter an act far more atrocious than the massacre of Patna. It gained favour for the exile at the court of Oudh, and the court of Oudh was then among the most powerful in India. Sujah-ud-Daula, besides the resources of his own vast province, could wield at his pleasure the authority, slender though it might be, that yet adhered to the imperial name. The titular emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, had taken refuge with him, and had named him his vizir. Shah Alam, in real truth, was an exile and a wanderer, his very capital, Delhi, being held against him by Mahratta invaders, and half laid in ruins by their fury; but amidst every privation, in the eyes of the people he was still the great Mughal.

BATTLE OF BAXAR (1764 A.D.)

Thus combining, the three princes advanced at the head of an army well provided with artillery, and which numbered fifty thousand men. On the other side, the English with their utmost exertions could bring into the field no more than eight thousand sepoys and twelve hundred Europeans. Their commander, Major Adams, having died, his place was filled by Major, after-

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wards Sir Hector, Munro. But such in their ranks was the state of insubordination, nay, even mutiny, that the new chief found it necessary to make a most severe example of the ringleaders. He began by directing four-and-twenty native soldiers to be blown from the mouth of cannon. On this occasion, a touching incident occurred. When the orders were first given to tie four of these men to the guns from which they were to be blown, four others of the soldiers stepped forward and demanded the priority of suffering as a right, they said, which belonged to men who had always been first in the post of danger; and the claim thus preferred was allowed.

A captain Williams who was an eye-witness of the scene observes, as quoted by Malcolm:[e] "I belonged on this occasion to a detachment of marines. They were hardened fellows, and some of them had been of the execution party that shot Admiral Byng; yet they could not refrain from tears at the fate and conduct of these gallant grenadier sepoys."

Having thus in some measure, as he hoped, awed the disaffected, Munro led his troops to Baxar, a position above Patna, more than one hundred miles higher up the Ganges. There, in October, 1764, he was attacked by the army of Oudh. The battle was fierce, but ended in a brilliant victory to the English; the enemy leaving one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon and four thousand dead upon the field.

On the day after the battle, Shah Alam, having with some followers made his escape from the army of his own vizir, drew near to the English camp. So long as he had been dependent on the darbar of Oudh, the English had shown little willingness to acknowledge his authority, but no sooner did he join their ranks and appear a ready instrument in their hands, than he became to them at once the rightful sovereign of Hindustan. They concluded a treaty with him, he undertaking to yield them certain districts, and they to put him in possession of Allahabad and the other states of the nawab of Oudh.

The battle of Baxar, though so great a victory, did not decide the war. Major Munro failed in two attempts to storm the hill-fort of Chunar on the Ganges — a fort in which all the treasures of Kasim were thought to be contained; and Sujah-ud-Daula obtained the aid of Holkar, a powerful Mahratta chief. Nevertheless he sent to sue for peace. But Munro refused all terms unless both Kasim and Sumroo were first given up to punishment.

Sujah-ud-Daula refused to surrender the two exiles, but proposed an expedient altogether worthy of an Asiatic prince, that he would give secret orders for the assassination of Sumroo, in the presence of any person whom the English general might send to witness the deed. That expedient being of course rejected, the war was resumed. A new tide of successes poured in upon the English. Early in 1765 they reduced the fortress of Chunar, scattered far and wide the force of the enemy, and entered in triumph the great city of Allahabad.

Through all these last years of strife it is gratifying to observe not merely the valour but also the mercy and forbearance of the English, owned, at least in private, by their enemies. The skill of Oriental scholars has laid open to us the records of a Mussulman historian, Gholam Hossein,[i] of that period — the eye-witness, in some part, of the scenes which he describes: "It must be acknowledged," says he, "to the honour of those strangers, that as their conduct in war and in battle is worthy of admiration, so, on the other hand, nothing is more modest and more becoming than their behaviour to an enemy. Whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success and victory, these people seem to act entirely according to the rules observed by our ancient chiefs and heroes." But at the same time, and, no doubt, with equal truth, this

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historian cannot forbear lamenting the grievous suffering and misrule endured by the helpless Bengals after the departure of Lord Clive. "Oh God!" thus in another passage citing the Koran, he concludes: "Oh God! come to the assistance of thy afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they bear!"

DISCORDS AND INTRIGUES IN ENGLAND

Meanwhile the transactions in India which followed the departure of Clive had produced no slight amount of discord and cabals in England. These were heightened by the want of any strong and well-framed authority in either country for Eastern affairs. In India, whether at Calcutta, at Madras, or at Bombay, the governor was entitled to no more than one voice in the council, with the advantage, should the numbers be found equal, of a second, or the casting vote. Moreover, the three presidencies being as yet upon an equal footing and with no central seat of power, were constant rivals, each envious of the other's successes, each believing that undue favour was accorded to the rest. In England, the whole body of twenty-four directors was renewed by annual election. On such occasions, and indeed on many others, the India House became the scene of the most violent debates, and the keenest party struggles. There were parties formed on every sub-division of selfish interests; the party of Bombay, the party of Madras, the party of Bengal, the party of Sulivan, the party of Lord Clive. Greater than all these, perhaps, in point of numbers, was the party anxious only for the high rate and the punctual payment of their dividends. Nor were these cabals altogether unconnected with the greater parties in the state. Sulivan, the paramount director until the appearance of Clive, was supported by Lord Bute. Clive at that time was a follower of Pitt. Thus no one incentive to violence and rancour was wanting from these contests at the India House.

At that time every share of 500*l*. conferred a vote, and the manufactory of fictitious votes was carried on to a gigantic scale. Clive, according to his own account, spent in this manner no less a sum than 100,000*l*. It was not until 1765 that this evil practice was arrested by an act of parliament, which required that each proprietor, before he voted, should take an oath that the stock entered in his name was really and in truth his own, and had been so for the last twelve months.

Sulivan looked mainly to commerce, and Clive mainly to empire. At last, an open breach ensued between them. In 1763 Clive made a desperately fought attempt to oust Sulivan, and Sulivan's friends, from the direction. He failed; and the new directors revenged themselves by confiscating, contrary to law, the jagir or domain which had been bestowed upon him by Mir Jafar. It became necessary for Clive to seek relief by a bill in the court of Chancery.

Such was the petty warfare raging at the India House, when ship after ship from Bengal brought news of the growing disorganisation of the British power, of misrule and plunder by its servants, of renewed hostilities with the native princes. It began to be felt on all sides that the crisis called for Clive — that he alone could order the confusion and allay the storm. So strong was this feeling in his favour as to carry everything before it. At a meeting of the proprietors, held early in the spring of 1764, they proposed to the directors the immediate restitution of the disputed jagir, and the appointment of Lord Clive as both governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal.

The directors found themselves, though most unwillingly, compelled to

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appoint Lord Clive to both the offices desired. It was now within a month of the annual elections. Not only the chairman, but also the deputy-chairman, was chosen from among Clive's friends. The new board of directors, moreover, conferred upon him extraordinary powers. Aided by a committee of persons of his own naming, he was made, unlike the other governors, independent of his council. Clive embarked with the full purpose to use his powers most firmly — to curb and to crush at once the abuses which prevailed.

CLIVE'S LAST ADMINISTRATION

In May, 1765, after a long protracted passage, Clive landed at Calcutta. There he found another, a recent and glaring instance of the abuses which he came to quell. Mir Jafar had lately died, and a question had arisen respecting his inheritance. One party at his court declared for his base-born son, and another for his legitimate but infant grandson. Both parties appealed to the council at Calcutta, but the council viewed it only as a matter of bargain and sale. They found it easier to make terms with the illegitimate pretender. He was proclaimed nawab of the province, while they received from him, and divided among themselves, the sum of 140,000*l*. Such a course was directly in the teeth of recent orders from home, binding the servants of the company for the future to accept no presents from the native princes.

No time was lost by Lord Clive in assembling the council, showing them the full powers of his committee, and announcing his peremptory will. To Sujah-ud-Daula, who continued to bear the rank and title of vizir, he gave back the greater part of Oudh. He reserved only two districts of Korah and Allahabad as an imperial domain for Shah Alam, to whom it was also agreed that the company should make from their revenues an annual payment of twenty-six lacs of rupees. On the other hand, he obtained from the fallen emperor a deed, conferring on the English company the sole right of administration throughout the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. In this transaction, as in almost every other in India during the same period, it is striking how wide was the interval between nominal authority and effective power. Here we find the heir of Aurangzeb treated with as though still supreme, as though able at his pleasure to bestow upon the Europeans, or to withhold from them, the exercise of sovereignty in three great provinces. Yet at this very time, so low had his fortunes fallen, as to leave him destitute of even the common trappings or appurtenances of high state. During the solemn ceremony of the investiture, it was an English dining-table, covered over, that formed the imperial throne! Such was the prince, of whom the English in India continued to call themselves the vassals, whose coin they struck at their mint, whose titles they bore upon their public seal.

In this transaction there was no objection raised by the young nawab. With him, as with most Asiatic despots, the contingent future was but an empty name; and his desire to obtain a fixed and regular income, no longer to be embezzled or diverted by his ministers, overbalanced every other consideration in his feeble mind. As Lord Clive writes to Mr. Verelst: "He received the proposal of having a sum of money for himself and his household at his will with infinite pleasure, and the only reflection he made upon leaving me was: 'Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing girls as I please!'"

Clive now exacted from the civil servants of the company a written covenant, pledging them to accept no future presents from the native princes. Many murmured, some resigned, but no one dared to disobey. Another

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measure which Clive considered most essential, and found most difficult, but which he succeeded in enforcing, was to debar the men in high places from private trade, granting them, as some compensation, a share in the salt monopoly. With respect to the military officers, Clive announced his intention to deprive them of the large dole or additional allowance, which, under the name of *double batta*, had been granted them by Mir Jafar after the battle of Plassey, but which, as Clive had always explained to them, could not, in all probability, be continued by the company. In fact, the court of directors had issued the most positive orders that the double batta should be discontinued.

In abolishing their double batta Clive had to encounter not remonstrances merely, nor dissatisfaction, but even mutiny. Nearly two hundred officers, combining together, bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and undertook to fling up their commissions on one and the same day. Thus, while indulgent to the younger and less experienced officers, and willing to receive their tokens of contrition, he ordered the ringleaders into arrest, and sent them down the Ganges for trial at Calcutta. He did not shrink even from the bold measure of cashiering his second in command.

By such firmness was averted the shame of a successful mutiny — a shame which, in Clive's own strong language, all the waters of the Ganges could never wash away.

All this time the conduct of Clive was giving a lofty example of disregard to lucre. He did not spare his own personal resources, and was able some years afterwards to boast in the house of commons that this, his second Indian command, had left him poorer than it found him. His enemies might indeed observe that the virtue of disinterestedness is not so hard to practise when a fortune of forty thousand pounds a year has been already gained. Yet the fact remains that when presents from one of the native princes laid the foundations of his wealth the practice of receiving them was both usual and allowed, and that when it ceased to be at least the latter he stood firm against all temptation. In vain did the rajah of Benares press upon him two diamonds of large size. In vain did the nawab vizir produce a rich casket of jewels and offer a large sum of money. "Lord Clive," thus wrote from India an officer by no means his friend, "might then have added at least half a million to his fortune; and we may further note that the receipt of such gifts might have probably remained a secret since even their refusal was not known until after his decease."

On the whole it may be said that his second command was not less important for reform than his first had been for conquest. By this the foundations at least of good government were securely laid. And the results might have been far greater still could Clive have remained longer at his post. But the burning climate, combined with ceaseless anxiety and toil, had grievously impaired his health. In December, 1766, we find him during several weeks disabled from all writing, and at the close of the ensuing month he found it necessary to embark for England. He left the government to a man of no more than average ability — Verelst; yet under him there still continued the impulse given by a stronger hand.

THE SUCCESSES OF HYDER ALI

At this period the main point of interest changes from the presidency of Bengal to the presidency of Madras. There the English were becoming involved in another war. There they had now, for the first time, to encounter

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the most skilful and daring of all the enemies against whom they ever fought in India — Hyder Ali. He was of humble origin, the grandchild of a wandering *fakir* or Mohammedan monk. Most versatile in his talents, Hyder was no less adventurous in his career; by turns a private man devoted to sports of the chase, a captain of freebooters, a partisan chief, a rebel against the rajah of Mysore, and commander-in-chief of the Mysorean army. Of this last position he availed himself to dethrone and supplant his master. Indeed, during his whole course, we seldom find him either restrained by scruples or bound by promises.

One single instance of the kind will suffice to paint his character. A Brahman, Khonde Row by name, at one time his close confederate, but afterwards his enemy, having taken the field against him, was reduced to the point of surrender. The rajah and the ladies of the palace sent a joint message to Hyder, pleading for their friend the Brahman, and inquiring what terms he might expect. "I will not only spare his life," said Hyder, "but I will cherish him like a parroquet." Nevertheless, no sooner was the Brahman in his hands than he was treated with the utmost rigour, and imprisoned for the remainder of his life in an iron cage. When Hyder was thereupon gently reminded of his promise, he answered, that he had literally kept his word, referring in proof to the cage in which the captive was confined, and to the rice and milk allotted for his daily food!

State Elephant at Benares

Pursuing his ambitious schemes, Hyder Ali became not merely the successor of the rajah, but the founder of the kingdom of Mysore. From his palace at Seringapatam, as from a centre, a new energy was infused through the whole of southern India. By various wars and by the dispossession of several smaller princes, he extended his frontiers to the northward, nearly to the river Kistna. His posts on the coast of Malabar, Mangalore especially, gave him the means of founding a marine; and he applied himself with assiduous skill to train and discipline his troops according to the European models. The English at Madras were roused by his ambition, without as yet fully appreciating his genius. We find them at the beginning of 1767 engaged, with little care or forethought, in a confederacy against him with the nizam and the Mahrattas.

Formidable as that confederacy might seem, it was speedily dissipated by the arts of Hyder. At the very outset, a well-timed subsidy bought off the Mahrattas. The nizam showed no better faith; he was only more tardy in his treason. He took the field in concert with a body of English commanded by Colonel Joseph Smith, but soon began to show symptoms of defection, and

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at last drew off his troops to join the army of Hyder. A battle ensued near Trincomalee, in September, 1767. Colonel Smith had under him no more than fifteen hundred Europeans and nine thousand sepoys; while the forces combined on the other side were estimated, probably with much exaggeration, at seventy thousand men. Nevertheless, victory, as usual, declared for the English cause.

On the other hand, the troops of Hyder Ali, both then and afterwards, displayed not merely the effects of a braver chief and of a better discipline, but also the energies of a robuster race. The people within the Ghats or hill-passes of southern India, though far below the mountain races of Afghanistan, are yet far superior to the Hindus of the plains. In these, the delicacy of limbs and the softness of muscles must be reckoned among the foremost causes of their failure on a battle-field. In these, the utter want of strength in their bodily organisation is only, on home occasions and for some purposes, redeemed by its suppleness. It has been computed that two English sawyers can perform in one day the work of thirty-two Indians. Yet, as the same authority assures us, see the same men as tumblers, and there are none so extraordinary in the world. Or employ them as messengers, and they will go fifty miles a day for twenty or thirty days without intermission.

The victory at Trincomalee produced as its speedy consequence a treaty of peace with the nizam. Hyder was left alone; but even thus proved fully a match for the English both of Madras and of Bombay. The latter had fitted out a naval armament which, in the course of the winter, reduced his seaport of Mangalore and destroyed his rising fleet. Against these new enemies Hyder, like some wild beast at bay, made a sudden bound. Leaving to the eastward a force sufficient to employ and delude Colonel Joseph Smith, he silently descended the western Ghats, and in May, 1768, at the very time when least expected, appeared before the gates of Mangalore. The English garrison, taken by surprise, hastily re-embarked in boats, relinquishing all their artillery and stores, and leaving also more than two hundred sick and wounded to the mercy of their crafty foe.

Returning to the eastward, Hyder Ali continued to wage the war against Colonel Smith; inferior on any field of battle, but prevailing in wiles and stratagems, in early intelligence, and in rapid marches, he could not be prevented from laying waste the southern plains of the Carnatic, as the territory of one of the staunchest allies of England, Muhammed Ali, the nawab of Arcot.

At length, in the spring of 1769, Hyder Ali became desirous of peace, and resolved to extort it on favourable terms. First, by a dexterous feint he drew off the British forces a hundred and forty miles to the southward of Madras. Then suddenly, at the head of five thousand horsemen, Hyder himself appeared at St. Thomas' Mount, within ten miles of that city. The terrified members of the council were little inclined to dispute whatever might be asked by an enemy so near at hand. Happily his terms were not high. A treaty was signed, providing that a mutual restoration of conquests should take place, and that the contracting parties should agree to assist each other in all defensive wars.

In the career of Hyder Ali, this was by no means the first, nor yet the last occasion, on which he showed himself sincerely desirous of alliance with the English. He did not conceal the fact that in order to maintain his power and secure himself he must lean either on them or on the Mahrattas. He would have preferred the first; it was the vacillation and weakness of the council at Madras that drove him to the latter. Finding his overtures of friendship slighted he took his part, as always, decidedly and boldly. He became, even

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in the midst of peace, a known and ardent enemy of the English race and name; ever watchful for any opening to assail them; ever ready to league himself against them with the Mahratta chiefs at Poona, or the French governors at Pondicherry.

It was no common enemy whom the Madras traders thus neglected or defied. The vigorous administration of Hyder at his court of Seringapatam, has been closely viewed and well described by more than one European in his service. Like the other Indian princes, he was addicted to licentious pleasure. Unlike them, he was never enslaved by it. Many of his leisure hours were passed in the company of dancing girls. To intoxication likewise he was often prone; and one instance is recorded how in that state he was seen by his whole court to seize and most severely cane his grown-up son, Tipu. It may be added that on common occasions his toilet took up a considerable portion of his time. But no sooner did any peril threaten or any object of ambition rise in view than all such habits of indulgence were promptly cast aside, and Hyder passed whole days and nights untired in his council-chambers, or on horseback with his cavalry. At all times he was most easy of access; freely receiving all those who desired to see him, except only the fakirs; a significant token of the degree of esteem in which he held his grandfather's profession. From all others he quickly drew whatever information he desired; and in dealing with them manifested the keenest insight of their various characters. So far had his education been neglected that he could neither read nor write. He made no later attempt at scholarship, but relied upon the powers of a most retentive memory, and upon a shrewdness hard to be deceived. He might be careless of his people's welfare for their sake, but he anxiously sought it for his own; he knew that to make them prosperous would, beyond all other causes, make him powerful; and thus through the wide extent of the kingdom that he founded, he never failed to guard them from all vague depredation or inferior tyranny.

By such means did he who had first set forth as a freebooter, with one or two score of followers, leave behind him at his peaceful end a well-appointed army of a hundred thousand soldiers, and a treasure of three million sterling. Yet, prosperous as he seemed, Hyder was not happy. It is recorded of one of his attendants, that after watching for some time his short and uneasy slumbers he ventured at his waking to inquire of his dreams. "Believe me, my friend," said Hyder, "my dominion, envied though it may be, is in truth far less desirable than the state of the yogis (the religious mendicants); awake, they see no conspirators; asleep, they dream of no assassins!"

EVIL DAYS FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

In this war with Hyder, the English had lost no great amount of reputation, and of territory they had lost none at all. But as regards their wealth and their resources, they had suffered severely. Supplies, both of men and of money had been required from Bengal to assist the government at Madras; and both had been freely given. In consequence of such a drain, there could not be made the usual investments in goods, nor yet the usual remittances to England. Thus at the very time when the proprietors of the East India Company had begun to wish each other joy on the great reforms effected by Lord Clive, and looked forward to a further increase of their half-yearly dividend, they were told to prepare for its reduction. A panic ensued. Within a few days, in the spring of 1769, India stock fell more than sixty per cent.

At that period, indeed, as for some years before it, nothing could be more

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unsteady than the wishes, or more precarious than the prospects, of the great company. Party spirit continued to rage at their elections; the contests between the followers of Sulivan and the followers of Clive being renewed every year with varying success. Each party, when defeated, heaped the grossest imputations on the other, as on the lowest and basest of mankind; and in that respect the public were inclined to give an equal belief to both. In such a state of things the very existence of the company seemed to hang upon the breath of any great man in parliament.

When, in July, 1766, Pitt became prime minister, with the title of Chatham, he entered office with the fixed determination to transfer the government of Great Britain's eastern empire in the hands of the central authorities; but his purpose was baffled, not through any efforts of the East India Company, but through his own mysterious illness; and the men succeeding him in power, though unable to pursue his policy, were reduced merely to stave off the main question or to patch up temporary terms. But they, for their own part, were well satisfied, since the company undertook, meanwhile, to pay to the revenue 400,000*l*. each year. As a further concession, arising from the financial embarrassments of 1769, it was agreed by the directors that commissioners of inquiry, under the name of supervisors, should be sent to India with full powers over the other servants of the company. Three gentlemen of old standing and long service — Vansittart, Scrafton, and Colonel Forde — were selected for this important trust. Accordingly they embarked on their mission towards the close of the same year. But after leaving the Cape of Good Hope the ship in which they sailed, the *Aurora* frigate, was never heard of again: it is supposed to have foundered at sea.

THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1770

It is not improbable that this system of makeshifts might have still continued, and the necessity of any more decisive measures been longer postponed. But in the ensuing year, 1770, a new and more grievous calamity overspread Bengal. The usual rains having failed, there was no water in the tanks, and the rivers shrank into shallows. The rice-fields continued parched and dry, and could not yield their expected produce, while the conflagration of several large granaries completed the work of misery. A terrible famine ensued; a famine such as Europe, during the last few ages, has never known even in its rudest districts, or behind beleaguered walls. Throughout the wide valley of the Ganges, the country places were deserted, and the cities, where alone there might be hope of food, became thronged with starving multitudes, from whom piteous cries were heard.

The common misery united, for the first and only time, the men of the most opposite castes — from the Brahman of lofty lineage down to the humblest of the Niaidees. Even the zenana now gave forth its guarded inmates, who no longer veiled with jealous care, but prostrate and wailing on the ground, implored from the passers-by, if not for themselves, at least for their little children, a handful — only a handful — of rice. Thousands and tens of thousands of human beings died daily in the streets, where the vultures swooped down and the dogs and jackals flocked in quest of their ghastly prey.

In Calcutta alone there were daily employed one hundred men, on the company's account, to pile the dead bodies upon sledges and cars, and throw them into the Ganges. The broad river was itself so far tainted that its fish ceased to be wholesome food. Hogs, ducks and geese, which had likewise

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taken part in devouring the carcases, could no longer themselves be safely eaten; and thus, as the famine grew greater, the means of subsistence, even to the Europeans, grew less. It was computed, not in any rhetorical flight, not amidst the horror of the sufferings described, but in a grave despatch written two years afterwards, though even then perhaps with some exaggeration, that through Bengal this dreadful famine had destroyed in many places one-half, and, on the whole, above one-third, of the inhabitants.

These evil tidings from India did not come alone. Conjoined with them were rumours and charges that the distress had been greatly aggravated by the conduct of the company's servants; that at the very outset of the famine they had engrossed all the rice of the country, and that afterwards they slowly doled it out at tenfold the price they had paid. If in truth there were any such cases, there can have been but few. They were in direct contravention of the directors' orders, and of Lord Clive's rules.

Such charges, however, could not fail to make some impression on both the ministry and parliament of England. Even allowing them to be unfounded, there was yet an ample growth of abuses, rank and stubborn, to hew down in the company's affairs. It was felt on all sides that there was more need than ever of investigation — more need and now more leisure also. The government of Lord North had by this time attained some degree of stability, and the nation some degree of repose.

PARLIAMENT INVESTIGATES THE COMPANY; THE REGULATING ACT (1772 A.D.)

Accordingly, in April, 1772, and on the motion of General Burgoyne, there was appointed, by means of ballot, a committee of inquiry, bearing the title of "select," though consisting of no less than thirty-one members. Within six weeks that committee prepared and presented two reports; but the approaching close of the session precluded any further step at that time.

In the spring of 1773 Lord North proposed and carried through against all gainsayers his own measure of reform. This, after it had passed, was commonly called the Regulating Act. In the first place, he granted to the company a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for four years, and relieved them from the annual payment to the state of 400,000*l.* On the other hand, the company was restrained from making any greater dividend than 6 per cent. until the loan should be repaid, or any greater dividend than 8 per cent. until the public should have some participation in the profits. It was then enacted, that instead of annual elections of the whole number of directors at the India House, six should go out of office each year, and none keep their seats longer than four years. At the same time, the qualification for a vote in each proprietor was raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, with more votes in proportion, up to four, to each proprietor of a larger sum.

In India, the act provided that the mayor's court of Calcutta should be restricted in its jurisdiction to petty cases of trade, and that in its place should be constituted a supreme court, to consist of a chief justice, and three puisne judges, appointed by the crown. The governor of Bengal was henceforth to have authority over the other presidencies, as governor-general of India, but was himself to be controlled by his council. In that council, as previously, he was entitled only to a single or, in case of equality, a casting vote. It was proposed that these nominations should be made by parliament, and continue for five years; after which they should revert to the directors, but subject to the approbation of the crown. In the progress

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therefore of the bill through the commons, the members of the new council were expressly named, so as to become a part of the enactment.

Warren Hastings, who a year before had assumed the administration of Bengal, was appointed the first governor-general. Another of the new council, Richard Barwell, was already at his post; the new members to be sent from England were General Clavering, the Hon. Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis.

Another clause of Lord North's bill remitted the drawback on the East India Company's teas — a step little regarded at its outset, but momentous in its consequences. The directors at the time were but little gratified with this boon or any other when compared with the curtailment of their previous powers. They declared in a petition to the house that they would rather forego the loan which they had solicited than endure the conditions which the minister imposed. But their late misgovernment had been such as to render, in parliament at least, their adherents few and their lamentations disregarded.

CENSURE AND SUICIDE OF CLIVE

In the course of these proceedings, both before the committees and within the house, many a shaft was let fly at Lord Clive. Besides the public wrongs of which he stood accused there was also, it may be feared, a feeling of personal envy at work against him. His vast wealth became a more striking mark for calumny when contrasted with the financial embarrassments of the directors in whose service he had gained it. And his profusion, as ever happens, offended far more persons than it pleased.

Under such circumstances the select committee, over which Burgoyne presided, made Clive their more especial object of attack. They drew forth into the light of day several transactions certainly not well formed to bear it, as the forgery of Admiral Watson's signature, and the fraud practised on Omichund. But at the same time they could not shut out the lustre of the great deeds he had performed. Clive himself was unsparingly questioned, and treated with slight regard. As he complains in one of his speeches: "I, their humble servant, the baron of Plassey, have been examined by the Select Committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this house!" And he adds, with perfect truth: "I am sure, Sir, if I had any sore places about me they would have been found: they have probed me to the bottom; no lenient plasters have been applied to heal; no, Sir, they were all of the blister kind, prepared with Spanish flies, and other provocatives!"

On this and some other occasions Clive spoke in his own defence in a frank and fearless spirit with great energy of language, and it would seem with great effect upon the house. It was in May, 1773, that the charges against him, till then vague and undefined, were brought forward as a vote of censure by Burgoyne. In the result, the first resolutions of Burgoyne, alleging certain matters of fact that could scarcely be denied, were carried. But the next, which charged Lord Clive by name with having abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, did not pass. At length, as the dawn was slowly breaking on the last of these long and stormy, and in many parts confused, debates, the house agreed almost unanimously to some words which Wedderburn moved: "That Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

Such a vote might perhaps be deemed almost a verdict of acquittal. Certainly, at least, it showed a wise reluctance to condemn. It closed the whole

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case, and Clive had no further parliamentary attack to fear. But the previous taunts and injuries appear to have sunk deep into his haughty mind. Nor was a life of ease, however splendid, congenial to his active temper. In his sumptuous halls of Claremont, or beneath the stately cedars of his park, he was far less really happy than amidst his former toils and cares, on the tented plains of the Carnatic or in the council-chambers of Bengal. Moreover, through the climate of the tropics, his health was most grievously impaired. He had to undergo sharp and oft-recurring spasms of pain, for which opium only could afford him its treacherous and transitory aid. At length, on November 22nd, 1774, at his house in Berkeley Square, this great man, for such he surely was, fell by his own hand. He was not yet fifty years of age; and the contest in North America was just then beginning to hold forth to him a new career of active exertion — a new chaplet of honourable fame.

To the last, however, he appears to have retained his serene demeanour, and the stern dominion of his will. It so chanced, that a young lady, an attached friend of his family, was then upon a visit at his house in Berkeley Square, and sat, writing a letter, in one of its apartments. Seeing Lord Clive walk through, she called to him to come and mend her pen. Lord Clive obeyed her summons, and taking out his penknife fulfilled her request; after which, passing on to another chamber, he turned the same knife against himself.[b]

LORD MACAULAY'S ESTIMATE OF CLIVE

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices; and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults; but his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connection with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity. From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the east. Till he appeared his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences the long series of oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghazni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old when he proved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one-half of a Roman legion.

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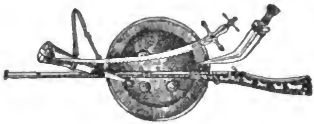
From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the company and of its servants has been taken away; if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty; if to that gang of public robbers, which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit; if we have seen such men as Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindus will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.[h]



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CHAPTER III

WARREN HASTINGS, CORNWALLIS, AND THE WELLESLEYS

[1772–1806 A.D.]

WARREN HASTINGS, the first governor-general of India, was born in 1732. He was sprung from a branch, or rather, as they alleged, the main stem, of the great old house of Hastings, from which in another line the earls of Huntingdon descend. But at the time of Warren's birth his branch was fast decaying; and Daylesford, its ancient seat in Worcestershire, was already sold. It was only through the kindness of a kinsman that he obtained his education at Westminster school; and when that relative died, he was shipped off at seventeen as a writer to Bengal. He was noticed by Lord Clive as a man of promise. Under Mr. Vansittart[1] he had much more opportunity to shine. Thus, through the various gradations of the civil service at that time, he sped with credit and success. Having married, but become a widower, he returned to England in 1765. But four years afterwards he was again sent forth as second in the council of Madras; and early in 1772 he proceeded to a far higher, and, as it proved, more lasting post, as first in the council of Bengal.

Spare in form and shrunk in features, with a mild voice and with gentle manners, Warren Hastings might seem to a casual observer as wanting in manly firmness. It is remarkable that, on his appointment as governor of Bengal, Lord Clive deemed it right to warn him against this, as he imagined, the weak point of his character. Never was an error more complete.

It may be said of Hastings, that tenacity of purpose was not merely the principal feature of his character, but the key and mainspring of the rest. It made him, on the one hand, consistent and courageous. On the other hand, it gave him a certain hardness and insensibility of heart; it made him,

[[1] The period of Vansittart's government has been truly described as the most revolting page in our Indian history.[b]]

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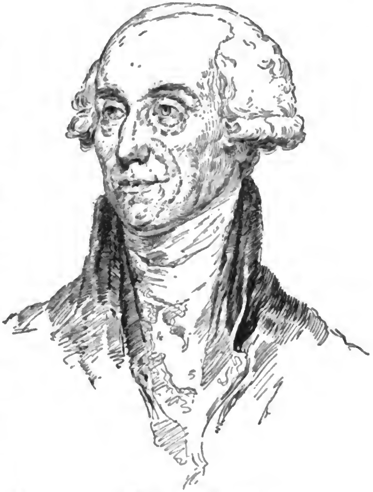
on several great occasions in his long career, callous to the sufferings which his policy inflicted, and careless of the means by which his policy might be pursued. He was firm, it may be added, in all his friendships and attachments, but few men have ever been more rancorous and unforgiving.

It was one among the merits of Hastings, that he had made himself thoroughly acquainted, not only with the literature, but also with the temper and feelings of the nations which he came to rule. Their languages he spoke with ease and fluency; their prejudices, whether of religion or of race, he was ever, unless impelled by some state necessity, studious not to wound. By such means he was at all times, whether in his triumphs or in his hours of danger and distress, a favourite with the native tribes of Hindustan—a favourite, moreover, at a period when in most cases they had little or no sympathy for the island-strangers.


WARREN HASTINGS
(1732-1818)

When in the year 1772 Hastings first assumed the administration of Bengal, he found the whole country weighed down by the effects of the recent famine and depopulation. The greatest praise perhaps of his able rule is the simple fact that scarce any trace of these effects appears in the succeeding years. He enforced a new system in the land revenue founded on leases for five years; a system indeed far from faultless, yet the best, probably, which at that period could be framed. Under that system nearly the same amount of income was collected from the far diminished numbers with less, it would seem, of pressure than before. For the accumulating debt and financial embarrassment of the company more than the common resources seemed to be required. These Hastings strove hard to supply, not always, as will presently be shown, by the most creditable means. At the same time, to the great and manifest advantage of the natives, he put an end to the oppressive tax or duty levied upon marriages. As one of the results of his system of revenue-collection, he established, with signal good effect, district courts for the administration of justice, and district officers to maintain the public peace. Within a few months the provinces were in a great measure cleared of the *dacoits* or gangs of thieves, and other prowling marauders. These and such like measures of reform, or of public policy, were carried through by Hastings amidst numerous objections in his council and incessant calls upon his time.

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Among the earliest acts of Hastings in Bengal was one for which, right or wrong, he was in no degree responsible. It arose from the peremptory and positive commands of the directors at home to arrest and try Muhammed Reza Khan, who had now for seven years held his great office at Murshidabad, as naib diwan, or chief minister of the finances. The reports against him of embezzlement and fraud in his high functions appear to have arisen mainly through the intrigues of Nandkumar or Nuncomar his disappointed rival. Muhammed Reza Khan was seized in his bed at midnight by a battalion of sepoys. The same measure was extended to his confederate, Shitab Roy, at that time governor of Behar; a chief who, in the recent wars, had fought with signal bravery upon the English side.

The two prisoners were carried to Calcutta, where after many months of postponement and delay they were brought to trial before a committee over which Hastings himself presided. Nandkumar, with a vengeful rancour, such as no time could soften, no calamities subdue, appeared as the accuser of his ancient rival. But no guilt could be proved to call for any further punishment, nor even to justify the harshness already shown. Both prisoners, therefore, were acquitted and set free; Shitab Roy, moreover, being sent back to hold office in Behar, clothed in a robe of state and mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, as marks of honour and respect.

Nandkumar throve as little in his hopes of ambition as in his projects of revenge. Hastings had meanwhile been effecting a complete change in the former system. It was not merely that he arrested the minister; he abolished the office. He put an end to the scheme of double government at Murshidabad and at Calcutta, transferring to the latter city and to the servants of the company the entire machinery of state affairs. An empty pageant only was left at the former capital, still decked with the name and honours of nawab. That nawab, the heir of Mir Jafar, was now an infant. On that plea, Hastings took occasion to reduce the yearly allowance granted by the company from 320,000*l.* to half that sum. To alleviate in some degree the disappointment that was gnawing at the heart of Nandkumar, his son Rajah Goordas was appointed treasurer of the young prince's household. The guardianship of the young prince himself was bestowed, not on his own mother, but on another lady of his father's harem — the Munny Begum, by title and name.

External affairs also claimed the early care of Hastings. Shah Alam the emperor, in name at least, of Hindustan, had more than once endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon the English to assist him in expelling the Mahrattas. Finding that alone he could not attack these invaders of his patrimony with the smallest prospect of success, he took the opposite part, and threw himself into their arms. He was received at first with every token of respect and homage, and led back in triumph to his ancestral seat of Delhi. Soon, however, a quarrel ensued between them, when he found himself no more than a prisoner and a puppet in the hands of his new allies. They compelled him to sign an edict, transferring to them the districts of Allahabad and Korah, which had been bestowed upon him by Lord Clive. But here Hastings interposed. He determined not merely on resuming the districts of Allabahad and Korah, but on discontinuing all further yearly payments to Shah Alam. Breach of faith on this account became, at a later period, one of the charges brought against him.

The districts of Korah and Allahabad were promptly occupied by English troops. But it was computed that the expenses of maintaining them at so great a distance would exceed the utmost revenue they could bring. It was

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therefore the wish of Hastings to yield them for a stipulated sum to the adjacent state of Oudh. He repaired to the city of Benares to confer in person with the nawab vizir. There, in September 1773, a treaty was agreed upon between them; the nawab vizir undertaking to pay for the two districts the sum of fifty lacs of rupees.

ENGLISH TROOPS LENT FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROHILLAS

But — alas for the fair fame not only of Hastings, but of England! — another and a weightier question was then decided at Benares. The Rohillas, a tribe of Afghan blood, had earlier in that century, and as allies of the Mughal, descended into the plains of Hindustan. They had obtained for their reward that fertile country which lies between the Ganges and the mountains on the western boundary of Oudh. That country bore from them the name of Rohilkhand. It had been earned by their services, and it was flourishing under their dominion. Of late there had sprung up a difference between them and their neighbours of Oudh, with respect to some pecuniary stipulations which the Rohillas contracted and were backward to discharge. On that ground, Sujah-ud-Daula had a plea for war against them.

He applied to the English governor for the aid of English bayonets; and this request came before Hastings at a time when the Bengal treasury was weighed down with heavy debts, and when nevertheless the letters from the court of directors were calling on him in the most earnest terms for large remittances. The Indian prince wanted soldiers, and the English chief wanted money, and on this foundation was the bargain struck between them. In April, 1774, an English brigade under Colonel Champion invaded the Rohilla districts; and in a hard-fought battle gained a decisive victory over the Rohilla troops. Exactly half a century afterwards an English bishop, on his first visitation progress, found the whole scene still fresh in the traditions of the country.

Throughout this conflict, nothing could be more dastardly than the demeanour of the troops of Oudh. They had slunk to the rear of the armies; they had kept aloof from the fight; and it was only after the battle was decided that they came forward to plunder the camp and despoil the dead and dying. Many an indignant murmur was heard from the British ranks: "We have the honour of the day, and these banditti are to have the profit!" Nor was this all. The vizir and his soldiery next applied themselves to wreak their fury on the vanquished, and to lay waste with sword and fire the rich plains of Rohilkhand. No terms whatever had been made by Hastings for the more humane and merciful conduct of the war; and Colonel Champion, in his private letters to the governor, might well avow his fear that, although his countrymen stood free from all participation in these cruel deeds, the mere fact of their having been silent spectators of them would tend, in the minds of the whole Indian people, to the dishonour of the English name.

The case of Hastings as to the Rohillas — a case at the best a bad one — was farther injured by the indiscretion of his friends. Some of them afterwards pleaded for him in the house of commons, that the Rohillas were not among the native possessors of the soil in India, but only an invading tribe of foreign lineage and of recent conquest. With just indignation, Mr. Wilberforce exclaimed, "Why, what are we but the Rohillas of Bengal?" But Hastings himself took better ground. Besides the pecuniary advantages, on which no question could exist, he had political arguments to urge in vindication of his treaty. It was of paramount importance to the British to form

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a close alliance with Oudh; and, on forming an alliance with that state, they had a full right to espouse its quarrels. But Lord North, the prime minister at the time of the transaction, said in the house of commons — "as soon as I was apprised of the facts of the Rohilla war, I thought the conduct of Mr. Hastings highly censurable; and I sent to the court of directors, urging them to combine with me for his recall.

HASTINGS UNDER CHARGES ; NANDKUMAR PUT OUT OF THE WAY

It was at the close of the Rohilla war, in October, 1774, that there anchored in the Ganges the ship which brought from Engand the expected members of the council and the judges of the supreme court. Of the three new councillors, Francis was by far the youngest; but his more shining and ardent spirit gave him a great ascendancy over Clavering's and Monson's. He came — there is little risk in affirming — determined to find fault; ready, whatever might befall, to cavil and oppose.

Of the five who met in council, the old servants of the company, Hastings and Barwell, stood together; on the other side were arrayed, as though in military order, the general, the colonel, and the late war-office clerk. Thus they formed a majority upon every question that arose; thus, from the very first they wrested the whole power of the government and all substantial patronage from the hands of Hastings. They ordered the English brigade to march back from Rohilkhand, whatever might be then the condition of that province. They recalled, with every token of disgrace, Mr. Middleton, the confidential friend of Hastings, and by him appointed the resident in Oudh. They insisted that even the most private of Mr. Middleton's letters should be laid before them.

Confident in their absolute majority the three new councillors pursued their course of rashness, or, as Hastings terms it, frenzy. On the decease of Sujah-ud-Daula, and the succession of his son, Asa-ud-Daula, as nawab vizir they passed a preposterous vote that the treaties which had been signed with the former should be considered as personal and as having ended with his life. They unsettled for a time the whole administration, both financial and judicial, of Bengal. Still more mischievous was their meddling in the case of Bombay, then first under the recent act reduced to a subordinate presidency. They rebuked its council, and they reversed its policy; and, in utter ignorance of its affairs, took new measures for entangling it in the differences of the several Mahratta chiefs. Meanwhile their power seemed so unquestionable, and their hostility to Hastings so clear, that many of his personal enemies began to brood over projects of revenge as certain of attainment. Two Englishmen of the name of Fowke came forward to charge him with corruption. The rani, or princess, of Bardwan, with her adopted son, sent in a similar complaint. But foremost of all in rancour as in rank was Nandkumar. He put into the hands of Francis a paper containing several heavy accusations against Hastings; above all, that he had taken a bribe for dismissing without punishment Muhammed Reza Khan; and this paper was produced by Francis at the council-board.

Long and fierce were the discussions that ensued. The governor-general did not shrink from the investigation of his conduct, but he insisted, and surely with perfect right, that the members of the council should form themselves into a committee for that purpose, and after receiving whatever evidence they pleased, transmit it for adjudication either to the supreme court of justice at Calcutta, or to the directors at home. On the other hand the

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majority maintained, that even while sitting as a council they might proceed to the trial of their chief. The governor-general rose, declared the meeting dissolved, and left the room with Barwell in his train. The remaining members voted that the meeting was not dissolved, named Clavering as chairman, and called in Nandkumar.

In this state of the transactions, Hastings thought himself entitled to allege that Nandkumar, Mr. Fowke, and some others were guilty of a conspiracy against him. On this ground he began legal proceedings against them in the supreme court. The judges after a long examination of the case directed Nandkumar and Fowke to give bail, and bound over the governor-general to prosecute them.

Of a sudden, however, and only a few weeks afterwards, a more serious blow was aimed at Nandkumar by another hand. He was arrested at the suit of a native merchant named Mohun Persaud, and, like any other man accused of felony, was thrown into the common gaol. The charge against him was that he had forged a bond five years before. On that charge, the supreme court not then existing, he had been brought to trial before the mayor's court of Calcutta, but was released through the authority which at that time Hastings exerted in his favour. The suit had, therefore, been suspended, but not concluded. It was now revived before a higher and more independent tribunal, established expressly with a view to such cases; and it was revived at the very earliest lawful time after the necessary documents had been transferred to the new court. So opportune was this prosecution for the interests of the governor-general, and so suspicious the coincidence of time, that Hastings has ever since been suspected and arraigned as the real mover in the business.[1] Yet, besides the presumption on his side to be drawn from the regular conduct of the suit, there is surely some weight in a fact which many writers have passed over — that in the proceedings before the supreme court, Hastings solemnly deposed, upon his oath, that he had never directly or indirectly countenanced or forwarded the prosecution for forgery against Nandkumar.

The new members of the council showed the utmost resentment at the prosecution, but found themselves wholly powerless to stem it. Their fierce representations to the judges proved in vain. They could only send complimentary messages to Nandkumar in his prison, and grant additional favours to his son. The trial came on, in due time, before a jury composed of Englishmen, when the charge of forgery was established to their entire satisfaction, and a verdict of guilty was returned. One of the judges, Sir Robert Chambers, the friend of Dr. Johnson, had proposed to try the prisoner on an earlier and a milder statute, inflicting no capital penalty; but Chambers is stated to have been convinced by, and most certainly acquiesced in, the arguments against it. The sentence of death on Nandkumar was pronounced by Sir Elijah Impey as the chief, and apparently with the full concurrence of his colleagues. On the 5th of August, 1775, the rajah Nandkumar, at that time seventy years of age and the head of the Brahmans of Bengal, was led forth to the gallows, and hanged; while Clavering and his two friends, with impotent rage, shut themselves up within their houses, and while an immense concourse of Hindus looked on in wonder and affright.

For his share in these proceedings the chief justice has been arraigned even more severely than the governor-general. It was Hastings — thus cries Burke in his ardent and sometimes overflowing zeal — it was Hastings who

[[1] That Hastings set this prosecution in motion, no reasonable person can doubt; and it is equally clear that Chief Justice Impey is free from all personal blame.—J. S. COTTON.[b]]

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murdered Nandkumar by the hand of Sir Elijah Impey! The personal friendship which had subsisted between them since their schoolboy days was urged as strong presumption of a guilty compact. For this argument, as levelled at one of the judges, it became convenient to overlook entirely the existence of the other three. Thus Impey, who had but acted jointly, was arraigned alone. At length the surmises and suspicions against him assumed a more definite form. At the close of 1787 a member of the house of commons, Sir Gilbert Elliot, moved for his impeachment mainly on this ground. Then Sir Elijah was permitted to appear at the bar, and to speak in his own defence. He showed, to the perfect satisfaction of by far the greater part of those who heard him, that his behaviour through the trial had been wholly free from blame.

The execution of Nandkumar, although it may not have been connected with any step of Hastings, was certainly auspicious to his interests. The Hindus could make no nice distinctions, such as the case required, between political and judicial authority. They looked only to the one broad fact that one of their chief men had stood forth to accuse the governor-general, and that within a few weeks of his accusation that chief man had died upon the gallows. From that moment all the other natives shrank from any further charges against Hastings. From that moment, in their eyes, he recovered a large portion of his power. But it should be added, in justice to his memory, that throughout his long administration he attracted, in a high degree, their love as well as fear. The English in India also were nearly all upon his side. Hastings, they saw, was familiar with their wants and wishes, and profoundly versed in their affairs. On the other hand they had slight confidence in either Clavering or Monson; and they had quickly taken fire against the war-office clerk [Francis], who, in all respects, ignorant of India, was yet seeking to impose upon it, with peremptory violence, every crotchet of his brain. He had not been many weeks at Calcutta ere he obtained the common surname of "King Francis," or "Francis the First."

The news of the divisions in the council at Calcutta appears to have greatly perplexed the directors at home. For some time they endeavoured, but with little good effect, to hold a middle course. Lord North himself, however, was deeply impressed with the iniquity of the Rohilla war. He regretted, that under the Regulating Act there was no power during the first five years to recall the governor-general without an address to that effect from the company to the crown. At a meeting of the court of proprietors the motion for Hastings' recall was negatived by a majority of upwards of one hundred.

But the vague threats wrought too far upon Hastings' agent in London, Colonel Maclean. He believed his patron in risk of a parliamentary dismissal, or perhaps, a parliamentary censure. He had in his possession a private letter, written by Hastings a year and a half before, in which Hastings announced his resolution of resigning if he should not find his measures supported and approved. In another letter, two months afterwards, Hastings had most clearly revoked that resolution. Nevertheless, Colonel Maclean in October, 1776, thought himself sufficiently empowered to tender to the court of directors the resignation of the governor-general. The directors, eager to be relieved from their embarrassment, made little difficulty. They accepted the resignation, and, with the connivance of the crown, named one of their own body, Mr. Edward Wheler, to the vacant place in the council of Bengal.

But meanwhile the state of that council had wholly changed. In Sep-

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tember, 1776, Colonel Monson had died. By his decease, and by the means of his own casting vote, the full powers of government fell back into the hands of the governor-general. With his usual fixedness of purpose he now resumed his former policy and reappointed his old friends. At the same time his mind was brooding over a vast scheme for the complete ascendancy in India of the English name — a system of subsidiary alliance with native princes, and, above all, with the nawab of Oudh and the nizam — a system which it was left to his successors to unfold and to pursue.

Such were the schemes that Hastings was maturing, when, in June, 1777, a packet-ship from England anchored in the Hooghly, and all Calcutta was startled with the news that the governor-general had resigned; that his resignation was accepted; and that the government was transferred to other hands. No man was more astonished at these tidings than the governor-general himself. He declared that Colonel Maclean had far, very far, exceeded his instructions. But he afterwards said, that nevertheless he should have felt himself bound by the acts of his agent, had not General Clavering attempted to seize the government by force.

Clavering sent his Persian interpreter to Hastings with a letter, requiring him to deliver the keys of the fort and treasury. Meanwhile, in another chamber, Hastings took the chair with Barwell by his side, and declared himself determined to maintain his just authority until further orders should arrive. Seeing this, the opposite party agreed, though unwillingly, to his proposal — that they should ask, and should abide by, the opinion of the judges of the supreme court. This was no season for delay; the case being thus referred to the judges, they met the same evening, and continued all night in anxious deliberation. At four the next morning Sir Elijah reported their unanimous judgment, that the resignation of Hastings was invalid, and the assumption of power by Clavering illegal. Thus was the governor-general enabled to maintain his ground. On this occasion he justly felt that his all had been at stake.

But Hastings was not content with his success on this occasion. He endeavoured to pursue it with a degree of violence and indiscretion scarcely less than his rival had displayed. He prevailed on Barwell to concur in a resolution that General Clavering, by attempting to usurp the functions of governor-general, had surrendered and resigned both his place in council and his office as commander-in-chief of the Indian forces. Against this flagrant abuse of victory Clavering and Francis remonstrated in vain. Now, in their turn, they appealed to the judges of the supreme court. Sir Elijah Impey, in the name of his brethren, pronounced it as their unanimous decision, that the council had no legal power to remove one of its members or declare his seat vacant.

In this struggle the temper of Clavering — a frank, plain soldier—had been grievously chafed. Only a few weeks afterwards, in August, 1777, he sickened and died. It is said that the last appearance in public of the dying man was, after much solicitation, as a guest at his rival's wedding-feast. Not many days before General Clavering expired, Warren Hastings married Marian Imhoff, ex-wife of a German by birth, a baron by title, a miniature painter by profession.

In the council-chamber of Bengal the decease of General Clavering was nearly balanced by the arrival of Mr. Wheler. The new member took part, in most cases, against the governor-general with Francis. But, besides that he showed himself a far less acrimonious opponent; the power of the casting-vote still left on every question the practical ascendancy in the hands of Hastings.

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LORD PIGOT AT MADRAS

From the supreme government of India let us pass to the subordinate council of Madras. There, though on a smaller scale, dissension had grown to a still more formidable height. Some years since a war had been waged against the petty kingdom of Tanjore. The rajah, one of the Mahratta princes, had been taken prisoner and deposed. The territory had been seized and transferred to the nawab of Arcot. At home the directors, after no small amount of wavering, had disapproved these measures. They despatched peremptory orders to restore, without loss of time, the rajah to his throne. Moreover, they sent out to the chief place at Madras a personal friend of the rajah, the former governor Pigot, who had recently been raised to an Irish peerage. Thus from the first moment of his landing again on Indian ground, Lord Pigot found himself in direct opposition to the leading members of his council. He did, however, proceed to Tanjore and reinstate the rajah. But on his return he saw a formidable combination leagued against him; at its head Muhammed Ali, the nawab of Arcot.

Muhammed Ali, the old ally of the English, and maintained in his dominion by their means, was ever intriguing and caballing with several of the company's servants. They would supply him with money at any sudden call, and well knew how to make such loans most highly advantageous to themselves. Foremost among these usurers stood Mr. Paul Benfield, a man to whom Burke's eloquence has given immortal fame — if fame indeed it should be called! For, as the misdeeds of Verres will live forever in the glowing denunciations of Cicero, so has the genius of Burke poured its imperishable lustre over the whole tortuous track of the Madras money-lenders, and rescued from oblivion the "Debts of the nawab of Arcot."

Paul Benfield was of humble birth and of no patrimony. He had filled a small place in the company's service at a salary of a few hundred pounds a year, and was chiefly conspicuous for keeping the finest carriages and horses at Madras. His ostentatious habits of expense did not seem consistent with any large accumulation of wealth. To the public surprise he now brought forward a claim on the nawab, for money lent to the amount of 162,000*l.* besides another claim on individuals in Tanjore to the amount of 72,000*l.* For the whole of this enormous sum he held assignments on the revenues and standing crops in Tanjore; and he pleaded that his interest ought not to be affected by the reinstatement of the rajah. The nawab, when consulted on the matter, at once admitted and confirmed the claim. In this case Lord Pigot might well suspect collusion. He might also reasonably question the right of the nawab to make any such assignments in Tanjore. The majority of his council, however, were inclined to favour these demands, and there ensued a long train of angry altercations. At length the issue was taken on a side-point of small importance — the desire of Lord Pigot to appoint Mr. Russel, one of his own friends, as resident at Tanjore.

Finding himself out-voted, Lord Pigot first set the dangerous example — so soon to recoil upon himself — of overstepping the bounds of law. He assumed that the governor was an integral part of the council; that he was not bound by the majority against him, and might refuse to carry out any decision in which he had not concurred. The opposite doctrine was maintained, no less vehemently, by the other members. Upon this an arbitrary order from Lord Pigot declared them suspended from their functions; and they, in return, concerted measures for his arrest. The commander of the forces, Sir Robert Fletcher (the same who, in Bengal, had been cashiered),

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was at that time ill; but the second in command, Colonel Stuart, was upon their side. On the 24th of August, 1776, the colonel passed the greater part of the day in company or in business with Lord Pigot; he both breakfasted and dined with him as his familiar friend, and was driving in the carriage with him when, according to the colonel's previous orders, the carriage was surrounded and stopped by troops. His lordship was then informed that he was their prisoner. As such he was forthwith conveyed to St. Thomas' Mount. There he was left in an officer's house, with a battalion of artillery to guard him, while all the powers of government were assumed and administered by his opponents in the council.

In the courts of directors and proprietors there appeared upon this subject the usual fluctuation. There was, however, a better reason for it, in a case where beyond all doubt neither party had been free from blame. At length it was agreed that the members of the council who had concurred in this arrest should be recalled; and on their return they became liable, under resolutions of the house of commons, to a trial and a fine. At the same time a commission was prepared under the company's seal, by which Lord Pigot was restored to his office; but he was directed within one week to give up the government to his successor, and embark for England. By these means it was intended to avoid a triumph, or the appearance of a triumph, to either side. But long before these orders could be received in India, Lord Pigot was beyond the reach of any human sentence. After eight months of confinement he died at St. Thomas' Mount.

Early in 1778 the government of Madras was assumed by Sir Thomas Rumbold. He might avoid dissensions with his council, but on other grounds he incurred, and not unjustly, the censure of the court of directors. In less than three years we find him utterly dismissed from their service.

WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS (1778-79 A.D.)

For some years the progress of England's eastern empire had not been assailed, or even threatened, by any European enemy. The scene is now about to change. That war which, commencing in North America, troubled not England only but also France and Spain, cast its baleful shadows to the Mexican seas on the one side, and to the shores of Coromandel on the other. Then it was that the experience, the energy, the high statesmanship of Hastings were signally displayed. Then it was, that the value of his services was felt even by his adversaries in Downing Street or Leadenhall. Thus, when the period of five years fixed by the Regulating Act had expired, the governor-general was quietly and without a struggle re-appointed.

At the beginning of 1778 the tidings were already rife among the native races, that yenghi dunia, or New World, as they called America, had broken loose from the country of the Company Sahib. Already might they hear the rising sounds of exultation from the rival settlements of Chandarnagar and Pondicherry. But the first sign or symptom that reached Hastings of French cabals in India came from the Mahratta states. These had grown to greatness in the decline of the Mughal Empire and risen on its ruins, but had since been weakened by dissensions of their own. Among themselves, as in the venerable monarchy from the ruins of which they had sprung, there was a wide line between the real and the rightful exercise of power.

The lineal heir of Sivaji, the true sovereign in name, had become a mere state-prisoner in the palace of Sattara. The actual authority was vested in a great magistrate, or chief of the council, who was called the peshwa, and

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who held court with regal state at Poona. Through a strange anomaly that ministerial office descended by hereditary right, and sometimes therefore devolved upon a minor. The peshwa, besides his own or the rajah of Satara's dominions, always claimed, and occasionally exercised a kind of feudal supremacy over the other Mahratta principalities that lay scattered in the wide expanse between the hill forts of Mysore and the waters of the Ganges. First among them were the houses of Sindhia and of Holkar; the Gaikwar, who ruled in Guzerat; and the Bhonsla, or rajah of Berar, a scion of the line of Sivaji. All these Mahratta chiefs, in common with their subjects, held the Brahman faith; in that respect, as in some others, forming a remarkable contrast to the race of the Mohammedan conquerors beside them, as the nizam and the vizir.

The mean origin of the first Mahratta freebooters is denoted even in the hereditary titles of their princes; the Gaikwar, for example, signifies only the cow-herd. It is denoted also by the simple and abstemious habits which they long preserved. A Mussulman historian, Gholam Hossein,[d] the contemporary of Warren Hastings, describes the most powerful Mahratta ruler of his time, as living only on food of the poorest peasant — on black bread made of badjrah, unripe mangoes, and raw red pepper. "Let the reader," says the more refined Mohammedan, "guess the taste of the whole nation by this sample of its chiefs. And although," he adds, "they have come to command kingdoms and to rule over empires, they are still the beggars they have been. Go to any of them, from the lowest clerk to the minister of state, and the first words which you shall hear from them are always these — 'What have you brought for me? — Have you brought anything for me?' and should any man go empty-handed to them, they would strip him of his turban and coat, and then recommend him devoutly to Almighty God!"

Between the chiefs at Poona and the presidency of Bombay there had been in former years some intricate negotiations and some desultory wars. The English had obtained possession of the island of Salsette, which, so lately as 1750, the Mahrattas had wrested from the Portuguese. They had also given shelter to a deposed and exiled peshwa named Ragoba or Raghunath Rao, who still carried on a cabal and kept up a party at home. Such was the posture of affairs when the governor-general was startled by the tidings that a French ship had anchored in one of the Mahratta ports, and that a French agent had set out for Poona. This Frenchman proved to be the chevalier de St. Lubin, an adventurer who had formerly taken some part in the intrigues of the presidency of Madras, and who had now obtained from his own government a clandestine commission to treat with the Mahrattas.

It was reported to Hastings, that already they had agreed to his terms, and consented to yield to the French the port of Choul, on the coast of Malabar. "War is now inevitable," said Hastings to his council; "let us then be the first to strike a blow!" It was resolved, that a division of the Bengal army should be sent across the Jumna, and march through Bundelkhand upon the peshwa's country. Orders were sent to the council of Bombay to enter into a concert of measures with Raghunath Rao, and strive by all means to forward his pretensions. At the same time the governor-general commenced an active negotiation, and sought to form a close alliance with another claimant to a principal place among the Mahratta chiefs — with Bhonsla, the ruler of Berar.

It has been questioned, how far, in these dealings with the Mahrattas, Hastings acted strictly in good faith. Certainly, at least, he is entitled to the praise, at a most difficult crisis, of energy and skill. The news of the

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disaster at Saratoga, far from dampening his spirit, only animated his endeavours. "If it be really true" — thus he spoke to his council — "that the British arms and influence have suffered so severe a check in the western world, it is the more incumbent on those who are charged with the interests of Great Britain in the east to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss." On the 7th of July a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the consul of England at Cairo, brought the news to Calcutta that in the month of March preceding war had been proclaimed both in London and in Paris. Not an hour did Hastings lose. "On the same day," he says, "we wrote to the governor of Fort St. George, to prepare for the immediate attack of Pondicherry; and we set them an example on the 10th, by the capture of Chandarnagar."

Pondicherry was invested by Sir Hector Munro, at the head of the Madras army. It yielded, after a brave resistance and an engagement off the coast, between the French and English squadrons. Then the French retained nothing in India but Mahe, a small fort and settlement on the coast of Malabar; and this also was reduced by the English from Madras, in the course of the ensuing spring. Meanwhile, in Bengal, the zeal of Hastings had directed the most active measures of defence. The governor-general thus wrote to a private friend — "The French, if they ever attempt the invasion of Bengal, must make their way to it by an alliance with one of the powers of the country; and the only power with which that can be at present effected is the Mahratta." To this Mahratta expedition, therefore, the eyes of Hastings were anxiously turned. At first it was far from prospering.

On climbing the Ghats or passes and entering the Mahrattas' territory, Colonel Egerton was not joined, as Raghunath Rao had encouraged him to hope, by any chief of importance, nor by any considerable number of adherents. On the contrary, he saw around him irregular troops of hostile cavalry, retiring as he advanced, but active and successful in cutting off his supplies. His own movements at this juncture were sufficiently deliberate; only eight miles in eleven days. In January, 1779, he had reached a point within sixteen miles of Poona. There he found an army assembled to oppose him, and the committee-men, losing courage, made up their minds to a retreat. A retreat was begun accordingly that night, and continued until the next afternoon, when, at a place called Wargaum, the English found themselves surrounded and hemmed in. One brave subaltern, Captain Hartley, offered to cut his way through, and to carry back the little army to Bombay, declaring that he could rely upon his men. His superior officers, on the other hand, deemed any such attempt chimerical, and determined to seek their safety in negotiation. The terms required for their unmolested passage were hard indeed, yet hard though they were, could not be disputed unless by arms. It was agreed that all the acquisitions gained by the English from the Mahrattas, since the peace of 1756, should be restored. It was further agreed, that the person of Raghunath Rao should be given up, not indeed to the Poona chiefs, but to Sindhia.

In mitigation of this last ignominious clause we may observe that, even previously, Raghunath Rao, seeing the ill-plight of the English army, and despairing of its safe return by force of arms, had declared his own intention of surrendering himself to Sindhia, as to a mediator and umpire rather than an enemy. Already for some days had he been in correspondence with that chief. The committee felt, therefore, the less scruple in consenting to his surrender when required as a stipulation of their treaty.

Yet, in spite of some such extenuating circumstances, the convention of Wargaum may justly be regarded as the most discreditable to the arms of

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England ever framed since they had first appeared on Indian soil. To the English, in all three presidencies, it seemed like a Saratoga in miniature. To the French partisans throughout India it gave a bolder spirit and a louder tone. It combined, if not the whole Mahratta empire, yet several more of the Mahratta chiefs against the English. It revived the hopes, and disclosed the animosity, both of the nizam and Hyder Ali; but on the mind of the governor-general it had no effect. He refused to alter his plans: he refused to recall his troops. On the contrary, he at once directed Goddard to advance.

General Goddard (for to that higher rank was he speedily promoted) justified the confidence of Hastings by his energy and skill. In his campaign of that year and of the following, he, in great measure, retrieved and worthily maintained the honour of the British arms. At one time we see him reduce by storm the fort of Ahmadabad; at another time, by a siege, the city of Bassein. On another occasion he appears gaining a victory over the entire force, forty thousand strong, of Sindhia and Holkar combined. Meanwhile Raghunath Rao had found early means to escape from the hands of Sindhia, and took shelter in Surat. Thus the advantages to the Mahrattas from the day of Wargaum proved fleeting and short-lived.

In a hilly district lying to the south of Agra, and bearing, at that time, the name of Gohud, Hastings waged war upon a smaller scale. With the Hindu prince, or rana, of that district he had concluded an alliance. The rana being, in consequence, attacked by the Mahrattas, applied to his confederates in Bengal; and a small body of troops, under Captain Popham, was sent to his support. Not merely did Captain Popham, with little assistance from the rana, clear Gohud from its invaders, but he carried the war into some of the Mahratta country; he besieged and reduced the city of Lahar; and gained renown throughout the east when he took, by escalade, a rock-fortress which was deemed impregnable — the "castled crag" of Gwalior.

In these and his other military measures Hastings was not left to rely upon his own unassisted judgment. Sir Eyre Coote, invested with a twofold rank as commander of the forces and as member of the council, arrived at Calcutta in March, 1779. He had no disposition to ally himself with Francis, or intrigue against Hastings; yet he gave nearly as much trouble to the latter as ever had Francis himself. The lapse of almost twenty years since his last successes had not been without effect, either on his body or his mind. He had become less active in his movements, and more fretful in his temper. A love of gain had grown up side by side with his love of glory; and strongly impressed with his own great merits, he was ever prone to deem himself slighted or neglected. It required constant care in Hastings to avoid or to explain away any causes of offence between them.

HASTINGS FIGHTS A DUEL WITH FRANCIS (1780 A.D.)

Early in the year 1780 an engagement was concluded, according to which Francis proposed to desist from systematic opposition, and to acquiesce in all the measures for the prosecution of the Mahratta war, while Hastings undertook to appoint Mr. Fowke, and some other adherents of Francis, to certain lucrative posts. On the faith of this agreement, and with the full consent of Hastings, Barwell embarked for Europe. But only a few weeks afterwards the old dissension at the council-board burst forth anew. The immediate cause was the expedition in Gohud. Hastings alleged that this was only a branch of his Mahratta war; Francis, on the contrary, maintained

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that this was a separate object, to which he was not pledged, and which he might freely oppose. The governor-general, on this occasion, lost or laid aside his customary calmness, and in reply to a minute of his rival, placed on record, in council, the following words: "I do not trust to Mr. Francis' promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." When the council broke up, Francis drew the governor-general into another chamber, and read to him a challenge; it was accepted by Hastings, and they met on the day but one after — on the morning of the 17th of August.

Hastings and Francis fired at nearly the same instant; Hastings was unharmed, but Francis was shot through the side. He was conveyed to an adjacent house, where the surgeons found that although his wound was severe his life was not in danger. He recovered, but early in the next December gave up his office and returned to England. In taking that step, Francis did no more than fulfil an intention which, finding his influence wholly declined, he had formed even in the preceding year.

HASTINGS AT ODDS WITH THE SUPREME COURT

Dissension with Francis, however fierce, was no novelty to Hastings. But during the same period he had to wage a painful warfare with a former friend — Sir Elijah Impey. In the Regulating Act of 1773 the limits between the judicial and political powers which it instituted had not been duly defined. Thus it happened, that on several points in practice the supreme court came to clash with the supreme council.

In the beginning of 1780 a suit had been brought against a wealthy landholder, the rajah of Cossijurah, by Cossinaut Baboo his agent at Calcutta, when the judge issued a writ to sequester his lands and goods. For this object an armed band, consisting of sixty men and commanded by a sergeant of the court, was despatched to Cossijurah. The rajah had already fled from his house. Nevertheless it was forcibly entered by the gang of bailiffs; nor did they even shrink from breaking open the zenana, or the women's chambers, ever held sacred in the East amidst the worst barbarities of war. The servants of the rajah stood at the threshold ready to resist, so far as they could resist, what they deemed the dishonour of their master, but some of them were wounded and the rest beaten back and overborne.

When these tidings reached Calcutta the governor-general, supported on this one occasion by his council's unanimous assent, took, as was his duty, effectual measures of redress. A circular was issued to the landholders of Bengal explaining that, unless in certain specified cases, they owed no obedience to the mandates of the supreme court. Upon this, all patience and all prudence departed from Sir Elijah Impey and his brother judges. Even the most violent steps did not seem to them too strong. They cast into prison Mr. North Naylor, the company's attorney, merely because as he was bound to do, he had obeyed the orders of the council. They caused a summons to be served on each member of the council requiring him to appear at their bar, and to answer for his public acts. Hastings and the other members refused to obey the call. The judges pronounced the refusal to be a clear contempt of his majesty's law and of his courts." It is difficult to say to what extremities — scarcely short of civil war — this collision might have grown, had not Cossinaut, no doubt on some secret inducements held out to him by the governor-general, suddenly dropped his actions at law; thus

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depriving the judges of all present materials upon which their wrath could build.

The immediate case might thus be dealt with, but a more permanent remedy was needed. With this view, the fertile brain of Hastings devised another scheme. Under the act of 1773 there were certain judicial powers which belonged to the supreme council as a tribunal of appeal from some of the provincial courts, but which the supreme council had neither sufficient time, nor yet sufficient knowledge, to exert. Hastings proposed that these powers should be henceforth vested in a judge appointed by the governor and council, and removable at their pleasure, and that this newly appointed judge should be no other than the chief justice of the supreme court. Such was the scheme which, in September, 1780, Hastings laid before his colleagues in the government, and which, in spite of strenuous opposition from Francis and from Wheler, was carried through. To Francis, who almost immediately afterwards returned to England, there only remained the spiteful satisfaction of spreading far and wide among his friends and the public at home the charge that the chief justice had been bribed from a course of opposition by a new salary of 8,000*l.* a year.

It is true that the council did determine that a salary — not, as was said, of eight thousand, but of five thousand pounds a year — should be attached to the new office. Sir Elijah stated, however, that he should refuse to accept any part of this money until the opinion of the lord chancellor had been asked and obtained from England. There are still extant the regular vouchers of the sums paid to the chief justice in pursuance of the council's order, and paid back by him to the company's account. And in point of fact, neither then nor at any time afterwards was a single rupee of this new salary received for his own use by Sir Elijah Impey.

THE OUTBREAK OF HYDER ALI (1780 A.D.)

The Mahratta campaign, and the altercations with Francis and with Impey, however burthensome to Hastings, were not at this time his only nor yet his greatest care. Another and more pressing danger rose in view. Hyder Ali, the mighty sovereign of Mysore, had observed with much displeasure, the British expedition to Mahe. He saw that the English were now entangled in a difficult war with the Mahrattas, and that a French armament was soon expected on the coast of Coromandel. He drew together an army which amounted, or at least which popular terror magnified, to ninety thousand men. These forces were not wholly wanting in European discipline; they had been trained, in part, by good officers from France, and they drew into the field, with competent artillerymen, one hundred pieces of artillery.

The government of Madras was, almost to the last, unconscious of its danger. The English chiefs were nearly taken by surprise, when, in the height of summer, the horsemen of Mysore, the vanguard of Hyder's army, came dashing down the passes that lead from their wild hills. This was the invasion which some years afterwards was described with so much glowing eloquence by Burke in his speech on the nawab of Arcot's debts, February 28th, 1783. This was the "black cloud that hung for awhile on the declivities of the mountains." This was the "menacing meteor which blackened all the horizon until it suddenly burst and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic."

At the approach of Hyder's army, the frontier posts, held by sepoys, sur-

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rendered with but slight resistance; and his onward progress was marked by fire and the sword. From the summit of St. Thomas' Mount the people of Madras could see, on the horizon, columns of dark smoke ascend from the burning villages. In the field there were already some not wholly inconsiderable forces. Sir Hector Munro had above five thousand men, and Colonel Baillie above three.

Had Baillie and Munro at once combined their forces, as they might and should, it seems probable, from the much larger number of Europeans in their ranks, that they might have stood firm against all the armies of Mysore. But their torpor, or perhaps their jealousy, delayed them, and thus enabled Hyder to assail them singly, while yet only a few miles asunder. On the 10th of September the troops of Baillie were overwhelmed and cut to pieces. A similar fate might have befallen Munro had he not saved himself by a precipitate retreat towards Mount St. Thomas, first casting his artillery intc the tanks, and reiinquishing his baggage and stores. Thus only the walled towns remained to the English: all the open country was, or would be, Hyder's.

THE ACTIVITY OF HASTINGS; THE VICTORIES OF EYRE COOTE

A swift-sailing ship, despatched for the express purpose, brought these ill-tidings to Calcutta on the 23rd of the same month. On no occasion, either before or since, were the genius, the energy, the master-spirit of Hastings more signally displayed. In a single day he framed a new system of policy, renouncing his late favourite schemes, and contemplating only the altered state of public affairs. In his own words — "All my hopes of aggrandising the British name and enlarging the interests of the company, gave instant place to the more urgent call to support the existence of both in the Carnatic; nor did I hesitate a moment to abandon my own views for such an object. The Mahratta war has been, and is yet, called mine. Gods knows why. I was forced into it. It began with the acts of others unknown to me. I never professed any other design but to support the presidency of Bombay, if it had succeeded in the plans which it had formed, or to protect and save them if they failed. Perhaps the war with Hyder may be, in like manner, called my war."

On the 25th of September the council met. The governor-general proposed that a treaty not merely of peace but of alliance should be tendered to the Mahrattas, yielding the main points at issue in the war; that every soldier available in Bengal should at once be shipped off to Madras; that fifteen lacs of rupees should without delay be despatched to the same quarter; that Sir Eyre Coote, as alone sufficient, should be requested to assume the chief command against Mysore; and that the powers allowed to the supreme presidency by the act of 1773 should be strained to the utmost, by superseding Mr. Whitehill, the new and incapable governor of Fort St. George.

Hyder Ali, since his great successes over Baillie and Munro, had reduced the fort of Arcot, and was besieging Wandewash and Vellore. But the arrival of the new commander and of the reinforcements from Bengal struck his mind with awe. He raised the siege of both places when, in January, 1781, he saw Coote take the field, though still with most scanty forces and inadequate supplies. Sir Eyre, apprehensive of a rising among the French so lately subdued, next marched south and encamped on the Red Hills of Pondicherry. Later in the season he advanced to Porto Novo, a haven some forty miles further to the southward. There, on the 1st of July, he succeeded in bringing Hyder to a battle. He had only between eight and nine thousand men

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opposed to the myriads of Mysore. Yet such was the ascendancy of European valour and European skill, that after six hours of conflict Hyder's forces fled in utter disarray, leaving on the field several thousand dead and wounded, while upon the side of the English the loss scarcely exceeded four hundred men.

The victory at Porto Novo was not left unimproved by Coote. He turned, and with good effect, towards Wandewash, which was again besieged. "Wandewash is safe" — thus he wrote to the government of Madras — "it being the third time in my life I have had the honour to relieve it." Hyder then fell back to what he deemed a lucky spot, as it certainly was a strong position; the very ground on which, in the preceding year, he had defeated Baillie. There, on the 27th of August, he engaged in another battle with Sir Eyre.

In this action, to which a neighbouring village gave its name of Pollilore, the ground was so unfavourable to the English, that Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the first line, could not forbear a remonstrance to his chief. "You talk to me, sir, when you should be doing your duty!" — such was the stern reply; a reply which, rankling in the mind of Munro, caused him to retire from active service to Madras, and from thence next year to England. The results of Pollilore were far less decisive, and purchased by much heavier sacrifice than those of Porto Novo; yet still, at the close, the flight of Hyder from his chosen ground left to Coote, undoubtedly, both the honour and the advantage of the day. The open country was recovered; and the Carnatic was saved.

From Calcutta the governor-general had lost no time in commencing a negotiation for peace with the Mahrattas. But this was long protracted by the number of their chiefs, and the intricacy of the relations between them; and it was not till the spring of 1782 that the treaties were finally concluded at Salbye. Meanwhile, the entire strain of the war, both with Poona and Mysore, fell upon the presidency of Bengal, from which, nevertheless, large remittances were still expected by the directors and proprietors at home. Under these pressing circumstances, Hastings was compelled to seek new sources of supply.[c]

HASTINGS' EXACTIONS IN BENARES AND OUDH

A considerable economy was effected by a reform in the establishment for collecting the land tax. The government monopolies of opium and salt were then for the first time placed upon a remunerative basis. But these reforms were of necessity slow in their beneficial operation. The pressing demands of the military chest had to be satisfied by loans, and in at least one case from the private purse of the governor-general. Ready cash could alone fill up the void; and it was to the hordes of native princes that Hastings' fertile mind at once turned. Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares, the greatest of the vassal chiefs who had grown rich under the protection of the British rule, lay under the suspicion of disloyalty. The wazir of Oudh had fallen into arrears in the payment due for the maintenance of the company's garrison posted in his dominions, and his administration was in great disorder. In his case the ancestoral hordes were under the control of his mother, the begum of Oudh, into whose hands they had been allowed to pass at the time when Hastings was powerless in council.

Hastings resolved to make a progress up country in order to arrange the affairs of both provinces, and bring back all the treasure that could be squeezed

[1782 A.D.]

out of its holders by his personal intervention. When he reached Benares and presented his demands, the rajah rose in insurrection, and the governor-general barely escaped with his life.[1] But the faithful Popham rapidly rallied a force for his defence. The native soldiery were defeated again and again; Cheyte Sing took to flight, and an augmented permanent tribute was imposed upon his successor.[2] The Oudh business was managed with less risk. The wazir consented to everything demanded of him.[b]

BUDDHIST TOPE IN BENARES

The city and palace of Faizabad, in which the two princesses dwelt, were surrounded and reduced by a body of British troops. Still, however, the begums would not part with any portion of their hidden treasure. The difficulty was how to discover or lay hands upon it without profaning, as the races of the East conceive, the sacred bounds of the zenana. It was resolved to arrest and confine two aged eunuchs, the heads of the household, and the principal ministers of the princesses. These men were cast into prison, and loaded with irons; and on finding them obdurate, an order was issued in January, 1782, that until they yielded they should be debarred from all food. This order, to the shame and opprobrium not only of himself and his employer, but even of the English name in India, bore the signature of Nathaniel Middleton.

[[1] He set forth from the city by night, yet not unobserved, the rabble hooting him as he rode along, with a jingling rhyme not yet forgotten in Benares:

"Hat' hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeen,
Juldee bah'r jata Sahib Warren Husteen!"

"Horse, elephant, howdah, set off at full speed,
Ride away my Lord Warren Hastings!"

"It is a nursery rhyme which is often sung to children (at Benares)," says Bishop Heber.[c]]

[[2] Pitt, during the trial of Hastings in 1786, said that Hastings had a right to impose a fine on Cheyte Sing. "But, in fining the rajah £500,000, for a mere delay to pay £50,000, which £50,000 he had actually paid, Mr. Hastings proceeded in an arbitrary, tyrannical manner, and was not guided by any principle of reason and justice. The punishment was utterly disproportionate, and shamefully exorbitant."]

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To the pangs of hunger the aged ministers gave way, and within two days agreed to disburse the sum which was then required. But that sum was only a part of the whole demand. To extort the rest other most rigorous measures were employed. The two prisoners were removed from Faizabad to Lucknow. The weight of their irons was increased; torture was threatened, and perhaps inflicted; certain it is, at least, that every facility was granted by the British assistant resident to the officers of the vizir, who were sent for that purpose to the prison-house. Meanwhile at Faizabad the palace-gates of the princesses continued to be strictly guarded. Food was allowed to enter, but not always in sufficient quantities for the number of the inmates, so that the begums might be wrought upon by the distress of their attendants. "The melancholy cries of famine," says a British officer upon the spot, "are more easily imagined than described." Thus, through the greater part of 1782, severity followed severity, and sum was exacted after sum. The ministers were not set free, nor the princesses relieved from duresse until after there had been obtained from them treasure exceeding in amount one million sterling. Notwithstanding all their pleas of poverty — pleas perfectly justifiable in the face of such oppression — there was still remaining in their hands property to the value of at least one million more.

Certainly, in one respect at least, Hastings may deserve to be far distinguished above the long line of robbers — magistrates of story — from Verres the praetor down to Monaien Rapinat. He plundered for the benefit of the state, and not his own. His main thought was that he had a great empire to save — and he did save it. Yet with all due appreciation of his object, and with all due allowance for his difficulties, his conduct to the princesses of Oudh appears incapable of any valid vindication, and alike repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity.[c] Hastings appears to have been not altogether satisfied with the incidents of this expedition, and to have anticipated the censure which it received in England. As a measure of precaution he procured documentary evidence of the rebellious intentions of the rajah and the begums to the validity of which Impey obligingly lent his extra-judicial sanction.

The remainder of Hastings' term in office in India was passed in comparative tranquillity, both from internal opposition and foreign war. The centre of interest now shifts to the India House and to the British parliament. The long struggle between the company and the ministers of the crown for the supreme control of Indian affairs and the attendant patronage had reached its climax. The decisive success of Hastings' administration alone postponed the inevitable solution. His original term of five years would have expired in 1778; but it was annually prolonged by special act of parliament until his voluntary resignation. Though Hastings was thus irremovable, his policy did not escape censure. Ministers were naturally anxious to obtain the reversion to his vacant post, and Indian affairs formed at this time the hinge on which party politics turned On one occasion Dundas carried a motion in the house of commons censuring Hastings, and demanding his recall. The directors of the company were disposed to act upon this resolution; but in the court of proprietors, with whom the decision ultimately lay, Hastings always possessed a sufficient majority.[b]

WAR WITH THE DUTCH AND FRENCH (1781–1783 A.D.)

Thus was Hastings upheld at his post; thus might his energies still maintain the varying fortunes of the war in the Carnatic. To that war he con-

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tinued to apply most strenuously all the men and all the money he could raise. His public-spirited endeavours were well seconded by those of the new governor of Fort St. George, Lord Macartney, who had gained some reputation by negotiating a treaty of commerce with Russia, and who mainly on that ground had been appointed to Madras. Lord Macartney brought out from England the news of the declaration of war against the Dutch; and it became one of his first objects to reduce the settlements which they possessed on the coasts of Coromandel and Ceylon. He was successful with regard to the Dutch factories at Sadras and Pulicat. Next he fitted out a more considerable expedition against the more important settlement of Negapatam.

In November, 1781, Negapatam was accordingly besieged and taken, several thousand Dutch troops, after a resolute resistance, being made prisoners on this occasion. Inspirited by that exploit, a body of five hundred men was put on board the fleet, and sent to the attack of Fort Ostenburg and Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon. This service, also, was no less successfully performed, but was much more than counterbalanced by the disaster which, in February, 1782, befell another British detachment in the district of Tanjore. There Colonel Braithwaite, at the head of one hundred Europeans and eighteen hundred sepoys, found himself surrounded and surprised by an army of Mysore, under Hyder's son Tipu and M. Lally. He and his men fought most bravely, but at last were overpowered by superior numbers; and all either cut to pieces or taken captive and consigned to the dungeons of Seringapatam.

In the same month of February, 1782, the armament from France, so long expected, appeared off the coast of Coromandel. Its command had devolved on Suffren, one of the best seamen whom his country can boast. Already, on his outward voyage, he had fought a pitched battle with an English squadron at Porto Praya, in one of the Cape Verd islands. By his prompt arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, he had secured that colony against the same squadron for his new allies the Dutch. In India it was one of his first cares to land at Porto Novo two thousand French soldiers whom he had on board, to form, with their countrymen already serving, an auxiliary force to the armies of Mysore. These troops being joined by Tipu, flushed as he was then with his triumph over Colonel Braithwaite, they proceeded in conjunction to invest Cuddalore, a seaport town between Porto Novo and Pondicherry. Having to encounter only a feeble garrison of four hundred men, they easily prevailed in their attack; and Cuddalore, thus wrested from the English, became of great importance to the French, both as a place of arms and as a harbour, during the whole remainder of the war.

It so chanced that at the very time when the armament from France appeared in the Indian seas, the British fleet in that quarter was seasonably reinforced by several new ships from England. De Suffren and Sir Edward Hughes, the two admirals here opposed to each other, were antagonists well matched both for skill and intrepidity. In the period between February, 1782, and June, 1783, no less than five pitched battles were fought between them. In these their force was very nearly equal, with only a slight superiority on most occasions on the side of the French. But in none of these was any decisive advantage gained by either party. No ship of war was captured; no overwhelming loss of men was achieved; and, in turning to the best account the results of every action, Suffren showed a far superior skill, especially in retaking Trincomalee and relieving Cuddalore.

The arrival of the French auxiliaries to the forces of Mysore was, in a great measure, counterbalanced by the peace which at this time Hastings con-

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cluded with the Mahratta estates. Thus, the English could continue to wage, on no unequal terms, the war in the Carnatic until, in December, 1782, it received a new turn from the illness and death of Hyder Ali. This event was concealed as long as possible, to afford time for Tipu, who was then upon the coast of Malabar, to return and claim in person the allegiance of the people and the troops. But when the intelligence did at last reach Calcutta, it fired anew the energies of Sir Eyre Coote. Weak health had compelled the failing veteran, after one more battle with Hyder at Arnee, to withdraw from the field in the Carnatic, and sail back to his council-chambers of Bengal. Now, however, he felt, or he fancied, his strength in some degree restored; and he was eager to measure swords against the new sultan. For this purpose he embarked in an armed vessel which carried out supplies of money to Madras. This, towards the close of its voyage, was chased for two days and two nights by some French ships of the line. During all this time the general's anxiety kept him constantly on deck. The excessive heat by day, the unwholesome dews at night, wrought sad havoc on his already wasted frame; and thus, although the ship escaped from its pursuers, Sir Eyre Coote expired in April, 1783, only two days after he had landed at Madras.

Tipu during this time had returned to the coast of Malabar. There he had to wage war against General Mathews and a body of troops from Bombay set free by the peace with the Mahrattas. The English general at first had great successes, reducing both Bednur and Mangalore. But the appearance of the sultan at the head of fifty thousand men changed the scene. Mathews was besieged in Bednur and taken prisoner with all his Europeans. Being accused, though unjustly, of a breach of faith, he was put in irons, and sent in the strictest duresse with many of his comrades to Seringapatam, there to perish in the dungeons of the tyrant.

At Madras the command of the forces, in the absence of Sir Eyre, had devolved, though far less adequately, on General Stuart. That officer, in the spring of 1783, commenced operations against the French in Cuddalore, who had lately received from Europe some considerable reinforcements under De Bussy. The lines in front of the town, which Bussy had well fortified, were assailed by Stuart with more of intrepidity than skill. The fleets on both sides hastened to the scene of action; but suddenly at the close of June the tidings came that the preliminaries of peace between France and England had been signed at Versailles. By that compact, Pondicherry and the other settlements of France in India, as they stood before the war, were to be restored. The French took possession accordingly, but, on the other hand, they recalled their detachment serving under Tipu in Malabar, and prepared to sail back with their armament to France.

Tipu then remained alone. He had set his heart on adding lustre to his arms by reducing in person the stronghold of Mangalore, but, having achieved that object in the autumn of 1783, he was no longer disinclined to treat with the English upon the footing of a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the commencement of the war. Thus was peace restored through all the wide extent of India, and thus did the administration of Hastings, which endured until the spring of 1785, close, after all its storms, with scarce a cloud upon its sky.[c]

THE IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS

Francis had returned to Europe, with the wound inflicted by Hastings' pistol fresh on his body, and with the bitterest feelings of animosity rankling

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in his heart. He had made the acquaintance of Burke before he went to the east; he corresponded with him during his residence at Calcutta; and on his return he had full possession of his ear, and filled Burke's generous and excitable mind with false and horrible tales against Hastings, and against all who had supported that governor-general in his struggle with Francis, Clavering, and Monson. From the moment of Francis' arrival in England, by means of pamphlets, books of travels, harangues at public meetings, private discussions, and parliamentary orations, a merciless war was commenced against the great man who was saving, and who in the end did both save and enlarge the Indian Empire of Great Britain. It was soon resolved to impeach Hastings for the means he had employed to effect the great object.

Hastings, however, was not recalled; he resigned. The last two years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity and prosperity which had not been known for many ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as Europeans.

He was most favourably received at court; but his enemies did not leave him long tranquil. Francis had obtained a seat in parliament, ranging himself on the side of the most active and the most eloquent opposition party that the country had yet seen, and through Francis and his too credulous ally, Burke, the prosecution of Hastings was made a party question. It took some time and trouble to convert Charles Fox, but at last that statesman entered into the crusade against the governor-general with his constitutional heat and impetuosity. Sheridan, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Windham, Mr., afterwards Earl Grey, and all the great whig orators either preceded or followed Fox; and for many years their efforts were united to effect the ruin and disgrace of Warren Hastings, who was no orator, who had no seat in parliament, and who had to contend with nearly every possible disadvantage. The mere outlines of the proceedings would fill a volume — they lasted altogether more than ten years; and without details still more voluminous, an adequate notion could not be conveyed of this unprecedented persecution. We can here do no more than describe the scene and give the results.

On the 4th of April, Burke charged Warren Hastings, Esquire, late governor-general of Bengal, etc., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanours, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles; and on the 6th of May another charge, being the twenty-second, was added to the long and bewildering list. But the several accusations were finally confined to four heads: The oppression and final expulsion of the rajah of Benares; the maltreatment and robbery of the begums of the house of Oudh; and the charges of receiving presents and conniving at unfair contracts and extravagant expenditure. The sessions of 1786-1787 having been consumed in preliminary proceedings, the house of lords assembled in Westminster Hall, February 13th, 1788, to try the impeachment.[g]

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MACAULAY'S PICTURE OF THE TRIAL

There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilisation were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of the British constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The high court of parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oudh.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the high court of justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under garter king-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths of the upper house as the upper house then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the king. Last of all came the prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing.

The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful

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foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

The sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country; had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect; a high and intellectual forehead; a brow pensive, but not gloomy; a mouth of inflexible decision; a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis;* such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the lower house, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham.

On the third day Burke rose; four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendour of diction which more than

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satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the company and of the English presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of eastern society, as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard: and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded:

"Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered, by the commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the commons' house of parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The lords retired to their own house to consider the question. The chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the princesses of Oudh. The conduct of this part of the case was entrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days; but the hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan when he concluded contrived, with a knowledge of stage effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the court

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began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the begums: From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with *lacs* and *crores*, *zemindars* and *aumils*, *sunnuds* and *perwannahs*, *jaghires* and *nuzzurs*. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the peers between their house and the hall; for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as a peer wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.[f]

THE FINAL ACQUITTAL OF HASTINGS (1795 A.D.)

The sessions of 1788, 1789, and 1790 were consumed in going through the case for the prosecution. In 1791 the commons expressed their willingness to abandon some part of the charges, with the view of bringing this extraordinary trial sooner to an end; and on the 2nd of June, the seventy-third day, Mr. Hastings began his defence. This was protracted until April 17th, 1795, on which (the one hundred and forty-eighth) day he was acquitted by a large majority on every separate article charged against him.

The opposition party, who at that time almost monopolised the public press, had deeply blackened the character of the benefactor of his country and the people of India; yet public opinion changed greatly during the long trial, and Hastings came to be regarded as an oppressed, instead of an offending man. The malice of Francis was so far defeated; but the law charges of the defence had exhausted the fortune of the late governor-general; and but for an annuity of £4,000, and a loan of ready money granted to him by the East India Company, in 1796, the illustrious and (in private life) amiable Hastings might have been left to end his days in a prison or a poorhouse.

Strenuous efforts had also been made by the parliamentary opposition to couple Sir Elijah Impey, the first chief-justice of Bengal, with the first governor-general. Prompted by Francis, and acting in concert with Burke, Fox, and the rest of the opposition leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, 1787, denounced Sir Elijah, in the house of commons, as the single sole murderer of Nandkumar, and moved his impeachment upon that and upon five other charges. But on the 9th of May, Sir Elijah was acquitted of the Nandkumar charge by a parliament majority, and this put an end to all proceedings against him.[g]

Macaulay's Estimate of Hastings

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. Of about one hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. It had been scattered by calamities more

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bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living. But their friendship was at an end.

Hastings was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the house of commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidise such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been entrusted had failed. Still if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would after all his losses have had a moderate competence; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendants of its old lords. But the manor house was a ruin; and the grounds round it had during many years been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the house of lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the nawab vizir reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organisation by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis XVI or of the emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, which existed when he left Bengal, without exception, was his creation.

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Sir A. Lyall on Warren Hastings

Hastings carried the government of India safely through one of the sharpest crises in our national history, when our transmarine possessions were in great peril all over the world, because all the naval powers of Europe were banded against us. In America, the insurgents after an arduous struggle tore down the British flag; in India the end of a long and exhausting contest found our flag not only flying but still more firmly planted than ever; nor had either the vindictive hostility of Mysore, or the indefatigable activity of the Mahrattas, succeeded in wresting an acre of British territory from the grasp of Warren Hastings.[s]

PITT REFORMS THE ADMINISTRATION (1784 A.D.)

When Mr. Fox succeeded to the head of affairs in 1783, all parties were already prepared for a great and important change in the government of Great Britain's eastern empire. But the scheme of that able and ambitious statesman far outstripped either the reason or necessity of the case. He proposed — in his famous India Bill, which convulsed the nation from end to end, and in its ultimate results occasioned the downfall of his administration — to vest the exclusive right of governing India in seven directors, "to be named in the act," that is, appointed by the legislature under the direction of the ministry for the time. The vacancies in these commissioners were to be filled up by the house of commons under the same direction. But this important innovation was defeated, after it had passed the lower house, by a small majority of nineteen in the house of peers, and this defeat was immediately followed by the dismissal of Mr. Fox and his whole administration.

Although, however, Mr. Fox's India Bill was rejected, yet the numerous abuses of Great Britain's Indian dominions, as well as the imminent hazard which they had run during the war with Hyder Ali, from the want of a firmly constituted central government, were too fresh in the public recollection to permit the existing state of matters to continue. Mr. Pitt, accordingly, was no sooner installed in power, than be brought forward an India Bill of his own, which, it was hoped, would prove exempt from the objections to which its predecessor had been liable, and, at the same time, remedy the serious evils to which the administration of affairs in India had hitherto been exposed. This bill passed both houses (1784) and formed the basis of the system under which, with some subsequent but inconsiderable amendments, the affairs of India were for many years administered. By it the court of directors appointed by the East India Company remained as before, and to them the general administration of Indian affairs was still entrusted.

The great change introduced was the institution of the Board of Control, a body composed of six members of the privy council, chosen by the king — the chancellor of the exchequer and one of the secretaries of state being two — in whom the power of directing and controlling the proceedings of the Indian Empire was vested. The duties of this board were very loosely defined, and were all ultimately centred in the president, an officer who became a fourth secretary of state for the Indian Empire. They were described as being "from time to time to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in anywise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and possessions of the East India Company." These powers were ample enough; but in practice they led to little more than a control of the company in the more important political or military concerns

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of the East, leaving the directors in possession of the practical direction of affairs in ordinary cases. All vacancies in official situations, with the exception of the offices of governor-general of India, governors of Madras and Bombay, and commanders-in-chief, which were to be filled up by the British government, were left at the disposal of the East India directors. A most important provision was made in the institution of a secret committee, who were to send to India in duplicate such despatches as they might receive from the board of control, and in the establishment of the supreme government of Calcutta, with a controlling power over the other presidencies — a change which at once introduced unity of action into all parts of the peninsula.

It cannot be affirmed that this anomalous constitution will stand the test of theoretical examination, or is confirmed by history as regards other states. Still less could it be presumed that a distribution of supreme power between a governor-general and two subordinate governors in the East, and a board of control and body of directors in the British Islands, gave any fair prospect either of unity of purpose or efficiency of action. Nevertheless, if experience, the great test of truth, be consulted, and the splendid progress of the Indian Empire of Great Britain since it was directed in this manner be alone considered, there is reason to hold this system of government one of the most perfect that ever was devised by human wisdom for the advancement and confirmation of political greatness. The secret of this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact, that this division of power existed in theory only; that from the great distance of India from the home government, and the pressing interests which so frequently called for immediate decision, the supreme direction of affairs practically came to be vested in the governors-general; and that in them were found a succession of great men, second to none who ever appeared in the world for vigour and capacity, and who vindicated the truth of the saying of Sallust, that it is in the strenuous virtue of a few that the real cause of national greatness is in general to be found.

It soon appeared how much the vigour and efficiency of the Indian administration had been increased by the important changes made in its central government. By Mr. Pitt's India Bill, all ideas of foreign conquest in the East had been studiously repressed — it having been declared, that "to pursue schemes of conquest or extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation." But this declaration, in appearance so just and practicable, was widely at variance with the conduct which extraneous events shortly after forced upon the British government.

LORD CORNWALLIS AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL; THE WAR WITH TIPU (1786–1792 A.D.)

In order, however, to carry into execution the pacific views of ministers at home, a nobleman of high rank and character, Lord Cornwallis, was sent out by Mr. Pitt, who united in his person the two offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief, so as to give the greatest possible unity to the action of government [1786]. No sooner, however, had he arrived there, than he discovered that Tipu was intriguing with the other native powers for the subversion of Great Britain's Indian dominion; and, as a rupture with France was apprehended at that juncture, four strong regiments were despatched to India. As the company complained of the expense which this additional force entailed upon their finances, a bill was brought into parliament by Mr. Pitt, which fixed the number of king's troops who might be ordered to India by

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the board of control, at the expense of the company, at eight thousand, besides twelve thousand European forces in the company's service.

The wisdom of this great addition to the native European force in India, as well as the increased vigour and efficiency of the supreme government, speedily appeared in the next war that broke out. Tipu, whose hostility to the English was well known to be inveterate, and who had long been watched with jealous eyes by the Madras presidency, at length [1789] commenced an attack upon the rajah of Travancore — a prince in alliance with the British, and actually supported by a subsidiary force of their troops. At first, from the total want of preparation which had arisen from the pacific policy so strongly inculcated upon the Indian authorities by the government at home, he obtained very great success, and totally subdued the chief against whom he had commenced hostilities.

Perceiving that the British character was now at stake in the peninsula, and being well aware that a power founded on opinion must instantly sink into insignificance, if the idea gets abroad that its allies may be insulted with impunity, Lord Cornwallis immediately took the most energetic measures to re-assert the honour of the British name. Fifteen thousand men were collected in the Carnatic under General Meadows, while eight thousand more were to ascend the Ghats from the side of Bombay, under General Abercromby. Treaties of alliance were at the same time entered into with the peshwa and the nizam, and hostilities commenced, which were at first attended with checkered success — General Meadows having taken Karur and other towns, and Tipu having surprised Colonel Floyd, and burst into the Carnatic, where he committed the most dreadful ravages.

THE CAMPAIGN OF SERINGAPATAM (1791-1792 A.D.)

The energies of government, however, were now thoroughly aroused. In December, 1791, Lord Cornwallis embarked in person for Madras: the Bengal sepoys were with extreme difficulty reconciled to a sea voyage; and great reinforcements, with the commander-in-chief, were safely landed in the southern presidency. It was resolved to commence operations with the siege of Bangalore, one of the strongest fortresses in Mysore, and commanding the most eligible pass from the coast to the centre of Tipu's dominions. In the end of January the grand army[1] moved forward; the important pass of Coorg leading up the Ghats, was occupied within a month after; Bangalore was invested in the beginning of March and carried by assault on the 21st of that month.

Encouraged by this great success, Lord Cornwallis pushed on direct to Seringapatam, although the advanced period of the season, and scanty supplies of the army, rendered it a service of considerable peril, which was increased rather than diminished by the junction, shortly after, of ten thousand of the nizam's horse, who, without rendering any service to the army, consumed every particle of grass and forage within its reach.

Still the English general continued to press forward, and at length reached the fortified position of the enemy, on strong ground, about six miles in front of Seringapatam. An attack was immediately resolved on; but Tipu, who conducted his defence with great skill, did not await the formidable onset of the assaulting columns, and after inflicting a severe loss on the assailants by the fire of his artillery, withdrew all his forces within the works of the fortress.

[[1] Lord Cornwallis led the British army in person with a pomp and lavishness of supplies that recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb.—HUNTER.[c]]

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The English were now within sight of the capital of Mysore, and decisive success seemed almost within their reach. They were in no condition, however, to undertake the siege. Orders were therefore given to retreat, and the army retired with heavy hearts and considerable loss of stores and men. But the opportune arrival of the advanced guard of the Mahratta contingent, on the second day of the march, which at first caused great alarm, suspended the retrograde movement, and the army encamped for the rainy season in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam.[h]

The next move to Seringapatam was effectual. Reinforcements had been sent out from England; and during the autumn all the lines of communication for another march upon the capital of Tipu had been opened. Some of the strong hill forts had been stormed and taken by the troops under General Meadows. On the 25th of January, 1792, Cornwallis, with twenty-two thousand men, had united his force to the troops of the nizam and the Mahrattas, and commenced his march. On the 5th of February he encamped about six miles northward of Seringapatam. The Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. It amounted to five thousand horse and forty thousand foot. The city was defended by three strong lines of works and redoubts, in which three hundred pieces of artillery were planted. Cornwallis reconnoitred these lines on the morning of the 6th, and determined to storm them that night, with his own army, without communicating his plan to his allies.

At eight o'clock the British moved in three columns to the attack, one column being led by Cornwallis himself. The moon was shining brilliantly; but the sun of the next day was declining before the firing ceased, and the whole line of forts to the north of the Kaveri were in possession of the British forces. Tipu retired within the walls of his capital. Preparations for the siege went vigorously on; but negotiations for peace were at the same time proceeding. The British commander, assured of his triumph, demanded that Tipu should cede the half of his dominions; should pay a sum amounting to £3,000,000; should release all his prisoners; and should deliver his two sons as hostages. The sultan assembled his officers in the great mosque, and adjured them, by the sacred contents of the Koran, to tell him whether he should accept these hard terms. They all held that no reliance could be placed upon the troops, and that submission was inevitable.

On the 23rd of February the preliminaries of peace were signed; and on the 25th the two sons of Tipu were surrendered to Lord Cornwallis. The definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 19th of March. The ceded territories were divided in equal portions between the company, the nizam, and the Mahrattas. On the 4th of May Cornwallis wrote to his brother, "Our peace will no doubt be very popular in England. No termination of the war could have been attended with more solid advantages to our interest; and the deference which was paid to us on the occasion, both by friends and enemies, has placed the British name and consequence in a light never before known in India."

The subjection of Tipu was most opportune. In all probability Cornwallis, who was blamed by some for not insisting upon harder terms, anticipated the probability that the French Revolution would involve England in war, and therefore he made peace whilst it was in his power. When the war broke out he hurried to Madras. But his presence was unnecessary. Pondicherry had already been taken by Sir John Braithwaite; and the French had no longer a footing in India. The agents of the republic were nevertheless active, but they were unable, for several years, to move "Citizen Tipu" into a course of open hostility.[i]

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THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT (1793 A.D.)

If the foundations of the system of civil administration were laid by Hastings, the superstructure was erected by Cornwallis. It was he who first entrusted criminal jurisdiction to Europeans, and established the Nizamat Sadr Adalat, or supreme court of criminal judicature, at Calcutta, and it was he who separated the functions of collector and judge. The system thus organised in Bengal was afterwards transferred to Madras and Bombay, when those presidencies also acquired territorial sovereignty.

But the achievement most familiarly associated with the name of Cornwallis is the permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. Up to his time the revenue had been collected pretty much according to the old Mughal system. *Zamindars*, or government farmers, whose office always tended to become hereditary, were recognised as having a right of some sort to collect the revenue from the actual cultivators. But no principle of assessment existed, and the amount actually realised varied greatly from year to year. Hastings had the reputation of bearing hard upon the *zamindars*, and was absorbed in other critical affairs of state or of war. On the whole he seems to have looked to experience, as acquired from a succession of quinquennial settlements, to furnish the standard rate to the future.

TIPU SAHIB
(1749-1799)

Francis, on the other hand, Hastings' great rival, deserves the credit of being among the first to advocate a limitation of the state demand in perpetuity. The same view recommended itself to the authorities at home, partly because it would place their finances on a more stable basis, partly because it seemed to identify the *zamindar* with the more familiar landlord. Accordingly, Cornwallis took out with him in 1787 instructions to introduce a permanent settlement. The process of assessment began in 1789 and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the fields or calculate the out-turn as had been done by Akbar, and is now done when occasion requires in the British provinces; but the amount payable was fixed by reference to what has been paid in the past. At first the settlement was called decennial, but in 1793 it was declared permanent forever. The total assessment amounted to *sikka* Rs. 2,68,00,989, or about 2¾ millions sterling. Though Lord Cornwallis carried the scheme into execution, all praise or blame, so far as details are concerned, must belong to Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, whose knowledge of the country was unsurpassed by that of any civilian of his time. Shore would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis' preconceived idea of a proprietary body and the court of directors' haste after fixity permitted.[q]

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Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, succeeded Earl Cornwallis in the government of India. During his administration, 1793–1796, the two sons of Tipu, who had been taken as hostages for the due performance of their father's engagements, were given up, however doubtful might have been the continued amity of the sultan. In 1798 Lord Teignmouth was succeeded by Lord Mornington, afterwards created Marquis Wellesley. At the head of the Indian government was now a man of splendid abilities, and of vigour of character well fitted for action in any great crisis. He had a sound adviser, not only in military affairs, but in political, in his younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, then in his thirtieth year, who held the rank of colonel. From his arrival in India as the colonel of an infantry regiment in 1797, to his acceptance of a responsible command in 1799, we may trace the same qualities which, more than any other man, fitted him for an encounter with the genius of Bonaparte.

Arthur Wellesley's regiment, the 33rd, formed part of an army assembled at Vellore, in November, 1798, under the command of General Harris. Lord Mornington had endeavoured, without effect, to detach Tipu from the dangerous influence of the agents of the French government. The language of the governor-general was conciliatory, but it was firm. His proposal to negotiate was met by evasions. Tipu continued to rely upon the assistance of the French. He rejected every pacific overture. General Harris accordingly entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, 1799. The ally of the English, the nizam of the Deccan, sent a large contingent to join the army; and this force, to which the 33rd regiment was attached, was placed under the command of Colonel Wellesley.

The novelty, no less than the magnitude, of these operations, appears to have impressed the young commander of the nizam's army with a feeling of wonder which inexperience is not ashamed to display. The British grand army and the nizam's army marched in two columns parallel to each other. "The march of these two armies," says Wellesley[i] in his despatches, "was almost in the form of a square or oblong, of which the front and rear were formed of cavalry, and about two or three miles in extent; the right and left (owing to the immense space taken up in the column by field-pieces, drawn by bullocks), about six or seven miles. In this square went everything belonging to the army. You will have some idea of what there was in that space when I state to you the number of bullocks that I know were in the public service." These he computes at sixty thousand. The nizam's army had twenty-five thousand bullocks loaded with grain; besides elephants, camels, bullocks, carts, belonging to individuals, beyond all calculation. "You may have some idea of the thing when I tell you that, when all were together, there was a multitude in motion which covered eighteen square miles." The Bombay army joined these two moving multitudes; and after several encounters with the forces of Tipu, the united armies had taken up a position before Seringapatam.

CAPTURE OF SERINGAPATAM AND DEATH OF TIPU (1799 A.D.)

A series of successful attacks upon the enemy's posts enabled the breaching batteries to be erected at a short distance from the walls; and the breach was sufficiently complete for the city to be stormed on the 4th of May.[i] Early on the morning of the 4th, the troops destined for the assault were placed in the trenches; and the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon was chosen for the attack, when the sultry heat usually disposed the Asiatics to repose.

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Two thousand five hundred Europeans and two thousand natives formed the storming party under the command of General Baird. "Either," said he to Colonel Agnew, "we succeed to-morrow, or you never see me more." The assailants had a fearful prospect before them, for two-and-twenty thousand veteran troops composed the garrison, and the bastions, of uncommon strength, were armed with two hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

But before the British reached the breach, the enemy were at their post, and equally resolute with the assailants. When Tipu saw the British cross the Kaveri, he said, without changing colour, to those around him, "We have arrived at the last stage: what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the unanimous reply. All was ready for the defence, every battery was manned, and from every bastion and gun which bore on the assailants a close and deadly fire was directed, which speedily thinned their ranks. On, however, the British rushed, followed by their brave allies, through the deadly storm. In five minutes the river was crossed, in five more the breach was mounted; a sally on the flank of the assaulting column by a chosen body of Tipu's guards was repulsed; and as Baird was leading his men up the entangled steep, a loud shout and the waving of the British colours on its summit announced that the fortress was won, and that the capital of Mysore had fallen.

But here an unexpected obstacle intervened — the summit of the breach was separated from the interior of the works by a wide ditch, filled with water, and at first no means of crossing it appeared. At length, however, Baird discovered some planks which had been used by the workmen in getting over it to repair the rampart, and, himself leading the way, this formidable obstacle was surmounted. Straightway dividing his men into two columns, under colonels Sherbrooke and Dunlop, this heroic leader soon swept the ramparts both to the right and left. The brave Asiatics were by degrees forced back — Tipu being the last man who quitted the traverses, though not without desperate resistance, to the mosque, where a dreadful slaughter took place. The remains of the garrison were there crowded together in a very narrow space, having been driven from the ramparts by Sherbrooke's and Dunlop's columns, and jammed together in the neighbourhood of the mosque, where they long maintained their ground under a dreadful cross-fire of musketry, till almost the whole had fallen. The remnant at length surrendered, with two of Tipu's sons, when the firing had ceased at other points.

The sultan himself, who had endeavoured to escape at one of the gates of the town which was assaulted by the sepoys, was some time afterwards found dead under a heap of several hundred slain, composed in part of the principal officers of his palace, who had been driven into the confined space round the mosque. He was shot by a private soldier when stretched on his palanquin, after having been wounded and having had his horse killed under him; while Baird, who for three years had been detained a captive in chains in his dungeons, had the triumph of taking vengeance for his wrongs, by generously protecting and soothing the fears of the youthful sons of his redoubted antagonist.

Tipu could never be brought to believe that the English would venture to storm Seringapatam, and he looked forward with confidence to the setting in of the heavy rains, which were soon approaching, to compel them to raise the siege. He was brave, liberal, and popular during his father's life; but his reign, after he himself ascended the throne, was felt as tyrannical and oppressive by his subjects. This, however, as is often the case in the East, they ascribed rather to the cupidity of his ministers than to his own disposition. The Brahmans had predicted that the 4th of May would prove an inauspicious

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day to him; he made them large presents on that very morning, and asked them for their prayers.

He was sitting at dinner under a covered shed to avoid the rays of the sun when the alarm was given that the British were moving; he instantly washed his hands, called for his arms, and mounting his horse rode towards the breach, which he reached as they were crossing the Kaveri. On the way he received intelligence that Syed Goffer, his best officer, was killed. "Syed Goffer was never afraid of death," he exclaimed; "let Muhammed Kasim take charge of his division;" while he himself calmly continued to advance towards the tumult, and was actively engaged sustaining the rearguard, as it retired from the breach.

His corpse was found under a mountain of slain, stripped of all its ornaments and part of its clothing, but with the trusty amulet which he always wore still bound round his right arm. He had received three wounds in the body, and one in the temple; but the countenance was not distorted, the eyes were open, and the expression was that of stern composure. The body was still warm; and for a minute Colonel Wellesley, who was present, thought he was still alive: but the pulse which had so long throbbed for the independence of India had ceased to beat.

The storming of Seringapatam was one of the greatest blows ever struck by any nation, and demonstrated at once of what vast efforts the British Empire was capable, when directed by capacity and led by resolution. The immediate fruits of victory were immense. A formidable fortress, the centre of Tipu's power, garrisoned by twenty-two thousand regular troops, with all his treasures and military resources, had fallen; the whole arsenal and founderies of the kingdom of Mysore were taken, and the artillery they contained amounted to the enormous number of four hundred and fifty-one brass, and four hundred and seventy-one iron guns, besides two hundred and eighty-seven mounted on the works. Above five hundred and twenty thousand pounds of powder, and four hundred and twenty-four thousand round-shot, also fell into the hands of the victors. The military resources, on the whole, resembled rather those of an old-established European monarchy, than of an Indian potentate recently elevated to greatness. But these trophies, great as they were, constituted the least considerable fruits of this memorable conquest: its moral consequences were far more lasting and important.

In one day a race of usurpers had been extinguished, and a powerful empire overthrown; a rival to the British power struck down, and a tyrant of the native princes slain; a military monarchy subverted, and a stroke paralysing all India delivered. The loss in the assault was very trifling, amounting only to three hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded, though fourteen hundred had fallen since the commencement of the siege. But the portion in which it was divided indicated upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and how superior in the deadly breach European energy was to Asiatic valour; for of that number three hundred and forty were British, and only forty-seven native soldiers. Colonel Wellesley was not engaged in the storm; but he commanded the reserve, which did not require to be called into action, and merely viewed with impatient regret the heart-stirring scene. He was next day, however, named Governor of the town by General Harris, which appointment was not disturbed by Lord Wellesley, and constitutes one of the few blots on the otherwise unexceptionable administration of that eminent man. Lord Wellesley was fully aware of the signal conduct and valour displayed by Baird in the siege and storm of Seringapatam; but he selected his brother in preference to him for the

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command of that important fortress, from his knowledge of the rare combination of civil and military qualities which he possessed. Had the appointment not been made by General Harris, he declared he would have made it himself. History, indeed, apart from biographical discussion, has little cause to lament an appointment which early called into active service the great civil as well as military qualities of the duke of Wellington, which were immediately exerted with such vigour and effect in arresting the plunder and disorders consequent on the storm, that in a few days the shops were all reopened, and the bazars were as crowded as they had been during the most flourishing days of the Mysore dynasty. But individual injustice is not to be always excused by the merits of the preferred functionary; and, unquestionably, the hero of Seringapatam, the gallant officer who led the assault, was entitled to a very different fate from that of being superseded in the command almost before the sweat was wiped from the brow which he had adorned with the laurels of victory.[h] Colonel Wellesley's letter to the governor-general is very characteristic. "It was impossible to expect that, after the labour which the troops had undergone in working up to this place, and the various successes they had had in six different affairs with Tipu's troops, in all of which they had come to the bayonet with them, they should not have looked to the plunder of this place. Nothing therefore can have exceeded what was done on the night of the 4th. I came in to take the command on the morning of the 5th; and, by the greatest exertion, by hanging, flogging, etc., etc., in the course of that day, I restored order among the troops, and I hope I have gained the confidence of the people."

THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

After the fall of Tipu, and the partition of the Mysore territory in 1799, Lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy which is distinguished as the subsidiary system. Its principle was to form treaties with native rulers; in compliance with which, a military force, under British command, was to be maintained at the expense of the native prince; and the control of state affairs was to be vested in the British resident, with the exception of all that related to the domestic arrangements of the sovereign, who preserved the regal pomp without the regal power. The subsidiary system was warmly opposed in the British parliament, as unjust and tyrannical. Its defence is succinctly stated by Lord Brougham,[k] who was a constant enemy of all injustice and tyranny: "We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs, and to regulate the succession to their thrones, upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, nay, threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the restriction of the cruel despotism under which the native millions had formerly groaned." In 1800, a subsidiary treaty was formed with the nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for aid and protection. In 1801 the nephew of the deceased nawab of Arcot was raised to the nominal throne, renouncing in favor of the British all the powers of government. The subahdar of Oudh, and the peshwa, came also under subordination to the British authority.

MAHRATTA WAR OF 1803

After the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, a new danger had arisen, in a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, assisted by French arms and French influence.

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The war of England against Napoleon was in effect to be carried on in a war with the Mahrattas. In the districts watered by the Godavari and the Purna were the qualities of a great captain to be displayed, which, a few years later, were to drive the legions of Napoleon from the Tagus to the Garonne.

At the beginning of the century, the great Mahratta chief Holkar was at war with the equally valorous chief Sindhia. Holkar, to strengthen his own power and destroy an ally of his rival, attacked the peshwa, who fled from Poona after a signal defeat. It was then that he called the British to his aid, with whom he concluded the Treaty of Bassein, on the last day of December, 1802. General Wellesley marched six hundred miles, from Seringapatam to Poona, in the worst season of the year; drove out the Mahrattas; and reinstated the peshwa in his capital. Holkar now turned to his old rival Sindhia, to coalesce with him against the peshwa, the nizam, and the British.

Directing the military operations of Sindhia was a clever Frenchman, M. Perron, who had under him a large army of infantry disciplined in the European manner, many thousand cavalry, and a well appointed train of artillery. Bhonsla, the rajah of Berar (or rajah of Nagpur), joined the alliance of Sindhia and Holkar. The fifth Mahratta chieftain was the Gaikwar, and his territory was Guzerat, where Sindhia had some possessions and great power and influence. The Gaikwar took no part in the approaching contest. For some time after the peshwa had been restored, negotiations were going on between the British government and Sindhia and the rajah of Berar. They professed friendship, but it soon became clear that they were confederates with Holkar, and were depending for assistance upon Perron. The nizam was known to be dying; and it was one of the objects of these chieftains to arrange the succession so as to aggrandise their own power.

It was thus necessary to make war upon this confederacy, which threatened the security of the British dominion in India as much, if not more, than the hostility of Tipu. There was the same danger, as in his case, of an alliance with France on the part of the Mahrattas. Pondicherry had been given up to France by the Treaty of Amiens. When the Mahratta war broke out, the rupture of that treaty was not known. The vicinity of Pondicherry to the Mahratta country required the greatest vigilance. Whilst negotiations with the Mahratta chiefs were still in progress, the news came of the renewal of the war. A French force attempted to land at Pondicherry, and were made prisoners. Providing against hostilities upon a great scale, the governor-general decided upon the plan of a campaign, in which the rare faculty of organising the co-operating movements of troops acting upon different points ensured the same success as had attended the campaigns of Napoleon. One element of success was the unshackled power of an able commander in the Deccan, the most important portion of the field of war.

On the 26th of June Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of all the British and allied troops in the territories of the peshwa and the nizam, and to the direction of the political affairs of this district, which was surrounded by the dominions of the confederate chiefs. In Hindustan the same complete authority was given to General Lake. General Wellesley was at Poona with seventeen thousand men, when the negotiation with Sindhia was at an end. General Lake was upon the Jumna, watching the movements of Perron, who was in a part of the Doab which had been bestowed upon him by Sindhia. In Guzerat, Colonel Murray commanded the Bombay army, a force of seven thousand men, and he was afterwards reinforced by Colonel Woodington. In the province of Cuttack, Colonel Harcourt was at the head of the Madras army, a small body of troops, who were able to render efficient

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service. All these armies, not great in numerical amount, but most formidable in their discipline, were all in motion, at one and the same time, to close round the enemy from the south and the north, from the east and the west; "from the sea, the mountains, and the forests, over the salt plains of Cuttack, and the high plains of the Deccan, and through the passes of the Ghats, and over the rivers of Hindustan, and out of the rank swamps of the basin of the Ganges." (Martineau.[f])

It was the 3rd of August when the British resident quitted Sindhia's camp. His departure was the signal for immediate hostilities. On the 6th of August General Wellesley wrote a letter to Sindhia, characterised by his usual decisive language: "I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences." On the 12th of August, he had advanced through roads rendered almost impassable by violent rains, and had taken the strong fort of Ahmednagar. General Lake was equally prompt in his movements. The French force under Perron fled before him, retreating from Coel, which Lake then occupied.

Perron, in a few days, put himself under British protection, and was received with kindness. He complained of the treachery of his officers, and is supposed not to have been insensible to the attractions of drafts upon the treasury of Calcutta. On the 4th of September, the strong fortress of Aligarh was taken by a storming party of the army of Lake. The Bombay and the Madras armies were equally successful in their advances. On the 6th of August, General Wellesley had sent orders to the officer in command of the Bombay army to attack Broach. In a little more than three weeks Broach had surrendered. On the 12th of September, Lake obtained a great victory over the troops of Sindhia, and over the French army which Perron had formed. They were commanded by another Frenchman, Bourquien. On the following day the British were in possession of Delhi. Lake restored the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, who had been deposed, and thus propitiated the Mohammedan population of Hindustan.

The triumphant career of Lake was followed up in the battles of Muttra and Agra, and was completed in the great victory of Laswari on the 1st of November. He was worthy of all honour. The thanks of parliament and a peerage were never more properly bestowed than upon the senior general in this astonishing campaign.

Colonel Stevenson was to the east of General Wellesley, after the capture of Ahmednagar. It was necessary to effect a junction of their two armies. Wellesley directed Stevenson to take a bold course: "Move forward yourself with the company's cavalry, and all the nizam's, and a battalion, and dash at the first party that comes into your neighbourhood. A long defensive war will ruin us. By any other plan we shall lose our supplies." On the 21st of August Wellesley's cavalry was passing the wide Godavari. They passed in wicker boats covered with bullock skins. During a month, Wellesley and Stevenson were pursuing Sindhia's forces, united with those of the rajah of Berar, each of the British commanders never allowing the enemy to rest, and marching always with the rapidity which could alone keep pace with the Mahratta cavalry. On the 21st of September Wellesley and Stevenson were a little to the east of Aurangabad. They were sufficiently near to each other to concert a plan of joint operations against the Mahratta armies, which had been reinforced with sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and with a train of artillery. This formidable force was concentrated on the banks of the Kaitna.

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BATTLE OF ASSAYE (1803 A.D.)

On the 22nd of September the division under Wellesley, and the division under Stevenson, marched with the intention to attack the enemy. There was a range of hills between the British and the Mahrattas. One division marched by the eastern road round the hills; the other by the western road. They encamped that night at the two extremities of the range of hills. On the morning of the 23rd, General Wellesley received information that Sindhia and Bhonsla had moved off with their cavalry, but that their infantry were still in camp, and were about to follow the cavalry. Their camp might be seen from a rising ground. "It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed," writes Wellesley. It was no longer to be delayed, although Colonel Stevenson had not arrived with his detachment. He was misled by his guides. In his latter years, the duke of Wellington *i* related to "an early and intimate friend" how he formed his plan.

"I was indebted for my success at Assaye to a very ordinary exercise of common sense. The Mahratta chiefs, whom I was marching to overtake, had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming force of native cavalry. To get rid of these gentlemen, and to get at the others, I had no chance but getting over the river also. I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it therabouts, and on which Assaye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the battle — the bloodiest for the number that I ever saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."

The battle of Assaye might well be called "the bloodiest for its number" that the hero of so many battles had ever seen. Well might it be so, when the Mahrattas' force was at least seven times as numerous as the British army. It was one o'clock when the enemy's camp was in view, extending from five to seven miles. "We began to advance," writes the brigade-major, "a little after three, and the action was not entirely over till six o'clock." The 74th and 78th regiments, and four battalions of sepoys, moved forward to the attack: the piquets led; and the cavalry brought up the rear to protect the infantry from the enemy's horse. We quote the spirited narrative of an eye-witness, Lieutenant (not Sir) Colin Campbell:

"The line was ordered to advance. The piquets at this period had nearly lost a third of their number, and most of their gun-bullocks were killed. The line moved rapidly and took possession of the first line of guns, where many of the enemy were killed. They then moved on in equally good order and resolution to the second line of guns, from which they very soon drove the enemy; but many of the artillery, who pretended to be dead when we passed on to the second line of guns, turned the guns we had taken upon us, which obliged us to return and again to drive them from them.

At this period the cannonade was truly tremendous. A milk-hedge in their front, which they had to pass to come at the enemy's guns, threw them into a little confusion; but they still pushed forward, and had taken possession of many of their guns, when the second line, which opened on them, obliged them to retire from what they had so dearly purchased. The numbers of the 74th regiment remaining at this period were small; on their returning, some of the enemy's cavalry came forward and cut up many of the wounded officers

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and men. It was at this critical moment that the 19th charged, and saved the remains of the 74th regiment. General Wellesley at the same time threw the 78th regiment forward on their right, to move down on the enemy, who still kept their position at Assaye. This movement, and the charge of the 19th light dragoons, made the enemy retire from all their guns precipitately and they fled across the nullah to our right at the village of Assaye, where numbers of them were cut up by the cavalry. The general was in the thick of the action the whole time, and had a horse killed under him. No man could have shown a better example to the troops than he did. I never saw a man so cool and collected as he was the whole time, though I can assure you, till our troops got orders to advance, the fate of the day seemed doubtful; and if the numerous cavalry of the enemy had done their duty, I hardly think it possible that we could have succeeded. From the European officers who have since surrendered, it appears they had about twelve thousand infantry, and their cavalry is supposed to have been at least twenty thousand, though many make it more. We have now in our possession one hundred and two guns, and all their tumbrils."

In the middle of October Colonel Stevenson obtained possession of the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burhanpur. General Wellesley had followed the Mahratta army in their various movements, their stratagems never defeating his vigilance. Sindhia at last desired a truce. This was granted. But it was soon discovered that his cavalry were serving in the army of the rajah of Berar, and that the truce was altogether delusive. On the 29th of November, General Wellesley obtained a victory over the united armies of Sindhia and Bhonsla. The Mahrattas retired in disorder, leaving their cannon, and pursued by moonlight by the British, the Mughal, and the Mysore cavalry. This wonderful campaign, of little more than four months, was finished by the successful termination of the siege of Gawilgarh (December 15th).

The Mahratta war with Sindhia and Bhonsla was at an end. The rajah of Berar, who had sued for a peace, signed a treaty on the 17th. He ceded Cuttack, which was annexed to the British dominions, and he agreed to admit no Europeans but the British within his territories. Sindhia also was completely humbled. A treaty with him was signed on the 30th of December, he agreeing to give up Broach, Ahmednagar, and his forts in the Doab; and to exclude all Europeans except the British. He was to receive the protection which was extended under the subsidiary system to other dependent states.

But there was another great Mahratta chieftain yet unsubdued. His intriguing spirit was exercised in urging the other chiefs to break the treaties which they had entered into. The governor-general tried to convert this enemy into a friend by negotiation. Holkar openly defied him; he would come with his army, and sweep and destroy like the waves of the sea. In April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar. The war went on through 1804 and 1805. Marquis Wellesley had resigned the government of India at the end of July; and Marquis Cornwallis had succeeded him, before Holkar was subdued. Cornwallis died on the 5th of October, and Sir George Barlow assumed the government. On the 24th of December a treaty was signed with Holkar; and he also agreed to exclude from his territories all Europeans except the British.

FAMINE IN INDIA

Sir Arthur Wellesley (he had received the order of the Bath for his great services) returned to England in 1805. During his voyage home he employed

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his active mind in writing an interesting paper on the subject of *Dearth in India*. There had been a famine in the Deccan in 1803 and 1804, which he had witnessed. The dearth, and its fatal effects, were to be attributed principally to the dry season of 1803. He describes the physical geography of the peninsula; the peculiar cultivation of wet lands or of dry; the dependence of the rice-produce of the wet lands upon the fall of the rain, assisted by the artificial canals, tanks, and wells, many of which were ancient works; and the entire dependence of the dry lands, where what are called dry grains are cultivated, upon the critical arrival and the quantity of the periodical rains. The portions of the Indian Empire to which Sir A. Wellesley directed his attention were far less extensive than at present.

Since 1804 there have been many famines. Awful as the distress has been, it is satisfactory to know that the question which Sir A. Wellesley asked, "in what manner the deficiency produced by the seasons in any particular part could be remedied by the government in that part," has been to some extent answered, by the construction of great canals for irrigation. The eastern and the western Jumna canals, and the Ganges canal, are the grandest of these works, and are capable of irrigating several millions of acres.[1]

In recent years the extension of railways and the improvement of internal communication whereby particular districts suffering from famine can be supplied from more fortunate ones have been the means employed for coping with this scourge and an annual charge has been made on the revenue for funds to be used in time of dearth. Nevertheless the twentieth century opened amidst widespread suffering from this cause which was most marked in the native states. It is said however that the deaths of grown persons were not numerous and when they did occur were attributable to the people's own apathy. On the other hand above five million persons were at one time in receipt of relief.[a]

After his return from India, the marquis Wellesley had to endure the bitter mortification of finding that his great public services had rendered him a mark for the attacks of James Paull, who, having failed in India of advancement at his hands, returned to England and became a member of parliament. It is unnecessary for us to follow the parliamentary discussions on this subject. The accusations were, in a great degree, the result of private malice and party rancour; and, like all such abuses of the privileges of representative government, their interest very quickly passed away.

MUTINY AT VELLORE (1806 A.D.)

In the affairs of India, an event of far more lasting importance than the assaults upon the marquis Wellesley took place on the 10th of July, 1806. At two o'clock in the morning of that day, the European barracks at Vellore, in which were four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoys in the service of the East India Company. Through every door and window these mutineers poured in a destructive fire upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels were killed; the sick in the hospital were massacred; the officers' houses were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were put to death. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th fell in the attempt to save his men.

There was a terrible retribution the next day. The 19th regiment of dragoons arrived; took the fort of Vellore from the insurgents; six hundred of the sepoys were cut down; and two hundred were dragged out of their hiding places and shot. The sons of Tipu Sahib, who were residing at Vellore, were

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suspected of being concerned in this mutiny. But there were demonstrations of a spirit of disaffection amongst the native troops in other places. Some extremely foolish regulations had been attempted by the military authorities at Madras with respect to the dress of the sepoys. It was wished to transform the turban into something like a helmet. An opinion had been spread that it was the desire of the British government to convert the native troops to Christianity by forcible means. This notion was disavowed in a subsequent proclamation of the government at Madras. But at that time the zeal of some persons for the conversion of the Hindu population was far from discreet; and in England there was no hesitation in declaring, that "the restless spirit of fanaticism has insinuated itself into our Indian councils;" and that unless checked in time, it will lead to the subversion of our Indian Empire, and the massacre of our countrymen dispersed over that distant land."[1]

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CHAPTER IV

CONQUESTS AND REFORMS FROM 1807 TO 1835 A.D.

LORD MINTO AND THE MUTINY OF BRITISH OFFICERS (1807–1813 A.D.)

At the beginning of 1807 India was at peace. On the death of the marquis Cornwallis, the powers of the governor-general were temporarily exercised by Sir George Barlow, who was subsequently entrusted with the full authority of his post by the court of directors. The Grenville administration had just come into office, and they wished to bestow the appointment upon one of their own supporters, and especially upon some nobleman. The debates in parliament on this subject were continued and violent. The conflict was finally settled by the appointment of Lord Minto. The tranquillity of his government was after a while seriously disturbed by an outbreak against the power of the company at Travancore. There was war against the rajah of this state, which originated in a dispute between his diwan or chief minister, and the British resident. His troops were beaten in the field during 1808, and the lines of Travancore being stormed at the beginning of 1809, and other forts captured, relations of amity between the company and the rajah were restored.

A more serious danger arose out of a circumstance which appears now amongst the almost incredible things of the past. The officers of the Madras army, who had long been stirred up to discontent, had mutinied, and Lord Minto, in August, 1809, sailed for Madras to quell this extraordinary insubordination of British officers. There were various and contradictory regulations existing in the several presidencies. There were inequalities in the rate of allowances. At Madras, what the council termed "a very dangerous spirit of cabal" had been pointed out as early as March, 1807, by the council to the court of directors. There was there an officer high in command, Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, who was described in the despatch of the council as "the champion of the rights of the company's army." Colonel St. Leger, as well as other officers, was suspended by an order of the 1st of May, and then open mutiny burst out at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other

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places. On one occasion only was blood shed in this extraordinary revolt. Many of these officers were very young men, who were incited to acts of insubordination by the example of their seniors. Brave as were the British officers in the field, their exclusiveness and assumption of superiority were offensive to civilians and dangerous in their intercourse with the natives. These misguided men gradually returned to habits of obedience. In September Lord Minto published an amnesty, with the exception of eighteen officers, nearly all of whom chose to resign rather than to abide the judgment of a court-martial. It now became the wish of all to obliterate the painful remembrance of the past. During this alarming period, in which the mutiny of the officers might have led to the entire disorganisation of the sepoy army, the king's troops manifested the most entire obedience to the orders of the governor-general.

During the administration of Lord Minto a number of successful operations were undertaken in the Eastern Archipelago, which, in 1810, gave the British possession of Amboyna and the Banda Isles, of the Île de la Réunion, and of the Mauritius. The most important of these conquests was the rich island of Java, which, after a severe battle with the Dutch troops near the capital, capitulated in 1810. Sir Stamford Raffles, who was appointed lieutenant-governor of Java, described it as "the other India." It passed out of British hands at the peace — a circumstance attributed by many to the complete ignorance of the British government of the great value of this possession. The policy of the court of directors was to maintain peace as long as possible upon the continent of India, and thus the depredations of the Pindharis and the Nepalese were not met by the governor-general with any vigorous measures of repression. He demanded redress of the rajah of Nepal for the outrages of his people, but he did not make any more effectual demonstration to compel a less injurious conduct. His diplomacy had for its main object to prevent the establishment of the French in the peninsula. He concluded treaties with the amirs of Sind, and with the king of Kabul, of which the terms of friendship were, that they should restrain the French from settling in their territories. With Persia, where France was endeavouring to establish her influence, a treaty was concluded, binding the sovereign to resist the passage of any European force through his country towards India.

The usual term of a governor-general's residence being completed, Lord Minto resigned in 1813, and returned to England. He came at a time when a material alteration in the position of the East India Company was at hand. By the Statute of Queen Anne, and by successive acts of parliament, the company had the exclusive privilege, as regarded English subjects, of trading to all places east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the Straits of Magellan. In March, 1813, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee to consider the affairs of the East India Company. The government proposed that the charter of the company should be renewed for twenty years, during which term they should retain the exclusive trade to China, but that the trade to India should be thrown open on certain conditions. The government also proposed to appoint a bishop for India, and three archdeacons. The committee examined various witnesses. The first witness was Warren Hastings, then eighty years of age. He expressed his decided opinion that the settlement of Europeans would be fraught with danger to the peace of the country and the security of the company, and that the trade between India and England, as then regulated, was far more beneficial than if perfectly free. On the subject of the propagation of Christianity in India, and the proposed Episcopal establishment, his evidence is described as having evinced "a most philo-

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sophic indifference." The debates in both houses on the resolutions occupied four months of the session. A bill was finally passed by which the trade to India was thrown open as proposed, the territorial and commercial branches of the company's affairs were separated, and the king was empowered to create a bishop of India, and three archdeacons, to be paid by the company.

THE GURKHA WAR; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PINDHARIS (1814-1818 A.D.)

Lord Minto was succeeded as governor-general by the earl of Moira, afterwards marquis of Hastings, who took possession of the government on the 4th of October, 1813. During 1814 and 1815 there was war between the British and the Nepalese. This is sometimes called the Gurkha War [the Gurkhas being the race which conquered Nepal in the middle of the eighteenth century]. The Gurkhas at the period of the government of the marquis of Hastings were subjecting all the smaller states to their dominion, and were able to maintain an army of twelve thousand disciplined men, who were clothed and accoutred like the British sepoys. As they advanced towards the British possessions on the northern frontier, they manifested a desire to try their strength against the company's troops, and exhibited their ill will in 1814 by attacking two police stations in the districts of Gorakhpur and Saran, and by massacring all the troops in the garrisons there. The first operations of the British troops were unsuccessful; but in 1815 Sir David Ochterlony was enabled to dislodge the Gurkhas from their hill-forts, and to compel their commander, Amir Singh, to capitulate. A treaty of peace was concluded at the end of 1815, but its ratification by the rajah being withheld, a large British army advanced to Khatmandu, the present capital of Nepal. The treaty was ratified and the war concluded at the beginning of 1816. Some portions of territory were ceded to the company; but for the most part the chiefs who had been expelled by the conquering Gurkhas were restored to their ancient possessions.

The province of Malwa was the chief seat of a body of freebooters, the Pindharis, who carried on a war of devastation with peaceful neighbours, and were more formidable from their want of that political organisation which constitutes a state. They lived in separate societies of one or two hundred, governed each by its chief, but they were always ready to combine under one supreme chief for the purposes of their marauding expeditions. In 1814 fifteen thousand horsemen were assembled on the north bank of the Nerbudda, under a leader named Chitu. In October, 1815, they seized the opportunity of the British troops being engaged in the Nepalese War to cross the Nerbudda, and having plundered and devastated a territory of Great Britain's ally, the nizam of the Deccan, recrossed the Nerbudda to prepare for another raid with a greater force. Between the 5th of February and the 17th of May, 1816, they had again collected an immense booty, with which they retired, not only having devastated the lands of the allies of Britain, but within the company's frontiers having plundered more than three hundred villages and put to death or tortured more than four thousand individuals. These fierce and successful attacks of the Pindharis were not solely instigated by their own desire for the rich booty of peaceful provinces. They would scarcely have ventured to defy the British power had they not been secretly supported by a confederacy of Mahratta potentates. The governor-general had obtained certain information that the peshwa, the rajah of Nagpur, Sindhia, Holkar the younger, and Amir Khan, were preparing in concert with the Pindharis to invade the com-

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pany's territories whilst the British troops were engaged in the Nepalese War. The governor-general, at the conclusion of the peace with Nepal, applied to the authorities at home for permission to carry on the war with the Pindharis upon a great scale. Till this permission should arrive he had only to keep the Bengal army in advanced cantonments. When his warrant for extended operations did arrive, the marquis of Hastings was ready with an army in each of the three presidencies to take the field against the Pindharis, and against all their open or secret supporters. The immensity of his preparations was determined by the importance of his designs. The issue of the war was another most decided advance in the assertion of Great Britain's supremacy, which manifestly tended to "the absolute conquest of the peninsula."

At the end of September, 1817, orders were issued for a simultaneous movement of the army of Bengal under the command of the governor-general, of the army of the Deccan under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, and of various corps from different stations, each marching to points from which the Pindharis could be surrounded, and at the same time their Mahratta and other supporters prevented from uniting their forces. It is not within our limits to attempt any detail of this very complicated warfare. The war with the Pindharis was terminated in the spring of 1818, with the entire destruction or dispersion of these terrible marauders. The best historian of the events is Sir John Malcolm,[c] who was himself one of the most active and sagacious of the British commanders. Their complete extinction has been graphically described by him: "Within five years after their name had spread terror and dismay over all India, there remained not a spot that a Pindhari could call his home. They had been hunted like wild beasts, numbers had been killed, all ruined, those who espoused their cause had fallen. Early in the contest they were shunned like a contagion; the timid villagers whom they had so recently oppressed were among the foremost to attack them."

On the 5th of November, the governor-general had extorted by the presence of his powerful army a treaty with Sindhia, in which that Mahratta chief engaged to aid in the destruction of the Pindharis. That army, which was encamped on low ground, on the banks of a tributary of the Jumna, was at this moment attacked by an enemy far more dangerous than any which it would be likely to encounter in the field.[b]

THE ARMY DECIMATED BY CHOLERA (1817 A.D.)

The malady known by the name of spasmodic cholera — evacuations of acrid biliary matter, accompanied by spasmodic contractions of the abdominal muscles, and a prostration of strength, terminating frequently in the total exhaustion of the vital functions — had been known in India from the remotest periods, and had, at times, committed fearful ravages. Its effects, however, were in general restricted to particular seasons and localities and were not so extensively diffused as to attract notice or excite alarm. In the middle of 1817, however, the disease assumed a new form, and became a widely spread and fatal epidemic. It made its first appearance in the eastern districts of Bengal, in May and June of that year, and after extending itself gradually along the north bank of the Ganges, through Tirhut to Ghazipur, it crossed the river, and passing through Rewah, fell with peculiar virulence upon the centre division of the grand army, in the first week of November.

Although the casualties were most numerous amongst the followers of the camp and the native soldiery, the ravages of the disease were not confined to

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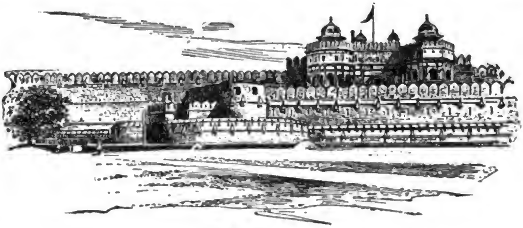
the natives, but extended to Europeans of every rank.[1] The appalling features of the malady were the suddenness of its accession and the rapidity with which death ensued. No one felt himself safe for an hour, and yet, as there was no appearance of infection, the officers generally were active in assisting the medical establishment in administering medicines and relief to the sick. The mortality became so great that hands were insufficient to carry away the bodies, and they were tossed into the neighbouring ravines, or hastily committed to a superficial grave on the spots where the sick had expired. The survivors then took alarm and deserted the encampment in crowds: many bore with them the seeds of the malady, and the fields and roads for many miles round were strewn with the dead. Death and desertion were rapidly depopulating the camp, when, after a few days of unavailing struggle against the epidemic, it was determined to try the effects of a change of situation. The army accordingly retrograded in a south-easterly direction, and after several intermediate halts, crossed the Betwa, and encamping upon its lofty and dry banks at Erich, was relieved from the pestilence. The disease dis-



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appeared. During the week of its greatest malignity it was ascertained that seven hundred and sixty-four fighting men and eight thousand followers perished.[e]

Sindhia had seized the opportunity, not to render aid against the Pindharis but to invite them to come into his territory. The cholera passed away, and the governor-general hurried back to his former position to cut off the possible junction between the marauding bands and Sindhia's troops. In the remaining months of 1817 and the beginning of 1818 the Mahratta confederacy was utterly broken up by the successes of the British. The rajah of Nagpur, after a battle of eighteen hours, was defeated, and his town of Nagpur taken on the 26th of November. Holkar was beaten on the 21st of December at the battle of Mehidpur, and peace was concluded with him on the 6th of January. The peshwa of the Mahrattas surrendered to the English in the following June, agreeing to abdicate his throne, and become a pensioner of the East India Company.[b]

[1] Five officers and 143 men of the European force died in November — official return. According to Surgeon Corbyn[d] who was serving with the centre division, and whose plan of treatment was circulated to the army by the marquis of Hastings, his lordship was himself apprehensive of dying of the disease, and had given secret instructions to be buried in his tent, that his death might not add to the discouragement of the troops, or tempt the enemy to attack the division in its crippled state.

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TRANSACTIONS IN CEYLON

The island of Ceylon, first colonised by the Portuguese, and subsequently by the Dutch, was finally taken from the latter, as identified with the republic of France, in 1796, by an expedition fitted out from Madras, and was for a short interval subject to the government of Fort St. George. In 1798 it was annexed to the colonial dominions of the British Crown, and the honourable Frederick North was nominated governor on the part of Great Britain. The settlements which were thus transferred extended along the sea-coast, forming a narrow belt round the centre of the island, where native princes continued to rule over the remnants of an ancient kingdom, whose origin was traceable, through credible records, for above two thousand years. Deprived of a valuable portion of their ancestral domains by races which they despised as barbarians while they hated them as conquerors, the kings of Kandy had been almost always at variance with their European neighbours, and had been principally protected against their military superiority by the deadly atmosphere of the forests which interposed an impenetrable rampart between the interior of the island and the coast. The last but one of these princes co-operated with the English in their attack upon the maritime provinces held by the Dutch, in expectation of advantages which were never realised. He died shortly after the establishment of the British power. Leaving no children he was succeeded in 1800 by the son of a sister of one of his queens, who was elected to the throne by the head minister, or *adigar*, with the acquiescence of the other chief officers of the state, the priests of Buddha, and the people.

Shortly after the accession of the new sovereign in the beginning of 1800, the governor of Ceylon deputed the commanding officer of the troops on the island, General Macdowall, on an embassy to the court of Kandy. Advantage was to be taken of the intrigues which agitated the Kandian court. The minister who had raised the sovereign to his present rank, is said thus early to have plotted his deposal, and the usurpation of his crown. For the accomplishment of his treacherous designs, he sought the assistance of the British government, and although his overtures were at first rejected, he was admitted to a conference with the governor's secretary, and the mission to Kandy was the result. The plot was frustrated by the timidity and suspicion apparently of both the minister and the king. General Macdowall proceeded to Kandy, but he returned to Colombo without having made any progress in the purposes of his mission, secret or avowed. On the contrary, the proceedings of the British government seem to have excited the suspicion and ill will of both the king and the adigar, and to have united them against a common enemy; while an excuse for an appeal to arms seems to have been solicitously sought for by the British. At length some Sinhalese traders from the British territories, having been despoiled of a parcel of betel nuts, which they had purchased, complained to the governor. Their case was advocated by him with the king; its truth was admitted, and redress was promised but never granted. Mr. North determined to make war upon the king, unless he subscribed to a treaty promising compensation for the expenses of military equipments, and the plunder of the betel nuts; to permit the formation of a military road from Colombo to Trincomalee, and suffer cinnamon peelers and wood cutters to follow their calling in the Kandian districts. It was intimated at the same time, that the aggressions which had been perpetrated, had left the governor at perfect liberty to recognise and support the claims which any other prince of the family of the Sun might form to the diadem worn by his Kandian majesty. The intimation was not likely to conciliate his accession to a

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friendly convention, and was replied to by predatory incursions into the British frontier, and the plunder and murder of its subjects. To repress and avenge these injuries, a force under General Macdowall was despatched from Colombo, and another under Colonel Barbut from Trincomalee. The two divisions encountering no serious opposition on their march, met on the Mahaveli-ganga, three miles from Kandy, and on the 21st of February, 1803, entered the capital. The town, which was completely deserted, had been set on fire by the inhabitants, but the flames were speedily extinguished, and Kandy was in the occupation of the British.

THE BRITISH TAKE KANDY AND ARE MASSACRED (1803 A.D.)

As the reigning monarch had been so little sensible of the benefits to be derived from the British alliance, a more tractable sovereign was brought forward in the person of Mutu-sami, a brother of the late queen, and a competitor for the throne, who had been obliged to seek refuge in the colony. A treaty was concluded with him, by which he ceded certain districts and immunities, and in requital was acknowledged as monarch of Kandy, and promised, as long as he might require it, the aid of an auxiliary force. Mutu-sami was conducted to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of March. He brought no accession of strength, as the people were either afraid or disinclined to support his cause; and hence perhaps its sudden abandonment by the governor, who presently afterwards engaged to invest the adigar with regal authority, on condition of his delivering up his master, assigning a pension to Mutu-sami, and making the same cessions which that unfortunate prince had consented to grant.

After a short stay at Kandy, during which several skirmishes took place with the Sinhalese, invariably to their disadvantage, but without any decisive results, the prevalence of jungle-fever, generated by the pestilential vapours of the surrounding forests, to which many of the men and officers fell victims, compelled the retirement of the greater part of the survivors; and, finally, the protection of Kandy, and of Mutu-sami, was consigned to Major Davie, with a body of five hundred Malays and two hundred Europeans of the 19th regiment — the latter almost incapacitated for duty by sickness, and the former speedily thinned by frequent desertions. In this state, they were attacked on the 24th of June by the Sinhalese in immense numbers, headed by the king and the adigar, and encouraged by their knowledge of the enfeebled state of the garrison: a severe conflict ensued, which lasted for seven hours, when Major Davie was under the necessity of proposing a suspension of hostilities. The proposal was acceded to, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which the garrison, accompanied by Mutu-sami, were to be permitted to retire with their arms, on giving up Kandy and all military stores. It was promised that the sick, who were incapable of being removed, should be taken care of until they could be sent to a British settlement. Upon these stipulations Major Davie evacuated Kandy, and marched to the banks of the Mahaveli-ganga, which, being swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable: no boats were at hand, and the enemy showed himself in force in different quarters. On the following day, a mission came from the king, demanding that Mutu-sami should be given up, when boats would be furnished to the English. After some hesitation, the demand was complied with. The unhappy prince, with several of his kinsmen, was immediately put to death.

That this abandonment, and the disgrace which it entailed upon the British faith, might have been avoided by a greater display of resolution than

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was exhibited, is not impossible; but a determination to preserve the prince at all hazards, even if it had been entertained by the officers, was little likely to have been acquiesced in by the men, consisting almost wholly of Malays, who saw in his surrender their only hope of safety. The hope was fallacious, as might have been expected from the treachery of the enemy. The king commanded the destruction of the whole party. The adigar is said to have manifested some reluctance to violate the capitulation; but at last consented to become the instrument of his master's revenge.

He prevailed upon Major Davie and his officers to accompany him out of sight of the men, who were then told that their officers had crossed the river, and that, upon laying down their arms, they would be also ferried across to join them. Conducted in small parties to the edge of the river, at a spot where they could not be seen by their comrades, they were successively stabbed, or butchered in various ways, and their bodies were thrown into a contiguous hollow. At the same time the whole of the sick, a hundred and fifty, of whom a hundred and thirty-two were British soldiers, were barbarously put to death, the dead and the dying having been thrown promiscuously into a pit prepared for the purpose. Most of the officers were also murdered, or died shortly afterwards. Major Davie survived till about 1810, when he died at Kandy, latterly unmolested and almost unnoticed.

CRUELTY OF THE KING OF KANDY

The recovery of his capital and the destruction of the garrison, inspired the Kandian monarch with the ambition of expelling the Europeans from the island; and during the remainder of 1803 and the ensuing year, repeated efforts were made to penetrate into the colony. Their attempts were, however, repulsed. Reinforcements were sent to the island, and the British became strong enough to retaliate. In 1805, the first adigar acquired additional authority by the indisposition of the king; and a cessation of hostilities ensued, which was continued by mutual acquiescence, without any express armistice, for several years.

Whatever may have been the designs of the adigar, Pilame Talawe, in his negotiations with the English, he remained apparently faithful to his sovereign, until the king's tyranny and cruelty taught him fears for his own life. He then engaged in open rebellion — was unsuccessful — was taken and beheaded. He was succeeded in his office by Ahailapalla, who in his turn incurred and resented the suspicion and tyranny of the king. He instigated a rebellion in the district of Jaffragam, over which he presided: but his adherents fell from him upon the approach of a rival adigar with the royal forces, and he was obliged to fly. He found refuge in Colombo: but many of his followers were taken and impaled. The king's savage cruelty now surpassed all that can be imagined of barbarian inhumanity. Among a number of persons who were seized and put to death with various aggravations of suffering, the family of the fugitive minister, which had remained in the tyrant's grasp, were sentenced to execution; the children, one of them an infant at the breast, were beheaded, the heads were cast into a rice mortar, and the mother was commanded to pound them with the pestle, under the threat of being disgracefully tortured if she hesitated to obey. To avoid the disgrace, the wretched mother did lift up the pestle, and let it fall upon her children's heads. Her own death was an act of mercy. She, her sister-in-law, and some other females were immediately afterwards drowned. These atrocities struck even the Kandians with horror; and for two days the whole city was filled

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with mourning and lamentation, and observed a period of public fasting and humiliation. The king's ferocity was insatiable: executions were incessant, no persons were secure, and even the chief priest of Buddha, a man of great learning and benevolence, fell a victim to the tyrant's thirst for blood. A general sentiment of fear and detestation pervaded both chiefs and people, and the whole country was ripe for revolt.

THE FINAL CONQUEST OF CEYLON

The urgent representations of Ahailapalla, and a knowledge of the state of public feeling in the Kandian provinces, induced the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to prepare for a war which was certain to occur in consequence of the disorders on the frontier and the insane fury of the king. Occasion soon arose: some merchants, subjects of the British government, trading to Kandy, were seized by the king's orders as spies, and so cruelly mutilated that most of them died; and about the same time a party of Kandians ravaged the villages on the British boundary. The governor immediately declared war against the king, and sent a body of troops into his country. They were joined by the principal chiefs and the people, and advanced without meeting an enemy, to the capital. They arrived there on the 14th of February. On the 18th, the king, who had attempted to fly, was taken and brought in by a party of Ahailapalla's followers. On the 2nd of March he was formally deposed, and the allegiance of the Kandians was transferred to the British crown. Vikrama Raja Singha was sent a captive to Vellore, where he died in January, 1832.

The change of authority, and the substitution of a new and foreign dominion for that of the ancient native rulers, however acceptable under the influence of popular terror and disgust, began to lose their recommendations as soon as apprehension was allayed, and the chiefs and people were able calmly to consider the character of the revolution to which they had contributed. The chiefs found that their power was diminished and their dignity impaired; the priests felt indignant at the want of reverence shown to them and to their religion; and the people, sympathising with both, had also grievances of their own to complain of, in the contempt displayed for their customs and institutions, and the disregard manifested for their prejudices and feelings by the English functionaries and their subordinates. A general rebellion was the consequence.[e]

In 1817 it broke out in the eastern provinces, and was with difficulty suppressed after a costly and sanguinary warfare of two years' duration. [Ceylon in 1843 and 1848 was again the scene of insurrections, but these were unimportant and were quelled without difficulty. Otherwise complete tranquillity has prevailed in the island since the establishment of the British rule.]

THE ACCESSION OF SINGAPORE AND MALACCA (1824 A.D.); THE CONQUEST OF BURMA (1824-1826 A.D.)

At Singapore, in 1819, Sir Thomas Raffles established a factory on the south shore of the island, and in 1824, a cession in full sovereignty of this and the neighbouring islands was obtained by purchase from a person who claimed to be king of Johore, and was afterwards raised to that throne. Malacca was ceded to the British in 1824 by treaty with the government of the Netherlands.

Had Mr. Canning become governor-general of India when his appointment

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as successor of the marquis of Hastings was resolved upon, it may be doubted whether he could have carried through the policy which, as president of the board of control, he avowed in parliament in 1819, upon the vote of thanks to the marquis of Hastings and the army in India: "Anxious as I am for the prosperity and grandeur of our Indian Empire, I confess I look at its indefinite extension with awe. I earnestly wish that it may be possible for us to remain stationary where we are; and that what still exists of substantive and independent power in India may stand untouched and unimpaired. But this consummation, however much it may be desired, depends not on ourselves alone. Aggression must be repelled, and perfidy must be visited with its just reward. And while I join with the thinking part of the country in deprecating advance, who shall say that there is safety for such a power as ours in retrogradation?" Of the prudence and wisdom of the theory of policy thus set forth, the nation at large, the East India Company, the great Indian administrators, never appeared to entertain the slightest doubt. But, practically, it was invariably found that without advance there would be retrogradation. It was in vain that those who led the British armies in India must have felt what Mr. Canning expressed — with how much jealousy the house and the country are in the habit of appreciating the triumphs of British arms in India; how British military operations, however successful, have always been considered as questionable in point of justice. Lord Amherst, who in March, 1823, embarked for India as governor-general, had to pass through this almost inevitable process of entering upon a war of conquest with the most sincere desire to remain at peace. Within six or seven months after his arrival in India he had to write to a friend at home: "I have to tell you that I most unexpectedly find myself engaged in war with the king of Ava." This was the war with the Burman Empire, which involved the British in hostilities from March, 1824, to February, 1826. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Burman signified a great warlike race that had founded various kingdoms, amongst which were Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Arakan. The kingdoms of Ava and Pegu were in a continued state of warfare, in which the Peguans were ultimately victorious. Ava had been conquered by them, when, in 1753, a man of humble origin but of great ability, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Hindu-Chinese peninsula," raised a small force, which, constantly increasing, expelled the conquerors and placed Alompra on the Burman throne. It has been remarked as equally curious and instructive, that "the last restoration of the Burman Empire, and the foundation of ours in India, were exactly contemporaneous. Clive and Alompra made their conquests at the same moment." For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Burmese from the Irawadi, pushed their conquests, whether by arms or negotiation, till they met. Their inevitable rivalry soon led to hostilities. The Burmese had gradually subjugated the independent states which formerly existed between their frontiers and those of the company. Lord Amherst, in the letter we have already quoted, describes how they seized an island on which the British had established a small military post, and when the governor-general mildly complained to the king of Ava of this outrage, attributing it to the mistake of the local authorities, a force came down from Ava, "threatening to invade our territory from one end of the frontier to the other, and to reannex the province of Bengal to the dominions of its rightful owner, the lord of the White Elephant."

At the beginning of April the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Burman dominions, situated at the embouchure of the Irawadi — according to Lord Amherst, "the Liverpool and Portsmouth of

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Ava." This important place was taken possession of almost without striking a blow; but the hope of the governor-general that from thence he should be able to dictate the terms of a moderate and therefore lasting peace, was not very quickly realised. The British had to deal with the most warlike of their neighbours. The king of Ava called his people to arms. During the rainy season they had abundant time for preparation; and Sir Archibald Campbell, who occupied Rangoon, felt the immediate necessity of fortifying it against the probable attack of a bold and persevering enemy. An enormous pagoda, more than three hundred feet high, became a citadel, garrisoned by a battalion of European troops, and the smaller Buddhist temples assumed the character of fortresses. During June and July the Burmese made repeated attacks upon the British positions, but were as constantly repelled. On the night of the 30th of August, when the astrologers had decided that an attack upon this sacred place would free the country from the impious strangers, a body of troops called Invulnerables advanced to the northern gateway. A terrible cannonade was opened upon these dense masses, and they fled at once to the neighbouring jungle.

The Burmese were more successful in their offensive operations in Bengal. Under the command of an officer called Maha Bandoola, the Arakan army advanced to Ramoo, and completely routed a detachment of native infantry. The alarm was so great in Calcutta that the native merchants were with difficulty persuaded to remain with their families, and the peasants almost universally fled from their villages. The Burmese, however, did not advance. The British had taken some important places of the Burman territory, and Maha Bandoola was recalled by the lord of the White Elephant for the defence of his Golden Empire. In December Maha Bandoola brought sixty thousand fighting men to make one overwhelming attack upon Rangoon. For seven days there was severe fighting. The Burmese troops were repeatedly driven from their stockades, and at last, when they advanced on the 7th of December for a grand attack on the great pagoda, they were driven back into their intrenchments, and after severe fighting were chased into the jungle.

In February, 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell began to move up the Irawadi into the interior of the Burman Empire. As part of his force advanced to attack the formidable works of Donabew, they were repulsed, and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded men were not carried off. The barbarity in warfare of the Burmese was notorious. These unfortunate men were all crucified, and their bodies sent floating down the river upon rafts. On the 25th of March Sir Archibald Campbell undertook the siege of Donabew. For a week there had been an incessant fire from the British mortars and rockets, and the breaching batteries were about to be opened, when two Lascars, who had been taken prisoners, came to the camp, and said that the chiefs and all the Burmese army had fled, since Maha Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of the British shells. By the possession of Donabew the navigation of the Irawadi became wholly under British command.

The army continued to advance, and Prome was occupied at the end of April. The rainy monsoon now set in, and there was a suspension of operations. In the middle of November and beginning of December there were two great battles, in the latter of which the Burmese were thoroughly discomfited. Overtures of peace were now made, but their object was only to gain time. At the beginning of 1826 there was severe fighting as the British advanced towards Ava. Repeated defeats and the approach of a conquering army compelled the king really to sue for peace when the British had reached Yandabu, only forty-five miles from the capital. The vigorous operations of Sir Archi-

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bald Campbell, who had defeated a large army styled "the retrievers of the king's glory," had finally compelled the Treaty of Yandabu, which was signed on the 24th of February. By this treaty the king of Ava agreed to renounce all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies; to cede in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Arakan, of Yea, of Tavoy, of Mergui, and of Tenasserim; and to pay the sum of one crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. He further agreed that accredited British ministers should be allowed to reside at Ava; that an accredited Burmese minister should reside at Calcutta; and that free trade to British subjects should be allowed in the Burmese dominions.

The fierce conflict of two years on the banks of the Irawadi presented a memorable example of that courage and endurance which eventually overcomes dangers and difficulties apparently insuperable. It has been truly said by Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, an officer engaged in this war, "Perhaps there are few instances on record in the history of any nation of a mere handful of men, with constitutions broken down by many months of previous disease and privation, forcing their way in the face of such difficulties, and through a wilderness hitherto untrodden by Europeans, to the distance of five hundred miles from the spot where they originally disembarked, and ultimately dictating a peace within three days' march of the enemy's capital." During these land operations, with all this bravery and fortitude of the little army, it would have been impossible to succeed without the active co-operation of a flotilla on the rivers. The naval assistance thus rendered is memorable for "the employment of a power then for the first time introduced into war — steam. The steam-vessel had been very useful, not merely in carrying on communications with despatch but in overcoming formidable resistance."

During the last year of the Burmese War the East India Company became engaged in a new conflict, for the purpose of protecting a native prince, with whom it was in alliance, against an usurper. The rajah of Bhartpur (Bhurtpore), before his death at the beginning of 1825, had declared his son to be his successor, and had included him in the treaty of alliance with the company. The nephew of the deceased prince raised a revolt against this succession. Many of the native princes looked on anxiously to see if the British, with the Burmese War on their hands would put forth any strength to maintain one of their devoted adherents. In the streets of Delhi the populace had shouted, "The rule of the company is at an end." The prince who had been expelled had been assured by Sir David Ochterlony that he should be supported. Lord Amherst was at first for non-interference. He knew that Bhartpur had been deemed impregnable; and he might fear that, now occupied with an enormous force by the usurping rajah, the same ill fortune might befall an attack upon the place as had befallen Lord Lake in 1805, when he was beaten from the city by the Jats, who had ever since regarded themselves as invincible. The commander-in-chief in India, Lord Combermere, in his Peninsular experience as Sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen what war was in its most difficult operations, and he could not despair of taking an Indian fortress when he recollected the terrible sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. He had just come to India to succeed Sir Edward Paget in the chief command. Lord Combermere, upon his arrival before Bhartpur, addressed a letter to the usurper, requesting him to send out the women and children, who should have safe-conduct. This humane request was not acceded to. On the 23rd of November the bombardment commenced. On the morning of the 18th of January the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed the whole of the salient angle of the fortress. The British troops

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rushed in at the breaches. In two hours the whole rampart, though obstinately defended, was in their possession, and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The formidable works of Bhartpur were destroyed; the rightful prince was reinstated; and the people returned to their allegiance. [b]

REFORMS OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

The next governor-general was Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras twenty years earlier at the time of the mutiny of Vellore. His seven years' rule (from 1828 to 1835) is not signalised by any of those victories or extensions of territory by which chroniclers delight to measure the growth of empire. But it forms an epoch in administrative reform, and in the slow process by which the hearts of a subject population are won over to venerate as well as dread their alien rulers. The modern history of the British in India, as benevolent administrators ruling the country with a single eye to the good of the natives, may be said to begin with Lord William Bentinck. According to the inscription upon his statue at Calcutta, from the pen of Macaulay, "He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge." His first care on arrival in India was to restore equilibrium to the finances, which were tottering under the burden imposed upon them by the Burmese War. This he effected by reductions in permanent expenditure, amounting in the aggregate to one and a half millions sterling, as well as by augmenting the revenue from land and from the opium of Malwa.

His two most memorable acts are the abolition of *sati* (suttee) and the suppression of the *thags* (thugs). At this distance of time it is difficult to realise the degree to which these two barbarous practices had corrupted the social system of the Hindus. European research has clearly proved that the text in the *Vedas* adduced to authorise the immolation of widows was a wilful mistranslation. But the practice had been ingrained in Hindu opinion by the authority of centuries, and had acquired the sanctity of a religious rite. The emperor Akbar is said to have prohibited it by law, but the early English rulers did not dare so far to violate the traditions of religious toleration. In the year 1817 no less than seven hundred widows are said to have been burned alive in the Bengal presidency alone. To this day the most holy spots of Hindu pilgrimage are thickly dotted with little white pillars, each commemorating a *sati*. In the teeth of strenuous opposition, both from Europeans and natives, Lord William carried the regulation in council on December 4th, 1829, by which all who abetted *sati* were declared guilty of "culpable homicide." The honour of suppressing *thagi* must be shared between Lord William and Captain Sleeman. *Thagi* was an abnormal excrescence upon Hinduism, in so far as the bands of secret assassins were sworn together by an oath based on the rites of the bloody goddess Kali. Between 1826 and 1835 as many as 1562 thags were apprehended in different parts of British India, and by the evidence of approvers the moral plague spot was gradually stamped out.

Two other historical events are connected with the administration of Lord William Bentinck. In 1833 the charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years, but only upon the terms that it should abandon its trade and permit Europeans to settle freely in the country. At the same time a legal or fourth member was added to the governor-general's council, who might not be a servant of the company, and a commission was appointed to revise and codify the law. Macaulay was the first legal member of the

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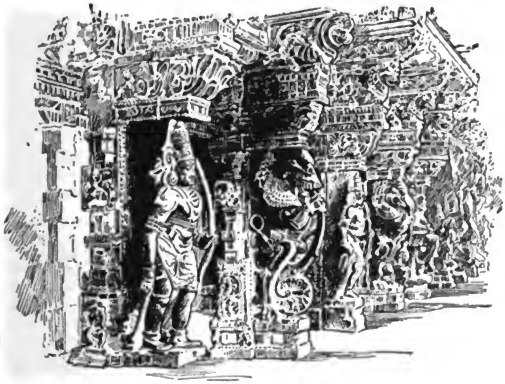
council, and the first president of the law commission. In 1830 it was found necessary to take the state of Mysore under British administration, where it has continued up to the present time, and in 1834 the frantic misrule of the rajah of Coorg brought on a short and sharp war. The rajah was permitted to retire to Benares, and the brave and proud inhabitants of that mountainous little territory decided to place themselves under the rule of the company; so that the only annexation effected by Lord William Bentinck was "in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people."

Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe succeeded Lord William as senior member of council. His short term of office is memorable for the measure which his predecessor had initiated, but which he willingly carried into execution, for giving entire liberty to the press. Public opinion in India, as well as the express wish of the court of directors at home, pointed to Metcalfe as the most fit person to carry out the policy of Bentinck, not provisionally, but as governor-general for a full term. Party exigencies, however, led to the appointment of Lord Auckland. From that date commences a new era of war and conquest, which may be said to have lasted for twenty years. All looked peaceful until Lord Auckland, prompted by his evil genius, attempted to place Shah Shuja upon the throne of Cabul, an attempt which ended in the gross mismanagement and annihilation of the garrison placed in that city. The disaster in Afghanistan was quickly followed by the conquest of Sind, the two wars in the Punjab, the second Burmese War, and last of all the Mutiny. Names like Gough and Napier and Colin Campbell take the places of Malcolm and Metcalfe and Elphinstone.[i]



DETAIL OF TEMPLE, MADURA

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CHAPTER V

FROM THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR TO THE MUTINY

[1835–1857 A.D.]

In 1835, Lord William Bentinck resigned the government of India, and Lord Auckland was appointed to succeed him, but did not arrive at Calcutta until the following year. In the meantime, the administration was conducted by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who distinguished himself by abolishing the strict censorship to which the press had till then been subjected.

Hindustan had never been in a more tranquil state than at the time when Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta, in 1836, invested with the high functions of governor-general of the British eastern empire. All then appeared to promise a continuance of peace, and the uninterrupted progress of those improvements so steadily and effectually pursued by his predecessor; but the calm was not of long duration, and the attention of the government was soon engrossed by the affairs of Kabul, which led the British armies for the first time across the Indus.[b]

THE AFGHAN WAR OF 1838–1842

On the 10th of September, 1838, Lord Auckland proclaimed in general orders his intention to employ a force beyond the northwest frontier. On the 1st of October he published a declaration of the causes and objects of the war. The ostensible object was to replace Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul, the troubles and revolutions of Afghanistan having placed the capital and a large part of the country under the sway of Dost Muhammed Khan. Shah Shuja, driven from his dominions, had become a pensioner of the East India Company, and resided in the British cantonment of Ludhiana. Dost Muhammed had in May, 1836, addressed a letter to Lord Auckland, which conveyed his desire to secure the friendship of the British government. He was desirous

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of obtaining the aid of the British against Persia, whose troops were besieging Herat, and to recover Peshawar from Ranjit (Runjeet) Singh, the ruler of Punjab. The governor-general in 1837 despatched Captain Alexander Burnes as an envoy to Kabul. Soon after the arrival of Burnes a Russian envoy arrived at Kabul, who was liberal in his promises, but whose authority was afterwards disavowed by his government. Captain Burnes carried back with him a belief that Russia was meditating an attack upon British India, having established her influence in Persia; that Dost Muhammed was treacherous; and that the true way to raise a barrier against the amibition of Russia was to place the dethroned Shah Shuja upon the throne of Kabul, as he had numerous friends in the country.

The alarm of the possible danger of a Russian invasion through Persia and Afghanistan led to the declaration of war against Dost Muhammed in the autumn of 1838, and to the preparation for hostilities under a governor-general whose declared policy, at the commencement of his rule, was to maintain the peace which had been scarcely interrupted since the conclusion of the Burmese War. Unquestionably there was a panic, and under such circumstances the heaviest charge against Lord Auckland would have been that he remained in supine indifference.

On the 14th of February the Bengal division of the army under Sir Willoughby Cotton crossed the Indus at Bukkur. The Indus is here divided into two channels, one of which is nearly five hundred yards in breadth. The passage of eight thousand men with a vast camp-train and sixteen thousand camels was effected without a single casualty. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, in moving the thanks of the house of commons to the Indian army, in February, 1840, read a glowing description of this passage. "It was a gallant sight to see brigade after brigade, with its martial music and its glittering arms, marching over file by file, horse, foot, and artillery, into a region as yet untrodden by British soldiers." He quoted also from a periodical publication an eloquent allusion to the grand historical contrasts of this expedition. "For the first time since the days of Alexander the Great, a civilised army had penetrated the mighty barrier of deserts and mountains which separates Persia from Hindustan; and the prodigy has been exhibited to an astonished world of a remote island in the European seas pushing forward its mighty arms into the heart of Asia, and carrying its victorious standards into the strongholds of Mohammedan faith and the cradle of the Mughal Empire." The Bengal army was preceded by a small body of troops under the orders of Shah Shuja, and it was followed by the Bombay division under the command of Sir John Keane.

Into an almost unknown and untrodden country twenty-one thousand troops had entered through the Bolan pass. Sir Willoughby Cotton, with the Bengal column, entered this pass in the beginning of April. The passage of this formidable pass, nearly sixty miles in length, was accomplished in six days. For the first eleven and a half miles into the pass the only road is the bed of the Bolan river. The mountains on every side are precipitous and sterile; not a blade of vegetation of any kind being found, save in the bed of the stream. There was no sustenance for the camels, unless it were carried for their support during six days, and thus along the whole route their putrefying carcases added to the obstacles to the advance of the army.

The Bombay army sustained considerable loss from Baluchi freebooters in their passage through the Bolan pass, but the two columns were enabled to unite at Kandahar, and to proceed to the siege of Ghazni, under the command of Sir John Keane. On the 22nd of July the British forces were in

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camp before this famous city, built upon a rock, towering proudly over the adjacent plain. The intelligent officers of the army could not have viewed without deep interest this stronghold of Mohammedanism, where the tomb of Sultan Mahmud, the conqueror of Hindustan, was still preserved, and where Mohammedan priests still read the Koran over his grave. The sandalwood gates of this tomb, which in 1025 had been carried off from the Hindu temple of Somnath in Guzerat, were to acquire a new celebrity at the close of this Afghan War by an ostentatious triumph, not quite so politic as that of the Sultan Mahmud. At Ghazni, Mohammedanism maintained its most fanatical aspect. On the day before the final attack, Major Outram attempted with part of the shah's contingent to force the enemy from the heights beyond the walls. He describes that over the crest of the loftiest peak floated the holy banner of green and white, surrounded by a multitude of fanatics, who believed they were safe under the sacred influence of the Moslem ensign. A shot having brought down the standard-bearer, and the banner being seized, the multitude fled panic-stricken at the proof of the fallacy of their belief. On the morning of the 23rd the fortress and citadel were stormed. There were great doubts, almost universal doubts, at home as to the policy of this Afghan War. There could be no doubt as to the brilliancy of this exploit.

On the 29th of July the British army quitted Ghazni. It entered Kabul in triumph on the 7th of August. Shah Shuja, restored to his sovereignty, was once more seated in the Bala Hissar, the ancient palace of his race. Dost Muhammed had fled beyond the Indian Caucasus. The country appeared not only subjected to the new government, but tranquil and satisfied. As the spring and summer advanced insurrections began to break out in the surrounding country. Dost Muhammed had again made his appearance, and had fought a gallant battle with the British cavalry, in which he obtained a partial victory. Despairing, however, of his power effectually to resist the British arms, he wrote to Kabul, and delivered himself up to the envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, claiming the protection of his government. He was sent to India, where a place of residence was assigned to him on the north-west frontier, with three lacs of rupees (about £30,000) as a revenue. But the danger of the occupation of Afghanistan was not yet overpast. The events of November and December, 1841, and of January, 1842, were of so fearful a nature as scarcely to be paralleled in some of their incidents by the disasters of the mutiny of 1857.

THE MASSACRE OF KABUL; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY (1841 A.D.)

The British at Kabul were in a condition of false security. The army was in cantonments, extensive, ill-defended, overawed on every side. Within these indefensible cantonments English ladies, amongst whom were Lady Macnaghten and Lady Sale, were domesticated in comfortable houses. Sir Robert Sale had left Kabul in October, expecting his wife to follow him in a few days. The climate was suited to the English; the officers, true to their national character, had been playing cricket, riding races, fishing, shooting, and, when winter came, astonishing the Afghans with skating on the lakes.

On the night of the 1st of November, there was a meeting of Afghan chiefs, who were banded together, however conflicting might be their interests, to make common cause against the feringhees (foreigners). One of these, Abdullah Khan, who had been active in his intrigues to stir up disaffection, had an especial quarrel with Burnes, who had called him a dog, and had said that he would recommend Shah Shuja to deprive the rebel of

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his ears. He proposed that at the contemplated rising on the 2nd of November the first overt act should be an attack on the house of Burnes. Lady Sale,[d] in her journal of that day, says, "This morning early all was in commotion in Kabul; the shops were plundered, and the people were all fighting." Before daylight an Afghan who was friendly to Burnes came to report to him that a plot had been hatched during the night which had for its chief object his murder. The vizir arrived with the same warning. Burnes was incredulous, and refused to seek safety either in the king's fortress-palace, the Bala Hissar, or in the British cantonments. A mob was before his house. Perfect master of the language of the people, he harangued them from a gallery. At his side stood his brother Charles, and Lieutenant Broadfoot, who had arrived to perform the office of military secretary to Burnes when he should be the highest in place and power. The mob clamoured for the lives of the British officers, and Broadfoot was the first to fall by a shot from the infuriated multitude. A Mussulman from Kashmir, who had entered the house, swore by the Koran that if they would cease firing he would convey the brothers in safety to the Kuzzilbash (Persian) fort. The three entered the garden, when the betrayer proclaimed to the insurgents, "This is Secunder Burnes." The brothers were instantly struck down, and were cut to pieces by the Afghan knives. Sir Alexander Burnes, who thus perished in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was of the same family as the great Scottish poet, his grandfather being the brother of the father of Robert Burns.

From the 2nd of November to the 23rd of December, the position of the British at Kabul became more and more perilous. At the beginning of the insurrection some vigorous resolve, some demonstration of the power of the British arms, might have ensured safety, if not ultimate triumph. There were four thousand five hundred good troops in the cantonments, but there was no one effectually to lead them against the rebels in the city. There were about six hundred British troops in the Bala Hissar. General Sale and General Nott were expected with reinforcements, but they were themselves hemmed in by enemies. The alternations of hope and fear amongst the unhappy residents, especially the women, are recorded in the journal of Lady Sale.[d] In the first week of December the troops in cantonments were threatened by the near approach of starvation. The camp followers were living upon the carcases of dead camels. Negotiations were going on with the Afghan chiefs for the safe retreat of the army, and for a supply of provisions. They were protracted from day to day, the Afghans requiring as a first condition that the forts in the neighbourhood of the cantonments should be given up. They were evacuated; and then the enemy looked down with triumphant derision upon those who, within their defenceless walls, were perishing, whilst the supplies which had been promised them were intercepted by a rabble from the city. Every day added to the expected difficulties of the retreat. The winter was setting in. On the 18th of December snow began to fall. Macnaghten, wearied and almost desperate amidst the bad faith and insulting demands of the chiefs, received on the evening of the 22nd a proposal from Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammed, which even Elphinstone, enfeebled as he was by illness and generally inapt to offer a decided opinion, regarded as treacherous. On the morning of the 23rd, according to the proposal that had been made to him, Macnaghten, with three friends, Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, went out about six hundred yards from the cantonment for a conference with Akbar Khan, the sirdar (the title which the chief assumed). In an instant they were seized from behind. Lawrence and Mackenzie contrived to escape. Trevor was murdered; Akbar Khan

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rushed upon Macnaghten in the endeavour to seize and detain him. "The look of wondering horror that sat upon his upturned face will not be forgotten by those who saw it to their dying days," says Kaye.[c] "The only words he was heard to utter were, *Az barae Khoda* ('for God's sake!')." Akbar Khan drew a pistol from his girdle — it was one of a pair which Macnaghten had presented to him the previous day — and he shot the unarmed envoy through the body. Wonderful to relate, not a gun was fired from the British cantonments, not a soldier went forth to avenge the murder of the British minister.

Major Pottinger, who now took the place of the unfortunate Macnaghten as political agent, exhorted the military chiefs either to fight their way to Jalalabad or forcibly to occupy the Bala Hissar. They preferred to capitulate. At a council of war on December 26th a treaty was ratified, which contained the humiliating conditions that all the guns should be left behind except six; that all the treasure should be given up, and 40,000 rupees paid in bills, to be negotiated upon the spot; and that four officers as hostages should be detained to ensure the evacuation of Jalalabad by General Sale. On the 6th of January, 1842, on a morning of intense cold, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred fighting men and twelve thousand followers, began to move out of the cantonments. The order and discipline which could alone save an army retreating in the midst of a hostile population had no place in that confused mass, who were without food or fuel or shelter. Akbar Khan came up with a body of six hundred horsemen to demand other hostages as security for the evacuation of Jalalabad. On the 8th, Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie were placed in his hands. Akbar Khan declared that he also came to protect the British and Hindus from the attacks of the Ghilzais, one of the most fanatic of the Mussulman tribes of Afghanistan. His authority appears to have been exerted with all sincerity to interfere between these cruel assailants and their victims; but it was manifested in vain. The disorganised force entered the pass of Khurd-Kabul, which for five miles is shut in by precipitous mountains, with a torrent rushing down the centre. On the hill-sides were the unrelenting Ghilzais, who shot down the fugitives without a chance of their being resisted or restrained. In this pass three thousand men are stated to have fallen. "The ladies," says Lady Sale,[d] "were mostly travelling in kujavas (camel-panniers), and were mixed up with the baggage and column in the pass. Here they were heavily fired on." Lady Sale, who rode on horseback, was shot in the arm. Her son-in-law was here mortally wounded. On the 9th, Akbar Khan, who had arrived with his three hostages, says Lady Sale,[d] "turned to Lawrence and said that he had a proposal to make, but that he did not like to do so lest his motives might be misconstrued; but that, as it concerned us more than himself, he would mention it; and that it was that all the married men, with their families, should come over and put themselves under his protection, he guaranteeing them honourable treatment, and safe escort to Peshawar." Lawrence and Pottinger urged the acceptance of this proposal upon General Elphinstone. There were ten women and thirteen or more children; six married men went with them, with two wounded officers. It was better to trust to Akbar Khan for the protection of these helpless women and children than to continue their exposure to the attacks of the cruel tribes whom the sirdar could not restrain, and to the horrors of a continued march in a most inclement season.

On the 10th of January the small remnant of the force that had left Kabul on the 6th continued its march towards Jalalabad. The native regiments were nearly annihilated by cold and hunger and the Afghan knife. The frost-

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bitten Asiatics, who still crawled to a narrow defile, were unable to make any resistance. The dying and the dead soon choked up the narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills. There was now not a single sepoy left. Not more than a quarter of the men who had left Kabul now survived. The European officers and soldiers scarcely numbered five hundred. They would have fought with the energy of desperation, but they were hemmed in by the crowd of camp-followers, who from the first had rendered their march as dangerous as the assaults of their enemies. The next day Akbar Khan invited General Elphinstone and two English officers, Brigadier Shelton and Captain Johnson, to a conference. The sirdar required that the three should remain as hostages for the evacuation of Jalalabad. Elphinstone implored the Afghan to permit him to return and share the fortune of his troops. The two officers were equally unwilling to leave their doomed comrades.

But resistance was in vain. On the evening of the 12th the march was resumed. They had to struggle with the dangers of the Jagdalak pass, in which the steep road ascends through a dark defile. As they approached the summit they found a barricade of bushes and branches of trees. Here the relentless enemy was in waiting. A general massacre ensued, in which many of the remaining officers perished. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers were able to clear the barricade. The next morning they were surrounded by an infuriated multitude. They were as one to a hundred; most of them were wounded; but they were resolute not to lay down their arms.

They all perished except one captain and a few privates, who were taken prisoners. Out of those who had been in advance of the column in the pass, six reached Futtehabad, within sixteen miles of Jalalabad. These last companions in misery were three captains, one lieutenant, and two regimental surgeons. Five were slain before the sixteen miles were traversed. General Sale's brigade had held possession of Jalalabad from the morning of the 13th of November, when they took the place from the Afghans by surprise. From time to time they heard rumours of the perilous position of the British force in Kabul. At last a letter, addressed to Captain MacGregor, the political agent, arrived from Elphinstone and Pottinger, stating that an agreement having taken place for the evacuation of Kabul, they should immediately commence their march to India. In the absence of any security for the safe conduct of the troops to Peshawar, they resolved to disobey these instructions, and not to surrender the fort, whose defences they had been assiduously labouring to improve. On the 13th of January a sentry on the ramparts saw a solitary horseman struggling on towards the fort. He was brought in, wounded and exhausted. The one man who was left to tell the frightful tale of the retreat from Kabul was Doctor Brydon.

THE RECONQUEST OF JALALABAD AND KABUL (1842 A.D.)

The refusal of Sale and MacGregor to surrender Jalalabad was that heroic determination to face the danger which in almost every case makes the danger less. Akbar Khan lost no time in besieging Jalalabad. Sale had well employed his enforced leisure in repairing the ruinous ramparts and clearing out the ditch. He had made the place secure against the attack of an army without cannon. But the garrison was not secure against the approach of famine. Akbar Khan with a large body of horse was hovering around to prevent the admission of supplies. On the 19th of February a serious misfor-

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tune called forth new energies in these resolute men. An earthquake to a great extent rendered the labour vain which had been so long employed in the repairs of the works. By the end of the month the parapets were restored, the breaches built up, and every battery re-established. At the close of March, being at the last extremity for provisions, the garrison made a sortie, and carried off five hundred sheep and goats. It was known to Sir Robert Sale that General Pollock was advancing to his relief. The time was come when a vigorous attack on the enemy without might have better results than a protracted defence. On the morning of the 7th of April three columns of infantry, with some field artillery and a small cavalry force, issued from the walls of Jalalabad to attack Akbar Khan, who with six thousand men was strongly posted in the adjacent plain.

Every point attacked by the three columns was carried, and the victory was completed by a general assault upon the Afghan camp. In a few hours the battle was over. Two days before this victory General Pollock had forced the Khyber pass. On the 16th of April Pollock's advanced guard was in sight of Jalalabad; and the two little armies were united in the exulting hope that it would be for them to retrieve the disasters which had befallen the British arms. Lord Ellenborough had arrived at Calcutta as governor-general on the 25th of February. The close of Lord Auckland's rule in India was clouded with misfortunes which fell heavily upon a proud and sensitive man. His policy was proved to be a mistake. Nothing in the annals of Great Britain had ever exhibited so disastrous an issue to a war undertaken in the confidence that it would avert the possibility of an impending danger. When, on the 30th of January, the utter destruction of the army of Kabul was known at Calcutta, the governor-general published a proclamation containing brave words. A new governor-general had arrived, who, appointed by a new administration, had been amongst the most vehement denouncers of the Afghan War.

The successes of Sale and Pollock had renewed the confidence of the British in India that the storm would soon be overpast. They had interrupted the hopes of those native powers who believed that the rule of the "Feringhees" was coming to an end. Shah Shuja had been for some time able to maintain himself in the citadel of Kabul after he had been left to his own resources. He finally perished by assassination.

The English ladies, children, and officers, who were treated as prisoners rather than as hostages, were carried from fort to fort. General Elphinstone died at Tezoon on the 23rd of April. At the end of April, General England had forced the principal pass between Juettah and Kandahar; and early in May had joined his forces to those of General Nott at Kandahar. Ghazni, which was in the possession of the Afghans, was recaptured by him on the 6th of September. General Pollock had been detained by sickness and other impediments at Jalalabad to the end of August. He then fought his way through the passes, and was joined by General Nott.

On the 15th of September the British standard was flying on the Bala Hissar of Kabul. The prisoners of Akbar Khan had been hurried towards Turkestan. The khan who had charge of them agreed with the English officers, for the future payment of a sum of rupees and an annuity, that he would assist them to regain their freedom. The advance of the army upon Kabul secured the aid of other chieftains. On the 15th of September, the hostages, the ladies, and the children had quitted the forts of the friendly khan, and were proceeding toward Kabul, when, on the 17th, they were met by a party of six hundred mounted Kuzzilbashes, under the command of Sir Richmond

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Shakespear, who had been sent by General Pollock to rescue them from their perils. On the 19th a horseman met the party alternating between hope and fear, to say that General Sale was close at hand with a brigade. The husband and the father met his wife and widowed daughter. Their happiness produced "a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears." The soldiers cheered; a royal salute from mountain-train guns welcomed them to the camp; the joy was proportioned to the terrible dangers that were overpast. On the 1st of October a proclamation was issued from Simla by Lord Ellenborough, which stated that the disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British army would be withdrawn across the Sutlej. On the 12th of October the army began its march back to India. Dost Muhammed was released, and returned to his sovereignty at Kabul.

Of the proclamation dated from Simla on the 1st of October there was much adverse notice in parliament. Mr. Macaulay maintained that it was antedated; for that on the 1st of October the release of the captives on the 19th of September could not have been known to the governor-general; and that knowing of this joyful event on the 12th he omitted all mention of it, that he might have the childish gratification of insulting his predecessor in the vice-royalty, by dating on the same day on which, in 1838, Lord Auckland had published his unfortunate declaration of the causes and objects of the war. But there was another proclamation by Lord Ellenborough which his ministerial friends could scarcely vindicate, and which brought down upon him the bitterest denunciations of his political enemies. It was as follows:

FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO ALL THE PRINCES, AND CHIEFS, AND PEOPLE OF INDIA

MY BROTHERS AND MY FRIENDS:

Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Muhammed [Mahmud] looks upon the ruins of Ghazni. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnath, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory; the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored temple of Somnath. The chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed at what time our victorious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship, at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej.

The Hindu temple of Somnath was in ruins, and it was maintained by those to whom the pompous words of the proclamation were distasteful, that the governor-general meant to restore it, and thus to manifest a preference for one of the great rival creeds of India — a preference which the policy of England expressly forbade. This might be a wrong inference from the words of the proclamation. But to despoil the tomb of a worshipper of Mohammed, that honour might be done the worshippers of Vishnu, was to offer an outrage to those sensibilities which more than any other cause made and still make the British rule in India so like treading on beds of lava.

THE CONQUEST OF SIND

In Trafalgar Square, under the shadow of the Nelson Column, is a statue of "Charles James Napier, General." The inscription bears that it was "erected by Public Subscription, the most numerous Contributors being Private Soldiers." This renowned warrior is ordinarily termed Conqueror of

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Sind. He had also a claim to be recorded as a benefactor of mankind in his successful endeavour to make his conquest a source of good to the conquered people. He was the just and beneficent administrator of Sind.[e]

The country of Sind constitutes the most western limit of India along the southern course of the Indus. It was conquered by the Mohammedans in the commencement of the eighth century, and was retained as a dependency of Persia until its subjugation by Mahmud Ghazni. Upon the downfall of his dynasty, the Sumras, a race of chiefs of Arab extraction, established themselves as independent rulers of the country, until they were dispossessed by the Sumas, who were Hindus, and who professed a nominal fealty to the Pathan sovereigns of Delhi. In the reign of Akbar, Sind became more intimately attached to the Mughal Empire; but the government of the province was usually entrusted to native chiefs, whose degree of subordination was regulated by the ability of the court of Delhi to compel obedience.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Kalhoras, a race of religious teachers who pretended to derive their origin from the Abassid Caliphs, and who converted their reputation for sanctity into an engine of worldly aggrandisement, had become possessed of extensive territory in Sind, and usurped an ascendancy in its government, which was legalised in the reign of Muhammed Shah of Delhi by the appointment of Nur Muhammed Kalhora as subahdar of Tatta. The vicegerent of Sind was speedily relieved from his dependance upon Delhi, but was compelled to pay tribute to the conqueror, Nadir Shah. The death of that prince dissolved the connection with Persia; but the new sovereign of Afghanistan claimed the like supremacy over the country, and Sind became, nominally at least, subject to Kabul. The Baluchi tribes acquired a leading influence in the affairs of Sind. The Talpur chief Fath Ali finally established the authority of his family in Sind. This power he shared with his three brothers, Ghulam Ali, Karm Ali, and Murad Ali.[g]

On the death of Fath Ali in 1801 the three continued to rule together; and when Ghulam Ali was killed in 1811 the duumvirate remained supreme; but on the death of Karm Ali in 1828 and Murad Ali a few years later, the old system was revived, and a government of four again instituted. Such was the state of things when British relations with the province [and with these mirs or amirs of Sind] had become necessarily an urgent consideration, owing to the Afghan expedition of 1838. During this crisis of Anglo-Indian history, the political officers in Sind and Baluchistan had a difficult task to perform, and it is infinitely to their credit that more mischief did not ensue in these countries from the many and heavy British disasters in the north.[h]

Whatever were the relations of these rulers to the people whom they misgoverned, the British authorities in India had repeatedly entered into treaties with them, and in the treaty of 1820 these words were used: "The two contracting parties mutually bind themselves from generation to generation never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." But the passage of troops through Sind was necessary for carrying on the war with Afghanistan. The amirs remonstrated, but were compelled to yield. Something more was required by a subsequent treaty. Karachi and Tatta were ceded to the British, with power to station troops there; and the free navigation of the Indus was stipulated as another condition of Great Britain's friendship. At an earlier period some of the amirs had expressed their fears that Sind was gone — the English have seen the river." After the British had withdrawn from Ghuznee, and when the terror of their name was no longer sufficient to command a compliance with enforced engagements, the amirs began to manifest hostile designs. Sir Charles Napier, having learned

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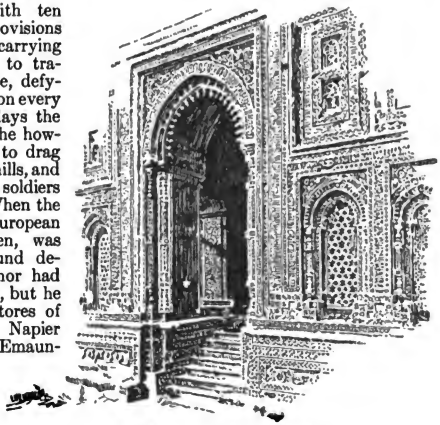
that they had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, resolved upon a direct and immediate act of hostility, instead of allowing them to gain time by delays and negotiations. Boldness and promptitude in this short war effected more than unlimited reinforcements. Emaun-Ghur, in the desert of Baluchistan, was a stronghold where the mercenaries of the amirs could gather together, safe from pursuit. Napier resolved to attack this fortress, whither upon his approach a large body of troops were marching.

On the night of the 5th of January, 1843, he commenced a perilous adventure. With three hundred and sixty of the 22nd Queen's regiment on camels, with two hundred of the irregular cavalry, with ten camels laden with provisions and with eighty carrying water, he set forth to traverse the arid waste, defying the armed bands on every side. After a few days the camels which drew the howitzers were unable to drag them over the sand-hills, and the unshrinking Irish soldiers took their place. When the fortress, which no European eye had before seen, was reached, it was found deserted. The governor had fled with his treasure, but he had left immense stores of ammunition behind. Napier resolved to destroy Emaun-Ghur; and having mined it in twenty-four places, by a simultaneous explosion all the mighty walls of the square tower, which stood as it were the monarch of the vast solitude, crumbled into atoms, and the wild bands who went forth to plunder and harass the populous Sind, had to retire still further into the desert. Napier and his hardy companions, after undergoing great privations on their march back by a different route, rejoined the main army on the 23rd near Hyderabad.



ALAROD-DEEN GATEWAY, DELHI

Battle of Miani (1843 A.D.)

The British resident at Hyderabad was Major Outram. On the 12th of February, the amirs with one exception, the amir of Khairpur, signed the treaty which in the previous December had been tendered to them, and which, as was to have been expected from its hard conditions, they had evaded signing. This was Lord Ellenborough's "final treaty," which Napier was to have imposed upon them by an immense force. The day after the signature Major Outram was attacked in the residency by eight thousand Baluchis.

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He had only a hundred foot-soldiers with him. In the river, however, there were two war steamers. To these he effected his retreat, by presenting a bold front to his assailants, whilst the guns of the steamers swept the flanks of the pursuers. With the loss only of three men killed and two wounded the gallant officer joined the main army under Napier, which consisted of four hundred British of the 22nd, and two thousand two hundred sepoys and other native troops. The 22nd were under the command of Colonel Pennefather, a name of renown in the Crimean War. The artillery consisted of twelve guns. With this force the battle of Miani was fought on the 17th of February. On this day Napier wrote in his journal, "It is my first battle as a commander: it may be my last. At sixty, that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be do or die." Whatever deeds have been done by heroic Englishmen under the inspiration of duty, never was there a greater deed of warfare than the victory of Miani, which was won by two thousand six hundred men against twenty-two thousand.

The Baluchis were posted on a slope behind the bed of the river Fulailee, which was for the most part dry. The half-mile between the two armies was rapidly passed; the bed of the river was crossed; up the slope ran the intrepid 22nd, and from the ridge looked down upon the Baluchis "thick as standing corn." The Baluchis covering their heads with their large dark shields, and waving their bright swords in the sun, rushed with frantic gestures upon the front of the 22nd. The Irish soldiers, with shouts as loud and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, met them with the bayonet, and says Sir William Napier,/ "sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood." The native infantry came up; the artillery took a commanding position, and mowed down the Baluchis with round-shot and canister. Upon the slope went on the deadly conflict for three hours, the assailants rushing upwards against an enemy who resolutely held his ground, the gaps in his ranks being closed up as fast as they were made. The result was at one time uncertain. The greater number of the European officers were killed or wounded. Napier was in the thick of the fight, and though surrounded by enemies was unharmed. Like Nelson, his daring was his safety; but then it was under the direction of his genius. He saw, what the eye only of a great commander can see, the opportunity for closing a doubtful struggle by one decisive blow. He ordered a charge of cavalry. Defying the guns on the top of the ridge, the chosen band of horsemen charged right into the enemy's camp. Those who had so long stood firm on the hill fell into confusion. The 22nd and the sepoys gained the ridge, and drove the Baluchis over. The mighty host of the amirs was thus beaten by a handful of troops led on to victory by one who had gained his experience in the great battles of the peninsula; by one who knew that large masses of men, however brave and strong, are comparatively weak unless their movements are directed by some master-mind, bold in the conception of his plans, cool in their execution, and having all the resources of strategy at his command at the instant when all would be lost by ignorance or incertitude.

Sir Charles Napier followed up his victory the next day by a message sent into Hyderabad that he would storm the city unless it surrendered. Six of the amirs came out, and laid their swords at his feet. There was another enemy yet unsubdued — Shere Muhammed of Mirpur. On the 24th of March Napier, who had been reinforced and had now five thousand troops, attacked this chief who had come with twenty thousand Baluchis before the walls of Hyderabad to recover the city. It was a hard earned victory, which was followed up by the British occupation of Mirpur. The spirit of the Baluchis

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was so broken that after two slight actions in June, when Shere Muhammed was routed and fled into the desert, the war was at an end.

Sind was annexed to the British possessions, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed its governor. He ruled the country for four years. He saw the great natural resources of Sind, and he led the way in rendering them available for commercial purposes by costly public works. The great branch of the Indus was opened to restore the fertility of Cutch. A gigantic pier was constructed at Karachi, by which a secure harbour was formed; and now the port is connected with the Indus by a railway. He made the revenue of the province sufficient to support the expenditure for its civil and political administration. But above all, he made the native population prosperous and contented under the British rule.

The state of the people under his wise government is thus described by Sir William Napier,[f] the historian of the Sind War: "The labourer cultivates in security his land; the handicraftsman, no longer dreading mutilation of his nose or ears for demanding remuneration for his work, is returning from the countries to which he had fled, allured back by good wages and employment. Young girls are no longer torn from their families to fill the zenanas of the great, or sold into distant slavery. The Hindu merchant and Parsee trafficker pursue their vocation with safety and confidence; and even the proud Baluchi warrior, not incapable of noble sentiments, though harsh and savage, remains content with a government which has not meddled with his right of subsistence, but only changed his feudal ties into a peaceful and warlike dependence. He has, moreover, become personally attached to a conqueror whose prowess he has felt in battle, and whose justice and generosity he has experienced in peace."

The close of the year 1843 was marked by another great military success in India. The state of Gwalior was in 1804 placed under the protection of the British government. The successor of the rajah who died in 1843 was a minor, and a regent was appointed, with the approbation of the governor-general. The regent was expelled by the Mahrattas, and the British resident was insulted. Lord Ellenborough, to whom war appeared a noble pastime in which an amateur might laudably indulge, immediately sent Sir Hugh Gough from Agra with fourteen thousand troops; and on the 29th of December he fought the battle of Maharajpur, when the Mahrattas were defeated with great loss. On the same day, Major-General Grey also defeated the Mahrattas at Punniar. The usurping government immediately submitted, and the strong fortress of Gwalior was occupied by a British governor. These warlike proceedings, however brilliant and successful, were not acceptable to the majority in the direction of the East India Company.[e] [In the next year they recalled Lord Ellenborough.]

SIR HENRY HARDINGE AND THE WAR WITH THE SIKHS

Sir Henry Hardinge, who had served with great distinction in the Peninsular War, and at the famous battle of Waterloo, where he had the misfortune to lose his left arm, arrived at Calcutta in July, 1844, and began his government by such measures as were most likely to maintain peace, and advance the civilisation of the country.

Soon after his arrival he published a document stating that, in all appointments to public offices throughout Bengal, preference would be given to those among the candidates who had been educated in the government schools, especially to such as had distinguished themselves by their attainments; and

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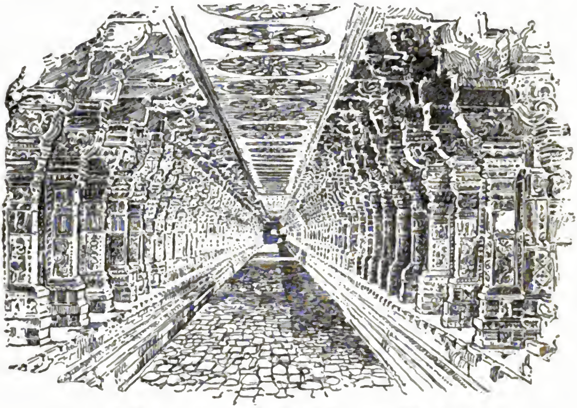
this regulation was to apply to the subordinate as well as to the higher situations; so that in appointing a public officer, even of the lowest grade, a man who can read and write is preferred to one who cannot. But Sir Henry's pacific intentions were speedily frustrated, and he was compelled by circumstances to engage in a war, the final result of which not only extended the British dominion in India, but was probably also the means of preserving it.[b]

Although seceders in some respects from the orthodox religion of the Hindus, the Sikhs retain so many essential articles of the Brahmanical faith, that they may be justly classed among the Hindu races. In the original institution, the Sikhs were a religious community, who, in consonance with the benevolent objects of their founder, Nanak Shah, a native of the Punjab, proposed to abolish the distinctions of caste, and to combine Hindus and



INTERIOR OF THE CELEBRATED TEMPLE AT RAMESWARAM

Mohammedans in a form of theistical devotion, derived from the blended abstractions of Sufiism and the Vedanta, and adapted to popular currency by the dissemination of the tenets which it inculcated, in hymns and songs composed in the vernacular dialects. These still constitute the scriptural authority, the *Adi Granth,* "the book" of the Sikhs. The doctrines and the influence of the teachers gave a common faith to the hardy and intrepid population of the upper part of the Punjab, and merged whatever distinctive appellations they previously possessed in the new general designation of "Sikhs," or "disciples," which thenceforth became their national denomination.

As their numbers increased, they attracted the notice of the Mohammedan rulers, and were subjected to the ordeal of persecution. They had recourse to arms: under a succession of military leaders, the sword became inseparably associated in their creed with the book; and their ranks were recruited by fugitives from political disorder and fiscal oppression, who

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readily adopted a faith which made but trifling demands upon their belief, and differed in few material points from that which they professed. Community of danger became the bond of both a religious and a social organisation, and a nation grew out of a sect. As the birth-place of their founder Nanak, and of the teacher who in a still greater degree gave to the Sikhs their characteristic peculiarities, Guru Govind Singh was the Punjab, it was there that they congregated and became organised, in spite of the efforts of the viceroys of Lahore for their suppression, until they had become masters of the whole of the country from the Sutlej to the Indus.[g]

Sir A. Lyall[k] calls attention to the fact that "an insurrectionary movement is always particularly dangerous if it takes a religious complexion." The Sikhs regarded their first prophet as having suffered martyrdom, and there had been engendered in their minds an abiding hatred of Islam because of the persecution to which they had been subjected by the later Mughal emperors. Although they were repeatedly and severely punished, they as often rose up again against their oppressors. Ahmed Shah overthrew them with great slaughter in 1761; yet a year later they retaliated by killing his governor at Sirhind; and in 1764 they revolted at Kandahar. Ahmed Shah, however, managed to retain a fairly firm control over the Punjab to the time of his death in 1773; but his successors were less powerful, and the Sikh confederation became stronger and stronger.[a]

RANJIT SINGH OF LAHORE

Ranjit Singh was about twelve years old when the death of his father, in 1792, left him in possession of a large territory, of which his mother assumed the government during his minority; and being an ambitious, unprincipled woman, she entirely neglected the education of her son, as a means of retaining her own power; so that the boy was not even taught to read or write. She became, at length, so unpopular that she was assassinated—some say with the connivance of her son, who assumed the government at the age of seventeen, a short time before the fall of Tipu Sahib.

It happened that young Ranjit had improved the opportunity to perform some service for Shah Zaman, king of the Afghans, who in return invested him with the government of Lahore [1798]; and after the dethronement of that monarch, Ranjit asserted his independence, and with the general consent of the Sikhs took the title King of Lahore, and soon established his authority over the whole of the Punjab.

Ranjit Singh, being anxious to keep on friendly terms with the British government, concluded a treaty with an envoy sent to his court for that purpose, by which he agreed not to attempt to extend his territories to the east, beyond the boundary of the Sutlej river; but this treaty did not limit his ambition in other directions; and during the civil wars of the Afghans that followed the dethronement of Shah Shuja, he made great additions to his kingdom, both on the south and the west. The unfortunate Shuja, when he fled from Kabul, had at first sought shelter at Lahore, where he was detained for some time as a prisoner, and compelled to give up all the jewels; so that Ranjit Singh became, in 1813, the possessor of the famous diamond Koh-i-nur, which signifies "the mountain of light." The murder of Fatteh Khan, and the consequent breaking up of the Afghan monarchy, opened the way for the further aggrandisement of the king of Lahore, who crossed the Indus, and thus possessed himself of Peshawar; about the same time he became master of the beautiful valley of Kashmir [1819].

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THE SUCCESSORS OF RANJIT SINGH

The death of Ranjit Singh, in June, 1839, deprived the English of a powerful ally, and the eastern nations of one of their greatest rulers. This illustrious prince, the founder of a vast empire, which was destined to fall with him to whom it owed its rise, was succeeded by his son, Kharrak Singh, who survived him but a few months. The funeral obsequies of the latter were celebrated with the sacrifice of one of his wives, and on the same day his son and successor, Nihal, was accidentally killed by the falling of a beam, as he was passing under a gateway on his elephant. This event gave rise to much confusion in the state, as there was no direct heir to the crown; and one party supported Dhian Singh, who had been Ranjit's chief minister; while the opposite faction proclaimed Shir Singh, another prince of the family. Such was the state of affairs in the Punjab during the early part of the Afghan War, and consequently the Sikhs were too much occupied with their own troubles to afford that efficient aid which had been expected from the friendly alliance that had subsisted between the British government and the late monarch, Ranjit Singh.

The British government took no part in the dissensions that followed the death of Kharrak Singh, but maintained a friendly intercourse with Shir Singh in order to secure for the troops in Afghanistan a free passage through the Punjab, from Kabul to British India. The condition of the country was at this time extremely wretched. The great Sikh army — which had been organised by Ranjit Singh on the European system, and which in his time had been a powerful force, commanded by European officers — was now disbanded; the roads were infested with banditti, who plundered the villages with impunity, and in many instances set them on fire; so that the miserable peasants were wandering about everywhere, without the means of procuring food or shelter, while the government was too weak to afford them protection, and the king was regarded in the light of a usurper by many of the greatest nobles of the kingdom.

Shir Singh, however, maintained his seat on the throne until the month of September, 1843, when he was assassinated by some of the chiefs in his gardens, during the celebration of a public festival; his son shared the same fate. The citadel of Lahore was then seized by the conspirators; Dhian Singh, the minister, was shot, and the wives and children of the murdered princes were barbarously massacred. But the success of the insurgents was of short duration, for they were defeated before the close of the same day by the opposite faction, who captured their leader, and placed on the throne Dhuleep (Dhalip) Singh, a boy only seven years of age, said to be a son of the great Ranjit. The government was conducted by the minister Heera Singh, but the country remained in a very unsettled and miserable condition.

The rani, or queen-mother, who acted as regent for her son, disliked the minister, Heera Singh. He was murdered in a rebellion of the soldiers, of which she was believed to be the instigator, in the beginning of 1845; after which her own brother Jewahir, who had headed the insurrection, was made prime minister, and remained in power till the end of the year, when another revolution took place, and he met with a fate similar to that of his predecessor. The confusion and misrule that prevailed at Lahore, and certain indications of a hostile disposition towards the British government, induced the governor-general to send several regiments to the frontiers, to protect the British possessions in case of invasion, but with a full determination not to go to war unless the safety of the empire was endangered. The troops

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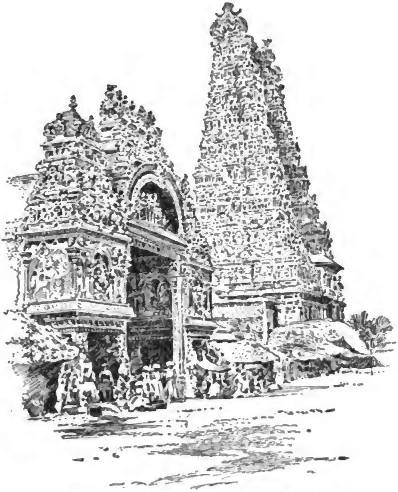
were stationed on the banks of the Sutlej, which is the largest of the streams that flow into the Indus, and forms the eastern boundary of the Punjab, separating that country from the British territories.

While the governor-general was thus preparing for a war in the north of India, Sir Charles Napier was earning fresh laurels in Sind, where the British authority was still resisted by some of the mountain tribes, whose depredations in the districts around the locality prevented the establishment of good order, and acted as a check upon the industry of the peaceful inhabitants. [In January, 1845, Sir Charles succeeded in reducing them to submission.]

FIRST SIKH WAR (1845–1846 A.D.)

In the mean time, the signs of a war with the Sikhs were growing more manifest, till at length little doubt could be entertained that they were contemplating an attack on the British territories. Although the rani and her ministers pretended to the British authorities that the hostile movements of the troops were not sanctioned by them, it is well known they encouraged the invasion as a means of ridding themselves of a turbulent soldiery, of whom they were in perpetual fear. In short, the war was determined upon at Lahore, and the Sikh army, consisting of not less than fifty thousand warlike men furnished with one hundred and eight pieces of artillery, and well trained in the European system of warfare, advanced toward the Sutlej, in hostile array. It appears to have been an unprovoked aggression on the part of the Sikhs; and as they sought the war without a reasonable pretext of quarrel or complaint, they are not entitled to that degree of compassion which the result would otherwise have called forth. The greatest cause of regret is that many valuable lives were sacrificed in the contest.



TEMPLE AND ROYAL SEPULCHRE AT MADURA

The Sikhs began to cross the river on the 11th of December, and took up a position at Ferozshaw, a village about ten miles from the populous town of Firozpur, and an equal distance from the village of Mudki, the British headquarters. Orders had been sent to the troops at Ambala to join the

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army without delay; and by forced marches, they performed the journey (one hundred and fifty miles), along heavy roads of sand, in six days, suffering greatly from fatigue and thirst, as no water was to be procured on the way.

On their arrival at Mudki, on the 18th of December, they found the enemy was then advancing in order of battle, and though nearly worn out with toil they had scarcely one hour to rest and refresh themselves, before the action commenced. It lasted from three o'clock in the morning till some time after nightfall, for the Sikhs fought with the utmost bravery, and it was not without considerable loss on the part of the British that they were at length driven from the field, leaving behind them seventeen of their guns, which had been captured during the engagement, and some thousands of their fallen comrades. Among the distinguished officers who fell at the battle of Mudki, was Sir Robert Sale, who with his wife had lately returned to India, having been in England since his memorable campaign in Afghanistan.

After this defeat the Sikhs returned to Ferozshaw where, for three days, they occupied themselves in raising strong intrenchments around their camp, which, on the 21st of December, was attacked by Sir Hugh Gough, who had been reinforced by a detachment of troops from Firozpur. This was a more severe conflict than that at Mudki, for the Sikhs had the advantage of firing from behind their batteries, which could not be destroyed without a frightful sacrifice of life. Ere the close of day, however, this was partially effected; but the issue of the battle was still uncertain, for while it was yet raging, the night set in, and obliged the combatants to cease for awhile their deadly strife. It was very cold and dark. The weary soldiers, without food or extra covering, lay down among their dead and dying companions, exposed to the cannonading of the enemy, which was kept up during the whole night; when daylight appeared, the attack was renewed, the enemy put to flight, and the camp taken.

Seventy-three pieces of cannon were captured in this engagement. But the victors had scarcely congratulated each other on their success, when a fresh army was seen advancing, led by one of the chiefs who had just fled; and the British troops had to begin a fresh battle under all the disadvantages of exhausted strength and spirits. By exertions almost superhuman, this second army was put to flight, some of the chiefs killed, and the British remained masters of the camp, in which were found stores of grain and ammunition, both of which were greatly needed. The whole force of the Sikhs who had taken the field is estimated at about sixty thousand; while that of the British did not amount to more than twenty thousand, or one-third the number of their opponents.

The Sikhs had retired to the other side of the Sutlej, and were assembling again in great force; so that it was evident that another battle would soon take place. They formed a solid bridge of boats across the river, over which they came in parties, on plundering expeditions; and about the middle of January, 1846, established a camp within the bounds of the British territory, where they soon mustered to the amount of about twenty thousand. The position they occupied was opposite the wealthy and populous city of Ludhiana, and Major-General Sir Harry Smith was despatched from the main army with a body of troops to unite with those remaining there for the purpose of repelling any attacks in that quarter. The enemy was posted so as to intercept his march, and the two armies met at the village of Aliwal, which has given its name to one of the most memorable battles recorded in the history of British India.

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The battle of Aliwal was fought on the 28th of January, 1846, and ended in a complete victory over the enemy, whose loss was terrific; for, in addition to the many hundred slain in the combat, great numbers perished in their despairing efforts to make their way across the river. Rich shawls and gold bracelets in abundance fell into the hands of the victors. The immediate consequence of this engagement was that the whole of the territory on the left bank of the Sutlej submitted to the British government, and the Lahore troops evacuated every fort that they had held on that side of the river.

But the main body of the Sikh army was still encamped on the opposite side of their fortified bridge at the village of Sobraon, and yet numbered about thirty thousand men, while it had seventy pieces of cannon remaining; added to which, they occupied a fort that was very strongly fortified; so that the British troops had before them the prospect of another sanguinary engagement.

Sir Harry Smith, with his forces, rejoined the commander-in-chief, and on the 10th of February the battle of Sobraon terminated this eventful campaign. The intrenched camp was attacked and taken by storm, after a most desperate struggle, in which thirteen British officers were killed, and about one hundred wounded, the losses in the ranks being great in proportion. The victory, however, although so dearly purchased, was a decisive one. The Sikh army was almost totally destroyed, every gun captured, and it seemed as if scarcely a vestige was left of that formidable power which had so seriously threatened the perpetuation of the British dominion in India. Immediately after the battle of Sobraon, the victorious generals encamped in the Punjab, at Kussoor, about sixteen miles from the bank of the river and thirty-two from the capital.

In the mean time the utmost confusion prevailed at the court of Lahore, where a very remarkable person was acting in the capacity of prime minister. This was the rajah Gulab Singh, the uncle of Heera, and brother of Dhian Singh. He was a powerful chief, with plenty of men and money at his command; but since the death of his brother, Dhian, he had resided at his fortress of Jamu, among the mountains, watching the course of public events. On the breaking out of the war, he brought his army, with abundance of stores and money, to the capital, but avoided taking any decided part in the contest.

After the battle of Aliwal, the rani, though his personal enemy, was induced to appoint him prime minister, in the hope of obtaining his assistance, which he did not refuse, but still delayed his departure for the camp, under various pretences, and was yet at Lahore when the news of the total defeat of the army at Sobraon changed the whole face of affairs. The rani and her party were now anxious to make peace on the best terms they could, and Gulab Singh was commissioned to proceed at once to the British camp for that purpose. The rajah wisely insisted that they should first sign an agreement to abide by such terms as he should make; and thus invested with full power to negotiate, he arrived at Kussoor on the 15th of February, accompanied by several of the most influential of the sirdars.

The governor-general received him without the usual ceremonies; and after alluding to the unjustifiable conduct of the Sikh government in beginning a war without the slightest pretext, he referred the minister to his agent and secretary, who were in possession of the terms on which he would pardon the late aggression, and renew the friendly alliance between the Sikh and British governments. These conditions were the cession of the whole territory between the Sutlej and Beas rivers; the payment of a million and

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a half sterling, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; the surrender of all the rest of the cannon that had been pointed against the British; and the total disbanding of the army, to be newly constituted upon principles approved by the British government.

The rajah signed the treaty, and the governor-general issued a proclamation to the effect that, as he had been forced into this war by an unprovoked attack on the part of the Sikhs, he felt it necessary to adopt such measures as would secure the British dominions from such aggressions in future; and that, as it was not the wish of the British government to take advantage of the success of its arms to enlarge its territories, he should endeavour to re-establish the Sikh government in the Punjab, on such a footing as should enable it to exercise authority over its soldiers and protect its subjects." It was then stipulated that the maharajah and principal chiefs should repair to the British camp to tender their submission. The summons was promptly obeyed, and the young prince, mounted on an elephant, and attended by Gulab Singh and about twelve of the sirdars, had an interview with the governor-general, when his submission was tendered by the minister, and it was then declared that he would in future be treated as a friend and ally.

These arrangements being all completed, Dhuleep Singh, who was only ten years of age, was conducted back in state to his palace in the citadel of Lahore by a large escort of European and native troops, who formed altogether a grand and imposing spectacle; the youthful sovereign, surrounded by his chiefs, in all the pomp of barbaric splendour, riding amid the victorious troops, who might be regarded as both his conquerors and protectors.

The treaty of peace had, however, still to be ratified, and as the Lahore government was not able to pay the sum that had been stated, it became necessary to alter the conditions. It was therefore settled that half a million in money should be paid, instead of one million and a half; and that as an equivalent for the deficient million, all the country should be ceded that lies between the Beas and the Indus, including the beautiful vale of Kashmir. The greater part of this territory was bestowed in full sovereignty on Gulab Singh, in consideration of the neutrality he preserved during the war; and he, in return for so valuable an acquisition of territory, was to pay seventy-five lacs of rupees, equal to £800,000.

A treaty containing sixteen articles was drawn up and signed at Lahore, on the 10th of March, 1846, by the representatives of the late contending powers, and was afterwards confirmed by the seals of the governor-general and the maharajah. A separate treaty was then concluded with Gulab Singh, who thus became a sovereign prince under the supremacy of the British government, which he was to acknowledge by an annual present, or tribute, of a horse, twelve shawl-goats, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls; besides which, like the crown vassals of feudal times, he was bound to assist the superior power, with all his military force, in any wars in the states adjoining his territories.

The queen-mother remained at the head of the government, and a body of British troops was stationed at Lahore for the protection of the maharajah, who, when these arrangements were completed, received a visit of congratulation from the governor-general, accompanied by the commander-in-chief and other distinguished British officers. The dissolute rani, mother of the young maharajah, was not, however, long in the responsible position in which she had been permitted to remain; for, being detected in a conspiracy against the peace of the country, the British government determined to check it in the bud. She was, therefore, seized and conveyed to a fortress about twenty

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miles from Lahore, and there placed in close confinement. The earl of Dalhousie was appointed in November, 1847, to succeed Sir Henry Hardinge as governor-general. He arrived in India and assumed the reins of government early in the following year.[b]

DALHOUSIE'S GOVERNORSHIP AND THE SECOND SIKH WAR (1848-1849 A.D.)

Peace was not long preserved. The governor of Multan, Diwan Mulraj, desired to resign. Two English officers sent by the resident to take over charge of the fort were murdered, the 19th of April, 1848, and their escort went over to the diwan. Another of the assistants to the resident, Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, then in the Derajat, west of the Indus, hearing of the attack on the two officers, hastened to their assistance. On hearing of their fate he collected a force with which to attack the Multan army while the insurrection was yet local. This he did with signal success. But Multan could not fall before such means as he possessed. The movement spread, the operations widened, and the Sikh and English forces were in the field again.[j]

The Battles of Chilianwala, Multan, and Gujrat (1849 A.D.)

On the 13th of January, 1849, the British forces under Lord Gough came in sight of the encampment of the enemy at Chilianwala. It was Lord Gough's intention not to attack the enemy so late in the day, but Shir Singh, the commander of the Sikh troops, knew the ground; he had possession of the jungle, and he knew, also, the reckless bravery of his antagonist. It suited his purpose that the conflict should be immediate. He allowed a few of his advanced posts to be overpowered, that the enemy might be enticed on; and when Lord Gough was close enough, the Sikh batteries opened upon him. The Sikh artillery, well placed and well plied, made fearful havoc. The British guns, pointed against the jungle, could do no such damage as the artillery of the enemy. A loss of about one hundred officers and two thousand five hundred men, on the part of the British, was the result. "Although," says Lord Gough, in his despatches, "the enemy, who defended not only his guns but his position with desperation, was driven, in much confusion and with heavy loss, from every part of it, and the greater part of his field artillery was actually captured, the march of brigades to their flanks to repel parties that had rallied, and the want of numbers and consequent support to our right flank, aided by the cover of the jungle and the close of the day, enabled him, upon our further advance in pursuit, to return and carry off, unobserved, the greater portion of the guns we had thus gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet."

Such was the battle of Chilianwala: the bravery of the British troops and their commander achieved a barren victory over a formidable enemy, who had all the advantages of position in his favor. After a battle so disastrous on both sides, the two armies encamped within four miles of each other to recruit their exhausted energies and to prepare, on the arrival of reinforcements, for another encounter which might prove more decisive, if not less bloody, than that of Chilianwala. There we will for the present leave them, and return to Multan, and give in brief the details of an attack, which resulted in the capture of this almost impregnable fortress and city.

Mulraj had about nine thousand men, and the besieging army under General Whish amounted to about twenty-eight thousand, well provided.

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The operations began on the 27th of December, by an attack upon two several points of the suburbs, which were carried at the bayonet's point; and after bombardment, breach, and storm, lasting, with but slight intervals of repose, for six days, the British flag was planted upon the walls of Multan by a sergeant-major of the company's fusiliers. A perfect storm of bullets for a time flew around him; the colour was torn in tatters, and the staff broken. For an instant no one could reach him; but there he stood cheering his comrades to come on. There was no need of exhortation — onward they pressed, the enemy doggedly retiring before them, and fighting as they withdrew. The walls were scaled about three o'clock on the 2nd of January; by sunset the city was fully in possession of the besieging forces. Mulraj took refuge in the citadel. But on the 22nd of January — when it had become evident that he could not hold his position for twenty-four hours longer — Mulraj surrendered himself, his forces, and the citadel, unconditionally into the hands of the British.

For four weeks after the battle of Chilianwala, the British and Sikh armies remained inactive, with a slight change of position. Chuttur Singh, father of Shir Singh, had effected a junction with his son but did not bring so numerous and well-appointed a reinforcement as was expected. The army of Lord Gough, on the contrary, had been considerably increased. After the capture of Multan, General Whish, by a series of rapid marches, arrived with his victorious detachment at the Chenab, and effected a junction with Lord Gough, when battle was given to Shir Singh without further delay. It was an open-field fight by daylight, the Sikhs not having, as at Chilianwala, the advantage of darkness and a thick jungle to protect them from the fatal aim of their enemy's guns.

The British army was about twenty-five thousand men, with one hundred cannon; that of the Sikhs was about forty thousand. Their artillery, however, was comparatively deficient, amounting to but sixty guns. Shir Singh chose his own position around the village of Gujrat, and the British army moved to attack him early in the morning of the 21st. The British line extended nearly three miles right and left. The Sikhs gave way on all points, and fled in the utmost confusion. The victory was obtained at a loss of life comparatively small on the part of the British — namely, of five officers and ninety-two men. The loss on the part of the Sikhs was enormous.

On the day after this decisive battle, General Gilbert, with a force of fifteen thousand men, was despatched in pursuit. On the 14th of March, Shir Singh and his father, Chuttur Singh, with eleven others of the principal sirdars, arrived in the British camp at Rawal Pindi, and delivered up their swords. Forty-one pieces of artillery and sixteen thousand stand of arms were at the same time surrendered.

Lord Dalhousie issued a proclamation declaring the Sikh dynasty at an end, and the Punjab annexed to the British dominions. The maharajah, no longer sovereign, was to receive an allowance of forty thousand pounds, and to reside within the British dominions. The few chiefs not convicted of treason were allowed to retain their estates.

The territory thus annexed to the British possessions in India amounted to one hundred thousand square miles. It had a population of three and a half millions, and a revenue equal to one million pounds.

THE KOH-I-NUR

Among the trophies which fell into the hands of the English during the Sikh War was the celebrated gem, the Koh-i-nur diamond. The gem passed

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from Golconda to Delhi, where, in the year 1665, it was seen by the French traveller Tavernier, in the possession of Aurangzeb. Sometimes worn on the person of the Mughal emperors, sometimes adorning the famous peacock throne, this inestimable gem was safely preserved at Delhi until the invasion of Nadir Shah. Among the spoils of conquest which the Persian warrior carried back with him, in triumph, to Khorassan, and which have been variously estimated at from twenty to one hundred million pounds sterling, the Koh-i-nur was the most precious trophy. But it was destined to pass from Persia as quickly as that ephemeral supremacy in virtue of which it had been acquired. When the Persian conqueror was assassinated, in 1747, the Afghan chief, Ahmed Abdullah Shah, who had served under him as treasurer, on his return to Herat carried with him the treasure in his possession, including this diamond. It seemed as if the Koh-i-nur carried with it the sovereignty of Hindustan; for the conquests of Ahmed were as decisive as those of Nadir, and it was by his influence and assistance that the last emperor ascended the throne of the Mughals.

With the overthrow of the Durani monarchy by the consolidated power of the Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh, the jewel passed to a new master. Shah Shuja, of Kabul, was the last chief of the Abdullah dynasty who possessed it. When Shah Shuja was a fugitive from Kabul, under the equivocal protection of the Sikh chief, Ranjit Singh put the shah under strict surveillance, and made a formal demand for the jewel. The Durani prince hesitated, prevaricated, temporised, and employed all the artifices of oriental diplomacy, but in vain.

When first given to Shah Jahan, the Koh-i-nur was still uncut, weighing, it is said, in that rough state, nearly eight hundred carats, which were reduced by the unskilfulness of the artist to two hundred and seventy-nine, its present weight. It was cut by Hortensio Borgis, a Venetian, who, instead of receiving a compensation for his service, was fined ten thousand rupees for his wastefulness, by the enraged Mughal. In form it is "rose-cut," that is to say, it is cut to a point in a series of small faces, or "facets," without any tabular surface. The Koh-i-nur was seized by the British resident at Lahore, when first apprised of the outbreak at Multan. At the conclusion of the war it was taken to England, presented to the queen, and placed among the jewels of the crown.[b]

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS: THE SECOND BURMESE WAR (1849–1852 A.D.)

After these bloody wars, the British Empire in the East enjoyed several years of undisturbed repose. All the outbreaks which had occurred subsequent to the Afghanistan disaster, every effort at independence which had been made, had led to overthrow and subjugation. The Sind amirs had tried it, and failed; the Gwalior people had tried it, and failed. Even the great and colossal power of the Sikhs had been overthrown; and after two desperate and bloody campaigns, their capital had been taken, their army disbanded, their kingdom incorporated with the all-conquering state. Struck with this astonishing series of victories immediately succeeding so dire a calamity, the inhabitants of the vast peninsula of Hindustan, for the time at least, abandoned the contest; and, submitting to the dominion of the British as the decree of providence, sought only to improve the advantages which the general establishment of internal peace afforded, and to improve the means of industry which its vast extent and powerful protection seemed to promise.

The East India Company took advantage of this precious breathing-time

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from external war to afford every facility in their power to the development of the internal resources of their vast territories. Canals were dug or restored, roads made, railroads surveyed, and in part at least executed. The mind of Lord Dalhousie, essentially administrative, was ardently and successfully directed to these great objects. Then were projected, and in great part executed, those magnificent public works which have so completely effaced the well-known reproach cast by Mr. Burke upon the British administration in India, and which will bear a comparison with any in the world for greatness of conception and perfection of execution.

The Taking of Fort Martaban

This happy state of tranquillity was first broken in upon, in 1852, by a second rupture with the Burmese government, which arose from the pride and arrogance of a barbaric court, and their inconceivable ignorance of the strength of the power with which they were in close contact. So many cases of injury occurred in the course of the years 1851 and 1852, that the governor-general came to the conclusion that the law of nations had been violated, especially by the governor of Rangoon in his cruel and oppressive conduct to British subjects. The period allowed for accommodation having elapsed, an expedition was despatched under the command of General Godwin, an experienced officer, who had been engaged in the former war, to enforce redress. The expedition sailed for the mouth of the Irawadi on the 28th of March, the naval force being under the orders of Rear-Admiral Austen. On the 5th of April the fort of Martaban, commanding one of the entrances of the river, was attacked, and the place carried, though garrisoned by five thousand of the best soldiers in the Burmese Empire.

CARVED PAGODA AT RANGOON, BURMA

After this success the expedition proceeded up the Irawadi to Rangoon, which stands on the left bank of the principal branch of the river, about twenty miles from the sea. Hostilities were commenced by a general attack by the war-steamers on the enemy's flotilla and river defences; and in a few hours the former were all burned, and the latter levelled with the ground. The troops were then landed without further resistance, and advanced against the town. The garrison fled in confusion through the southern and western

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gates, where they were met by the fire of the steamers, and obliged to seek safety by dispersing in the jungle.

The immediate surrender of Rangoon was the result of this victory, which was soon followed by the submission of all the adjacent country. The stores, ammunition, and heavy guns were then landed, and placed in Rangoon, which was strengthened and garrisoned by a strong body of troops, it being the design of government to make it not only the base of present operations, but a permanent acquisition to the British Empire in the East. These precautions having been taken, the troops were again moved forward up the Irawadi. On the 19th they were before Bassein, where a strong mud-fort was stormed, after a desperate resistance. Martaban, the first conquest of the British, which was garrisoned only by a small native force, was soon after attacked by a large body of Burmese, but the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Encouraged by these successes, an expedition was fitted out early in July, under Captain Tarleton, to reconnoitre the river as far as Prome, which was taken.

Offensive operations were resumed as soon as the return of the cool season rendered them practicable. On the 25th of September the troops were embarked at Rangoon, and they came in sight of Prome on the 9th of October, where they were shortly after landed. They immediately advanced, and made themselves masters of a fortified pagoda situated on an eminence which commanded the enemy's position. Upon this the Burmese evacuated the town in the night. This success was followed by the capture of Pegu, a large town about sixty miles from Rangoon (November 20th). This was followed by a proclamation from the governor-general, which, "in compensation for the past, and for better security for the future, proclaimed that the province of Pegu is now, and shall henceforth be, a portion of the British territories in the East."

No further attempt was now made to disquiet the British in their newly acquired conquest, and unbroken peace reigned through their vast dominions from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Irawadi, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya snows.

ANNEXATION OF OUDH (1856 A.D.)

This period of tranquillity, during which Lord Dalhousie was incessantly occupied with his great projects of domestic improvement and social amelioration, was not even interrupted by an important event in the east of India. This was the annexation of Oudh, which, without any hostilities, was carried into effect by a simple resolution of the governor-general in council on March 17th, 1856. This powerful state, whose inhabitants were a nation of warriors, lies on the eastern bank of the Ganges, between Cawnpore and Nepal, embraces twenty-five thousand square miles of territory, and contained at the period of annexation five million inhabitants.

It was, however, notorious that, though the kings of Oudh since that time had never failed in their duty to the British government, but, on the contrary, essentially served it on many occasions, yet they had scandalously violated the rights of their own subjects. The government of Lucknow, the capital, was perhaps the most corrupt and oppressive in the world, so far as its own people were concerned. Moved by the petitions of the unhappy sufferers under these exactions, and by the obvious discredit which they brought on the British government and connection, the governor-general in 1856 proposed a treaty to the king of Oudh, by which the sole and exclusive

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administration of the country was to be transferred to the East India Company, with the right to the whole state revenue, burdened with a due provision to the reigning family, who were to be allowed to retain their royal titles, and enjoy their palaces and parks at Lucknow. These terms, as might have been expected, having been rejected by the king, a proclamation was forthwith issued, declaring the kingdom incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company, and requiring all the inhabitants to yield obedience to their authority. The British forces immediately entered the country from Agra and Cawnpore, and took possession of the capital and whole territories without resistance. About the same time the territories of the rajah of Satara were incorporated with the British dominions; those of the rajah of Berar had already been absorbed in 1853; but these encroachments, being on inconsiderable native potentates, were made without opposition, and excited very little attention.

Unhappily the ease with which this annexation was accomplished at the time misled the government as to the precautions necessary to secure this acquisition, and the representations of Lord Dalhousie on that subject remained without effect. Not a man of European race was added to the force in the country; Delhi, the great arsenal of northern India, was left exclusively in the hands of the native troops; and a few hundred British, and a few battalions of sepoys, formed the sole garrison of the most warlike and formidable people of eastern India.

ALISON ON THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The war in the Punjab throws a bright light on those which preceded it in Gwalior and Sind, and vindicates Lord Ellenborough's administrations from the aspersions thrown upon it for the commencement of hostilities against these powers. Judging by the European standard, there can be no doubt that he was the aggressor on both those occasions; because, although the native powers were the first to engage in hostile acts, this had been rendered necessary by a course of encroachments on the part of the British. But it is now apparent that this was unavoidable. The opposite system was followed by the East India directors and Lord Hardinge, who forswore all hostile preparations against the Sikhs, and brought the Indian Empire to the brink of ruin, in order to avoid giving a pretext even for hostilities; and what was the consequence? Two terrible wars, in which the utmost hazard was incurred, and in which salvation was earned only by heroic efforts, and the shedding of torrents of blood. What would have been the fate of these wars if they had occurred when the British flank was threatened by the insurrection in Sind, and their communications cut off by the forces of Gwalior? In all probability India would have been lost. It was by anticipating the danger, and combating the hostile powers in succession, that the danger was averted and India saved. For this immense service the country was indebted to Lord Ellenborough; and, according to the usual course of human events, it is not the least conclusive proof of the reality of the obligation that the East India Company requited it by his recall. So strong is the desire for economy of their own money, however anxious to get that of others, and so invincible the repugnance to make costly preparations against future danger, in the great majority of men, that whoever attempts or recommends it is certain to incur present obloquy, and, if his opponents have the power to effect it, political downfall.

But the same form of justification can scarcely be applied to the incorpora-

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tion of Oudh. Unlike the warlike powers in the northwest of India, the government of Oudh had engaged in no hostile designs or preparations against that of Great Britain. Through all the changes of fortune for a half century, it had stood faithful by the British. Whatever faults it had committed, and they were many, had been directed against its own subjects, and related to matters of internal administration. Other grounds of justification in the case of Oudh must therefore be sought than that of hostility to Great Britain; and these are found by the defenders of the annexation in the fact that, by the treaty of 1801, there was expressly stipulated to the British government a right of interference, in the event of such internal mal-administration as was charged against the native authorities.

As this encroachment was instrumental in bringing about the rebellion of 1857, and the terrible war which ended in the termination of the East India Company's rule in India, in conformity with the old Hindu prophecy, in the hundredth year after its foundation by the battle of Plassey, it is a fitting opportunity to consider what was the extent and magnitude of the empire which in that period — short in the lifetime of a nation — had been formed by the energy and perseverance of the company, and the courage of the nation which aided them by its resources.

India, then, contained, in 1858, when the direct rule of the East India Company was merged in that of the home government, 180,367,148 inhabitants, extending over 1,465,322 square miles. Of these, 131,990,881 were under the direct dominion of the East India Company, and 48,376,247 the inhabitants of the protected states. The revenue (gross) of this immense territory was £30,817,000, of which £17,109,000 was the land-tax, £5,195,000 drawn from the monopoly of opium, £2,631,000 from that of salt, and £2,106,000 from customs. The cost of collection was about £6,000,000; the charge of the army was £11,000,000 annually; the interest of debt in India £2,000,000; and £3,500,000 were remitted to Great Britain for charges payable at home, or interest on the debt due there. The annual deficit was on an average of the four years between 1854 and 1858, £1,500,000 annually; in the year ending April 30th, 1857, it was £1,981,062.

The army amounted in the same month to 231,276 native troops, of whom 26,129 were cavalry, regular and irregular; 22,047 Europeans in the employment of the East India Company, of whom 6,585 were artillery; and the queen's troops in India before the revolt broke out were 31,800, all paid by the East India Company. The auxiliary troops, which the protected states were bound to furnish, were 32,211 more; in all, nearly 320,000 men.

The public debt of India was £68,000,000, being somewhat more than twice its income. Nor had this empire been acquired by conquest over unwarlike or barbarous nations: for if the inhabitants of Bengal were a timid race, the Gurkhas, the Sikhs, the Afghans, the Mahrattas, and the inhabitants of Sind, rivalled the ancient Germans or Parthians in hardihood and valour; and in the great revolt of 1857 the East India Company encountered 120,000 soldiers, armed, instructed, and disciplined by themselves, and inferior to none in the contempt of death when animated by religious zeal.

This empire embraced a greater number of inhabitants than that conquered in five centuries by the Roman legions; double the number subjugated by the Russian arms in two centuries; and more than triple those won for France by the energy of the Revolution and the victories of Napoleon! And this mighty empire, transcending any which has existed since the world began, had been acquired in one century by a pacific company, having its chief place of business fourteen thousand miles distant from the theatre of its conquests —

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which has almost always been guided by pacific interests, and rarely engaged in wars, except from necessity and in self-defence — which began its career with five hundred European soldiers, and seldom had so many as fifty thousand collected around its standards! The history of the world may be sought in vain for a parallel to such a prodigy.

The chief cause of this extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon is to be found in the presence of constitutional energy in Great Britain during the period when the empire in the East was forming, and the absence of parliamentary control in its direction. The mother country furnished an inexhaustible supply of young men, drawn chiefly from the landed gentry of the middle class, to fill every department both in the civil and military service in the East, while the selection of candidates was exempt from the debasing effects of court favour or parliamentary influence. The command of this extraordinary aggregate of military and civil ability was practically vested in the governor-general at Calcutta, distance and the necessity of self-direction on the spot having rendered nearly impotent for evil the division of power between the East India Company and the board of control, which the strange and anomalous constitution of 1784 theoretically established.

It is to the extraordinary combination of circumstances which gave British India the united advantages of democratic vigour in the classes from which its defenders were taken, with aristocratic perseverance in the senate by which its government was directed, and the unity of despotism in the dictator to whom the immediate execution of the mandates of that senate was entrusted, that the extraordinary growth of the British Empire in India during the century between Plassey and the Mutiny is beyond all question to be ascribed. During that period Great Britain had often at home sustained serious reverses, from the ignorance and incapacity of those whom parliamentary influence or court favour had brought to the head of affairs, or the parsimony with which democratic economy had starved down the national establishment, during peace, to a degree which rendered serious reverses inevitable on the first breaking out of hostilities; but in India, though the usual intermixture of good and evil fortune in human affairs was experienced, there were never awanting, after a short period, troops requisite to repair reverses, and generals capable of leading them to victory.[1]

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CHAPTER VI

THE INDIAN MUTINY

[1857–1858 A.D.]

LORD DALHOUSIE AND THE DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

LORD DALHOUSIE'S dealings with the feudatory states of India can only be rightly appreciated as part of his general policy. That rulers only exist for the good of the ruled was his supreme axiom of government, of which he gave the most conspicuous example by the practice of his own daily life. That British administration was better for the people than native rule followed from this axiom as a necessary corollary. He was thus led to regard native chiefs from somewhat the same point of view as the Scotch regarded the hereditary jurisdictions after 1745 — as mischievous anomalies, to be abolished by every means practicable. Good faith must be kept with rulers on the throne and with their legitimate heirs, but no false sentiment should preserve dynasties that had forfeited all consideration by years of accumulated misrule, or prolong those that had no natural successor.

The "doctrine of lapse" was merely a special application of these principles, though complicated by the theory of adoption. It has never been doubted that, according to Hindu private law, an adopted son entirely fills the place of a natural son, whether to perform the religious obsequies of his father or to inherit his property. In all respects he continues the *persona* of the deceased. But it was argued that the succession to a throne stood upon a different footing. The paramount power could not recognise such a right which might be used as a fraud to hand over the happiness of millions to a base-born impostor. Here came in the maxim of "the good of the governed." The material benefits to be conferred through British administration surely

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weighed heavier in the scale than a superstitious and frequently fraudulent fiction of inheritance.

The first state to escheat to the British government in accordance with these principles was Satara, which had been reconstituted by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the peshwa in 1818. The last direct representative of Sivaji died without a male heir in 1848, and his deathbed adoption was set aside. In the same year the Rajput state of Karauli was saved by the interposition of the court of directors, who drew a fine distinction between a dependent principality and a protected ally. In 1833 Jhansi suffered the same fate as Satara. But the most conspicuous application of the doctrine of lapse was the case of Nagpur. The last of the Bhonslas, a dynasty older than the British government itself, died without a son, natural or adopted, in 1853. That year also saw British administration extended to the Berars, or the assigned districts which the nizam of Hyderabad was induced to cede as a territorial guarantee for the subsidies which he perpetually kept in arrear. Three more distinguished names likewise passed away in 1853, though without any attendant accretion to British territory. In the extreme south the titular nawab of the Carnatic and the titular rajah of Tanjore both died without heirs. Their rank and their pensions died with them, though compassionate allowances were continued to their families. In the north of India, Baji Rao, the ex-peshwa, who had been dethroned in 1818, lived on till 1853 in the enjoyment of his annual pension of £80,000. His adopted son, Nana Sahib, inherited his accumulated savings, but could obtain no further recognition.

The marquis of Dalhousie resigned office in March, 1856, being then only forty-four years of age; but he carried home with him the seeds of a lingering illness which resulted in his death in 1860. Excepting Cornwallis, he was the first, though by no means the last, of English statesmen who have fallen victims to their devotion to India's needs. He was succeeded by his friend, Lord Canning, who, at the farewell banquet in England given to him by the court of directors, uttered these prophetic words: "I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." In the following year the sepoys of the Bengal army mutinied, and all the valley of the Ganges from Patna to Delhi rose in open rebellion.

MOTIVES FOR THE MUTINY

The various motives assigned for the Mutiny appear inadequate to the European mind. The truth seems to be that native opinion throughout India was in a ferment, predisposing men to believe the wildest stories, and to act precipitately upon their fears. The influence of panic in an Oriental population is greater than might be readily believed. In the first place, the policy of Lord Dalhousie, exactly in proportion as it had been dictated by the most honourable considerations, was utterly distasteful to the native mind. Repeated annexations, the spread of education, the appearance of the steam engine and the telegraph wire, all alike revealed a consistent determination to substitute an English for an Indian civilisation.

The Bengal sepoys, especially, thought that they could see into the future farther than the rest of their countrymen. Nearly all men of high caste, and many of them recruited from Oudh, they dreaded tendencies which they deemed to be denationalising, and they knew at first hand what annexation meant. They believed that it was by their prowess that the Punjab had

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been conquered, and all India was held quiet. The numerous dethroned princes, their heirs and their widows, were the first to learn and take advantage of the spirit of disaffection that was abroad. They had heard of the Crimean War, and were told that Russia was the perpetual enemy of England. They had money in abundance with which they could buy the assistance of skilful intriguers. They had everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by a revolution.[b]

Writing on the subject of the causes of the Indian Mutiny, Lord Roberts[e] declares that the "discontent and dissatisfaction were produced by a policy which, in many instances, the rulers of India were powerless to avoid or postpone, forced upon them as it was by the demands of civilisation and the necessity for a more enlightened legislation." He states that intriguers took advantage of this state of affairs to further their own ends; that it was their policy to alienate the native army, engendering feelings of uneasiness and suspicion by calumniating the authorities, whose measures really were intended to promote the welfare of the masses. He vigorously sustains the authorities as to the integrity of their motives, but he admits that their measures were of necessity obnoxious to the Brahman priesthood as well as distasteful to the natives in general. He admits that, in some instances at least, the measures adopted were premature, and that even so they were not always carried out as judiciously as they might have been, or with sufficient regard to native prejudices.[a]

Sir A. Lyall,[h] writing with full knowledge of the psychology of the peoples involved, declares that "in Asia a triumphant army like the Janisaries of the Mamelukes almost always becomes ungovernable so soon as it becomes stationary." He says that the sepoys of the Bengal army had an exaggerated idea of their own importance; and that the annexation of Oudh in 1856 touched their pride and affected their interests. It was this province from which the army secured most of its high-caste recruits. Men in this excitable condition required only some slight stimulus to bring them into open revolt. This stimulus being found in the use of greased cartridges which roused their caste prejudices, they mutinied.[a]

The nature of Great Britain's hold upon India was so anomalous that the reflective had constantly doubted of its permanence. Her conquests had been chiefly effected by native armies, and continued to be ruled by their instrumentality; but it was unreasonable to think that the mere military allegiance of the sepoy would be always superior to those ties of nationality which connected him with the vanquished.

As if also to teach these men their own strength and resources, the native armies in the British service had now increased to an alarming amount as compared with the European soldiers. Each of the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had its own army; but while they mustered in all 300,000 men, of these there were only about 43,000 who were British. Of all these armies, the most efficient for useful service, as well as the most prompt for revolt, and the most to be feared in such an event, was the army of Bengal, consisting of 118,600 native, and only 22,600 European soldiers. It was from this army accordingly that most danger had for some time been apprehended. A single random spark would be enough to set its whole religious bigotry in a blaze. And even already a deep cause of offence existed in the Bengal army, on account of the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh.

These and other such causes, which had been gathering and growing for years, had already matured into a deep and widely-extended conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion in India; but the particulars of the plan and the persons who devised it are still involved in obscurity. It is

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supposed, however, that the court of Persia was the principal focus of the conspiracy, and that the Mohammedans of the north of India were its chief agents and disseminators. Those men, who might be termed the Norman aristocracy of Hindustan, owed an especial grudge to the British by whom they had been supplanted; and they endeavoured to work upon the credulity of the Hindu soldiery, by assuring them that the British intended to overthrow their creed and compel them to become Christians. This was enough to remind them of the conversions of Tipu Sahib, who propagated Islam by fire and sword.

It is supposed that these Mohammedan intriguers intended to replace the old king of Delhi upon the throne of his ancestors, and to rule under his name; and it is known that they were endeavouring to incite Dost Muhammed, the king of Kabul, to prepare for the invasion of the Punjab, as soon as the revolt of the Bengal army, upon which they had calculated, should leave that territory defenceless. Even these representations might have been ineffectual with the Hindu soldiers, had they not been apparently confirmed by an act of the British government itself.

THE GREASED CARTRIDGES AND THE UNLEAVENED CHUPATTIES

This was the affair of greased cartridges, that served originally as a pretext for the outbreak. The Enfield rifle, an improvement upon the Menié, heretofore in use among the troops, had been introduced at the commencement of 1857 into the Bengal army; and as greased cartridges were necessary for its effective use, these were issued to the troops along with the weapon. A report was immediately circulated that the grease used in the preparation of these cartridges was a mixture of the fat of cows and pigs—the first of these animals being the objects of Hindu adoration, and the last of Mohammedan abhorrence.

The first occasion on which the rumour was heard was the following: at Dumdum, where there was a school of practice for the new Enfield rifle, a sepoy soldier, a Brahman, was asked by a man of low caste to be permitted to drink out of his lotah, or vessel of water, to whom he replied, "I have scoured my lotah, and you will pollute it by your touch." "You think much of your caste," said the other angrily, "but wait a little, and the European will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?"

The sepoy reported these words to his comrades, and they quickly reached Barrackpur, at which several native regiments were stationed. It was in vain they were assured by the government that no such grease had been used in the preparation of the paper in question, and that if they had scruples in the matter, they were at liberty to procure their own ingredients at the bazaar. The report still continued to strengthen at Barrackpur among the four native regiments stationed there; and on the 6th of February a sepoy revealed to an officer the plot of his companions, who were alarmed with the fear of being compelled to abandon their caste and become Christians. From his revelation it appeared that these regiments intended to rise against their officers, and after plundering or burning down their bungalows, to march to Calcutta, and there attempt to seize Fort William, or failing in this, to take possession of the treasury.

This state of things was too alarming to be neglected, and measures were taken by the British commanders and their officers to still the apprehensions of the native soldiery. They were publicly addressed on parade with the

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assurance that there was no design to make them Christians; that they could not become such without being able to read, and to understand the rules that were written in the Christian's book; and that nothing but their own free choice and request after they had so learned, could admit them to the privilege of baptism. The issue of the obnoxious ammunition was stopped, and plans were suggested by which the cartridge might be used by tearing off the end, instead of putting it to the mouth and biting it. Native officers were also appointed to learn the process of cartridge-making in which the forbidden articles were to be excluded.

But the alarm had grown too strong to be put down by such assurances or concessions: a rebellion was inevitable even where the original cause had dwindled into a mere pretext or watchword. The first open manifestation was at Berhampur, on the morning of the 26th of February, 1857, when the 19th regiment of native infantry were ordered out on parade. Percussion caps were about to be issued to them, but these the soldiers refused to receive, declaring that it was still doubtful how the cartridges were made; and on the evening of the same day they assembled on parade by their own authority, broke open the *bells* (small oval buildings) in which their arms were piled, and having taken possession of the weapons and ammunition, carried them off to their lines. Their commander, Colonel Mitchell, ordered them to pile arms and disperse, and on their refusal called up the cavalry and artillery; but they still refused to obey until these troops were withdrawn, which was done accordingly. For this concession, the colonel was tried by a court of inquiry, and censured. It was resolved also to disband this dangerous regiment, and accordingly it was marched off to Barrackpur, where the 52nd and 84th Queen's regiments were stationed to disarm them.

But on the 29th of March, two days previous to the disbanding, while the 19th was at Barrackpur, the rebellion commenced in bloodshed. A sepoy of the 34th regiment of native infantry, having intoxicated himself with *bang*, discharged his musket at Lieutenant Baugh, and shot that officer's horse; the lieutenant fired a pistol at his assailant, but missed him, and was wounded in return by the madman, as was also the sergeant-major of the corps, who went to the lieutenant's assistance. The mutineer, whose name was Mungal Pandy,[1] was seized, tried, and sentenced to be hanged; and on the scaffold he expressed his regret for the crime, and tried, but in vain, to persuade his fellow soldiers to return to their duty. As for the 19th regiment, it was drawn up on parade in the square of Barrackpur, surrounded by the two British and several native regiments — and for a moment it was doubted whether the latter might not side with the 19th, and offer battle to the 52nd and 84th. But no such outbreak occurred: the rebels surrendered their arms, and were marched off under an escort of cavalry to Chinsurah, bewailing their infatuation, and petitioning when too late to be readmitted to the service.

It was not, however, by such checks that the spirit of revolt was to be suppressed, or even retarded; it was diffused like a pestilence far and near by mysterious agencies which the authorities could neither detect nor surmise. One of these was the transmission of a kind of little unleavened cakes, called *chupatties*, a symbol which the Europeans did not understand, but which seems to have been as significant to the natives as the fiery cross was to the Highlanders of Scotland, and used for a similar purpose. A *chowkodar*, or village policeman of Cawnpore, gave two of these cakes, the common food of the poor, to another chowkodar in Fathigarh (Futtehghur), telling him to

[1] Hence the name of *Pandies*, which was afterwards given to the rebel sepoys by the British soldiers in India.

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make ten more, and give them to five of his brethren of the nearest station, with a similar charge to each; and thus at every hour these runners were multiplying among a class of men who were spread over India, and whose mischievous errand was least liable to be suspected.

The circulation of *chupatties* commenced in Oudh and elsewhere in the beginning of 1857, and European conjecture was utterly at a loss to penetrate this Indian mystery, which subsequent events made only too intelligible. Reports also were industriously spread in the bazaars that the missionaries had petitioned the queen of Great Britain to enforce the use of the greased cartridges, in order to compel the Hindus to become Christians. They even pretended to give the very words of this petition, which, they alleged, were the following: "Tipu made thousands of Hindus become of his religion, while your majesty has not made one Christian. Under your orders are sepoys of all castes. We therefore pray you to adopt this plan — namely, to cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which your sepoys put into their mouths, and after six months to have it made known to the sepoys how they have thereby lost their caste, and by this means a certain road will be opened for making many Christians." They added that the queen was highly satisfied with this petition, and had given her assent to it.

Notwithstanding the absurdity of this report, it was so well suited to the credulity and ignorance of the people, and gained such belief, that the governor-general, Lord Canning, in council, was obliged on the 16th of May to issue a proclamation on the subject, disclaiming any attempt to interfere with the castes or religion of the people, and warning them against the arts of those who attempted to withdraw them from their allegiance.

THE OUTBREAK AT MEERUT

But this proclamation was too late, and even had it been earlier it would have been equally useless. The rebellion had already broken out in full violence, and in those districts where it could be least resisted. Of the European regiments in the presidency of Bengal, the greater part were dispersed over the whole extent of Great Britain's Indian Empire, and isolated among a hostile people. One important military station was Meerut (Mirath), thirty-five miles to the northeast of the city of Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna. At this place were two regiments of native infantry and one of light cavalry, comprising in all 2,700 men, and a European force numbering 1,717 men, the whole being under the command of Major-General Hewitt. On the 6th of May, when cartridges, which, to avoid offence, had been made for the purpose, were offered to the native cavalry, eighty-five troopers refused to receive them. They were tried by court-martial for their disobedience; eighty were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for ten years, and five for six years; and on the 9th, after their sentences were read to them on parade, they were put in irons and conducted to jail.

But their companions sympathised in their rebellion. On the following morning, which was Sunday, the native regiments rose in mutiny, fired upon their officers, and after making a rush upon the prison, from which they rescued not only their fellows but upwards of one thousand convicts who were confined there, they set the building on fire. The wildest license now prevailed in Meerut. Several British officers with their wives and children, were massacred with circumstances of aggravated atrocity. While bungalows were blazing in every direction, and the streets filled with the hurrying

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rush of the murderers, and shrieks of the dying, the two British regiments marched against the native lines, assailed them with volleys of grape and musketry, drove the mutineers from the encampment, and pursued them in their retreat, cutting down a considerable number on the way. But as the chase was conducted by only a party of carabineers and riflemen, and as the night was very dark, the main body of the mutineers, consisting of the 3rd light cavalry and 20th infantry, were enabled to make good their retreat to Delhi.

SCENES IN DELHI

Such was the day of horror which prevailed over Meerut and its neighbourhood on this memorable 10th of May; the scene was now to be shifted to Delhi, where three regiments of native infantry and a battery of native artillery were stationed, but not a single company of British soldiers. At an early hour on the morning of the 11th a handful of horsemen, not above thirty or forty in number, came galloping in headlong speed to the city, though their approach excited no alarm. But they were an advanced party of the light cavalry, who had fled from Meerut; and they were the harbingers of the atrocities that were to follow, and the chief actors in their commission. They rushed in at the Calcutta gate unchallenged, and had no sooner entered the city than, raising the cry of "*Deen, deen,*" their shout equally for a battle-charge or a massacre, they attacked and cut down every European they met in their way.

The 54th native regiment with two guns were sent to quell the mutiny. They steadily marched to the city and promptly entered by the Kashmir gate; but here the mask was dropped; for no sooner did the insurgent body of light cavalry approach than the sepoys withdrew from their officers, leaving the latter exposed to the fierce horsemen, who came upon them at full gallop, and shot them down with their pistols.

Delhi was now in possession of the rebels — nothing remained to the British but the powder magazine, with two officers and three or four subalterns in charge of it. But, such as it was, it was the only refuge left to the British dominion in Delhi; and while the work of murder was going on within the city, where the shameful atrocities of Meerut were exceeded, not only upon strong men, but helpless women and unoffending children, the rebels assailed the magazine with their whole united force. The place was gallantly held by the handful within, and the first attacks repelled by volleys of grape; but thousands still pressed forward, and scaling ladders were applied, so that the walls were on the point of being won. But, calculating upon this chance, Lieutenant Willoughby, who was in charge of the magazine, had laid a train to that department which contained the gunpowder; it was fired at his signal, and instantly the building, with hundreds of sepoys, was sent flying into the air.

During the smoke and confusion the few defenders managed to escape, with the exception of the gallant Willoughby, who, scorched, blackened, and all but killed by the explosion, succeeded in reaching Meerut, but only to die soon after. While this hasty siege had been going on, such of the British residents, both gentlemen and ladies, as had escaped the first onset of the murderers, endeavoured to find a rallying point, for either shelter or an honourable death, and the greater part repaired to the Flagstaff Tower, in front of the cantonments, where a company of the 38th native infantry and two guns were stationed. But it had to be abandoned by its inmates, who retreated,

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some to Kernoul, and others to Meerut. Another attempt was made to hold a small fortified bastion called the Mainguard, within the Kashmir gate, that was soon filled not only with men, but with women and children, and reinforcements were sent for from the cantonments; but at five o'clock the treacherous guards, on whom they had depended, suddenly opened fire upon them, and commenced a massacre from which only a few escaped. Even the palace, to which many of the Europeans fled, was no protection. There sat the old titular sovereign, weighed down but not softened by the load of more

Great Arch and Iron Column, Old Delhi

than fourscore years; there, too, were his sons, to give active spirit to his relentless apathy, and encourage the murders that were perpetrated in his name; and all who fled to its courts in the vain hope of safety, or were allured thither by promises of protection, were there murdered, not only, as was alleged, by the express commands of the princes, but even in their very presence. Within a day or two not a British resident was left alive in Delhi.

MUTINY FORESTALLED IN THE PUNJAB

While the conflagration was thus kindled in which the whole Indian Empire was so soon to be enveloped, the electric wires which extended across Hindustan from Calcutta to Lahore, with branch lines to the principal military and civil stations, were in active operation. When the tidings arrived at Lahore, Sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjab, was absent; but the judicial commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, at this crisis fortunately assumed the direction of affairs, and promptly repaired to Mian Mir, the military cantonment of which was six miles distant. It was well that he did so, for at this station, where there were three native regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, with the 81st British regiment and some artillery, the sepoys had matured a plot to seize the fort at Lahore, break open the jail, and massacre all the Europeans. Their design was discovered, and measures were concerted between Mr. Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett, the commander at Mian Mir. to defeat it.

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On that evening a ball was to be given by the residents to the officers of the 81st, and to lull suspicion the ball was allowed to go on. But on the next morning the troops were drawn up on parade, ostensibly to hear a general order read; the five companies of the 81st, with their artillery, were stationed in the rear of the native regiments; and the latter, after a few sentences addressed to them, were commanded to pile arms. The sepoys for a moment hesitated: but they found that twelve guns were pointed at them loaded to the muzzle with grape-shot; that at a single word of command, the lighted matches would be applied; and slowly and moodily they yielded to the necessity, and piled their arms, which were instantly removed in carts by the European soldiers.

The rapid action of the telegraphic wires was equally effectual in other quarters, notably at Firozpur, south of the Sutlej. At Peshawar, the principal officers of that quarter decided upon the formation of a moveable column, whose headquarters were to be at Jhelum, and which was to "move on every point of the Punjab where open mutiny required to be put down by force." By these decisive proceedings the most important limb of the conspiracy was lopped off, and the best of its strength paralysed. It was from the Punjab that the greatest danger was apprehended, both from the military spirit of the Sikhs and the recency of their subjugation, which still rankled in their memories. Other less important attempts at mutiny, which were on the eve of breaking out in other parts of the country, were either suppressed or abandoned. The next movement on the part of the British government was to be the recovery of Delhi, for which the securing of the Punjab was a necessary step; and, accordingly, Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Montgomery, and the other officers in that quarter bestirred themselves in raising fresh troops, Multanese, Sikhs, and men of the hill tribes, who had not been infected by the mutiny, and were ready to serve against any power on the inducement of good pay and plunder. At the same time Lord Canning, the governor-general of India [who had been but a short time in the country], recalled the troops stationed in Persia, and sent for reinforcements from Bombay and Madras, from Burma and Ceylon, from the Eastern Settlements and the Mauritius, and above all from England, to put down a rebellion in which so many kingdoms were united, and to maintain which so many armies were in the field.[c]

Of the governor-general, Lord Roberts says: "There are few men whose conduct of affairs has been so severely criticised as Lord Canning's, but there are still fewer who, as governors or viceroys, have had to deal with such an overwhelming crisis as the Mutiny. While the want of appreciation Lord Canning at first displayed of the magnitude of that crisis may, with perfect justice, be attributed to the fact that most of his advisers had gained their experience only in Lower Bengal, and had therefore a very imperfect knowledge of popular feeling throughout India, the very large measure of success which attended his subsequent action was due undoubtedly to his own ability and sound judgment."[e]

On the 15th and 16th of May, particulars reached Lord Canning of the massacre of the Europeans, of the flight of the officers, of the rallying round the resuscitated flag of the Mughal. Then he stood forward as the bold, resolute, strong Englishman he really was. He telegraphed to the governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, to hasten as far as he could the return of the troops due in Bombay from the completed campaign against Persia. He telegraphed to the commander-in-chief "to make short work of Delhi." He transmitted to the chief commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, full

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powers to act according to the best of his judgment. Not only did he countermand the return of the 84th to Rangoon, but he sent for a second regiment from that place and from Moulmein. He wrote to the governor of Madras, Lord Harris, to send him two regiments. More than that, recollecting that a combined military and naval expedition was on its way from England to China, to support there, by force of arms, the pretensions of the British, he took upon himself the responsibility of despatching a message to Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham to intercept that expedition and beg them to despatch the troops under their orders with all possible speed to India./

BRITISH ADVANCE ON DELHI

The commander-in-chief in India during these proceedings of the terrible outburst was General the Honourable George Anson. But he died at Karmal, from an attack of cholera, on the 27th of May. He was succeeded in the command by Major-General Reed, who was worn out with age and sickness, so that this new commander-in-chief was obliged to devolve his charge upon Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, on the 8th of June, when he was within a single march of Delhi. Such were the effects of succession by the rule of seniority at a season when the prime of strength, activity, and promptitude was loudly and suddenly called for. Having cleared the way [by various skirmishes] the British army advanced to the attack upon Delhi; and for this purpose General Barnard divided his force into two columns, one of which, under the command of General Wilson, advanced upon the city along the main trunk road, while the other, headed by himself, proceeded through the cantonments which the rebels had burned and destroyed, and upon a ridge beyond which he found them posted in a strong position, well defended with artillery. In this, as on other occasions throughout the war, the rebels were turning the lessons they had learned against their instructors; but it was merely as humble imitators, and as schoolboys in rebellion against their teachers; the genius of the master-spirit to strike out new paths, or even to follow up the old to their highest result, was equally wanting among them and hence the disadvantage under which they constantly laboured, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers and vast resources. Their position was taken in flank and rear, and carried by a rapid flank movement to the left on the part of General Barnard, and the rebels, abandoning their guns, were fain to take to flight, while General Wilson's column, pressing forward over high walls and through gardens, drove the fugitives back into the city. The British troops, having then re-united, established themselves before Delhi in a camp about two miles to the north of the city. Here upon ground high and rocky, and admirably suited for the siege, they were obliged to stand on the defensive for months, owing to the smallness of their numbers and the immense force of the rebel sepoys within the city. The entire amount of the European army who thus established themselves upon blockade before Delhi did not exceed three thousand bayonets, with a detachment of Gorkhas, who during these encounters aided the British and served them with admirable courage and fidelity.

THE REVOLT IN OTHER PLACES

During the course of these events that led to the siege of Delhi, the instances of revolt in the several portions of the Indian Empire continued to multiply in still closer succession; but to these, important though they were, we can only devote a brief notice. At Fathigarh it was thought advisable, when the

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rebellion had approached the neighbourhood, to send off the ladies and the children for safety to Cawnpore; and they were embarked in boats upon the Ganges, when, on hearing false reports of the safety that was still to be enjoyed at Fathigarh, a considerable part of them were tempted to return. Here, however, the mutiny broke out on the 18th of June; and the fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge was attacked, and after a desperate but fruitless resistance its inmates, to the number of one hundred, including women and children, embarked on the Ganges on the 4th of July, soon after midnight, but were fired upon from the banks by the sepoys; and in consequence of the stranding of one of the two boats, nearly all on board were killed or drowned, while those who escaped landed at Bithur, only to be murdered by Nana Sahib, who had his residence there.

At Allahabad, where the mutiny broke out in the beginning of June, the European officers, to the number of fourteen, were butchered on the parade ground by their own sepoy soldiers, the military station was destroyed by fire, and for several days the city was wholly given up to plunder and havoc, in which one hundred Europeans were killed. This state of outrage continued until troops were sent up from Benares, by whom the place was recovered, and a severe chastisement inflicted on the rebels.

A similar outbreak took place at Jhansi in Bundelkhand on the 4th of June, where such of the British residents as could not make their escape from the town retired into the fort, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Although they were only fifty-five, including women and children, they maintained the defence four days under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, and only surrendered on the promise that all their lives should be spared. But no sooner had the rebels got possession of the fort than they violated their promises, and put all their prisoners to the sword. On the 3rd of June the revolt broke out at Azimgarh, nearly opposite to Benares, but accompanied with such circumstances of forbearance as to make this act, as compared with the other outbreaks, almost seem a virtue; for although the mutineers plundered an escort conveying treasure to Benares, they formed a square with the officers within to protect their lives, and brought carriages for the safe conveyance of the women and children, whom they actually escorted ten miles on the road to Ghazipur! At Benares, a small company of two hundred British soldiers maintained themselves against nearly eight times that number of Sikhs and sepoys who suddenly rose upon them, and held their position in the mint until British reinforcements were sent to their aid, and Benares, the Athens of Brahmanical learning, recovered from the revolters. It is gratifying to add that while this conflict at Benares was at the hottest, seventy Sikh soldiers who had been placed on guard of the government treasury, amounting to six lacs of rupees, defended their trust to the last, and restored it entire to the British troops when the insurrection was quelled.

This rebellion, which had nerved the most timid to deeds of daring and endurance, had also its natural effect in hardening the feelings to the stern modes of suppression and retribution which had to be adopted, and caused deeds to be regarded with toleration which, at other seasons, could not even have been heard of without a shudder. Writing on the 29th of June, a British resident mentions the permanent establishment of the gibbet at Benares, and adds: "Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the rigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."

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THE DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW

When the rebellion commenced it was of the utmost importance to ensure the safety of Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, containing about 700,000 inhabitants. Accordingly, after the 3rd of May, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was acting as chief commissioner there in the absence of Sir James Outram, made active preparations for the defence of the residency.[c]

Of the acting chief commissioner Lord Roberts says: "Henry Lawrence was apparently the only European in India who, from the very first, formed an accurate estimate of the extent of the danger which threatened our rule in the early part of 1857, and who, notwithstanding his thorough appreciation of the many good qualities of the native soldiers, was not led into a mistaken belief in the absolute loyalty of the native army. Fourteen years before, Lawrence had predicted the Mutiny and the course it would take, and when events shaped themselves as he had foreseen, he gave it as his opinion that the defection would be general and widespread. But while his intimate knowledge of native character led him to this conviction, so great was his influence with the natives — perhaps by reason of that knowledge — that he was able to delay the actual outbreak at Lucknow until his measures for the defence of the residency were completed; and he persuaded a considerable number of sepoys not only to continue in their allegiance but to share with their European comrades the dangers and privations of the siege — a priceless service, for without their aid the defence could not have been made.[e]

The native force at Lucknow consisted of more than four thousand men, having about sixty European officers: the British troops did not number in all one thousand. Here the mutiny, after seven or eight weeks of indignant threats and murmurings, broke out on the evening of the 30th of May, and the commencement was with the usual deeds of violence; but when part of the 32nd regiment and the artillery were brought up, the rebels, after some loss, forsook the cantonments, and retreated towards Delhi. It was merely the first murmur of the storm that was to gather round Lucknow; and, aware of this, Sir Henry Lawrence redoubled his preparations for the strengthening of the defences, and multiplying the means of resistance. The most active of the rebellious emissaries were hanged; two members of the royal family of Delhi and a brother of the ex-king of Oudh were secured and imprisoned in that fortress; and thousands of coolies were employed with spade and pickaxe in repairing batteries, stockades, and trenches.

Everything available for war was brought within the residency, and among these were two hundred guns without carriages, which were discovered in a garden, and which now bristled upon the walls and ramparts of the British defences. While thus employed, it was learned that a body of the rebels were advancing, and Sir Henry Lawrence, with three hundred troops and a few guns, marched out on the 30th of June to oppose them, at the village of Chinhat, about eight miles from Lucknow. But the mutineers were so numerous that Sir Henry was defeated with serious loss, and in consequence of this disaster it was found necessary to withdraw the British troops from the military cantonments to the residency. On the 1st of July orders were given to evacuate the place. This was done accordingly, and 240 barrels of gunpowder and six million rounds of cartridges were lost, whether for attack or defence. The siege of the residency now commenced in earnest, and the defence made by the British is one of the most heroic episodes in the history of this disastrous rebellion. Hemmed in and all but overpowered, they con-

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tinued their resistance with unabated constancy, notwithstanding their hopeless condition, and the disasters that multiplied upon them from day to day. On the 2nd of July their brave commander, Sir Henry Lawrence, was mortally wounded by the explosion of a shell that alighted in the chamber where he was reclining on his bed, worn out with anxiety and sickness. He died on the 4th, after appointing Major Banks his successor, and Banks was killed by a musket-shot on the 21st. In this critical situation the siege of Lucknow was continued, while the heroic defenders procrastinated their resistance in the hope of relief.

NANA SAHIB AND THE MASSACRE OF CAWNPORE

In so complex an event as the Indian rebellion, it is difficult, especially within a narrow compass, to follow out the details of the different outbreaks, or even to comprise their names; and hitherto we have been obliged to present only the chief of them, as specimens of the whole. By the end of June the native troops had mutinied at twenty-two stations. Of these stations, one of the most important in the history of this rebellion was Cawnpore. About ten miles higher up the river is Bithur, the residence of Nana Sahib, a miscreant whose name has constituted the foulest blot of this rebellion. This man, a compound of cruelty, craft, and cowardice, was originally named Dandhu Panth, and was the son of a Brahman from the Deccan; but having been adopted in the eastern fashion as a son by Baji Rao, the displaced peshwa of Poona, Nana Sahib, on the death of the latter in 1852, claimed as his lawful inheritance the continuation of the pension of eight lacs of rupees which had been allowed by the British government to the peshwa in consequence of his surrender. But this Hindu form of succession, by which childless princes could have continued successors to their rights at pleasure, had been [as we have seen] repudiated by the company, and the native claims upon it, which had died out with the extinction of these sovereign pensionaries who had no son of their own blood, were disallowed. Thus Nana Sahib, although already possessed of more than £4,000,000 by the death of Baji Rao, was disappointed in his avaricious hopes, and he nursed the spirit of revenge in his fortified palace at Bithur, where he was allowed to retain a bodyguard of two hundred soldiers. These circumstances, with his advantages of an English education, may account for the readiness with which he threw himself into the rebellion, the importance which he acquired in it as a leader, and the fiendish malignity with which he pursued it to the close.

The condition of Cawnpore at the commencement of the general outbreak was such as to cause serious alarm. The native troops in the cantonments consisted of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, mustering in all 3,860 men, having 115 European officers, while the other British troops scarcely exceeded 170. Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler was in command of the station; and as the cantonments were on a plain, and without any defences, he proceeded to throw up a breastwork of earth round the hospital and several smaller buildings, which served as a shelter for the Europeans when the storm arrived. And its coming was not long delayed. The native regiments rebelled, and went off in a body to Nana Sahib, who now found himself in a condition to take the field. He therefore immediately marched upon Cawnpore, plundered the treasury, and took possession of the magazine, that unfortunately had not been destroyed; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, he commenced on the 7th of June the siege of the slight earthern fortress that had been hastily thrown up. It was a defence better suited to resist a temporary

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riot than to withstand an army or hold out against a siege, and the astonishment was that it could have resisted for a single day, more especially when of the nine hundred persons contained within it 590 were women, children, and non-combatants. But this brave garrison continued their resistance till the 24th, although the cannonade of the besiegers was heavy and their attacks frequent, and although the heat, fatigue, and privations endured in the defence were such as might have quelled the bravest.[c]

A vivid account of the suffering of the besieged was afterwards written by Captain Mowbray Thomson, one of the two survivors of that garrison.[a]

AN EYE-WITNESS' ACCOUNT OF THE CAWNPORE SIEGE

While in happy England the Sabbath bells were ringing, in the day of peace and rest, we were in suspense peering over our mud-wall at the destructive flames that were consuming all our possessions, and expecting a more dreaded fire that was to be aimed at the persons of hundreds of women and children about us. Very few of our number had secured a single change of raiment; some, like myself, were only partially dressed, and even in the beginning of our defence we were like a band of seafarers who had taken to a raft to escape their burning ship.

All through this first weary day the shrieks of the women and children were terrific; and often as the balls struck the walls of the barracks their wailings were heart-rendering; but after the initiation of that first day they had learned silence, and never uttered a sound, except when groaning from the horrible mutiliations they had endured. When night sheltered them, our cowardly assailants closed in upon the intrenchments, and harassed us with incessant volleys of musketry. Waiting the assault that was supposed to be impending, not a man closed his eyes in sleep, and throughout the whole siege snatches of troubled slumber, under the cover of the wall, were all the relief the combatants could obtain. The ping-ping of the rifle bullets would break short dreams of home or approaching relief, pleasant visions made horrible by waking to the state of things around; and if it were so with men of mature years, sustained by the fulness of physical strength, how much more terrific were the nights passed within those barracks by our women and children!

As often as the shout of our sentinels was heard, each half-hour sounding the "All's well," the spot from which the voice proceeded became the centre for hundreds of bullets. At different degrees of distance, from fifty to four hundred yards and more, they hovered about during the hours of darkness, always measuring the range by day light, and then pouring in from under the cover of adjacent buildings, or ruins of buildings, the fire of their artillery, or rather of our artillery turned against us. The execution committed by the twenty-four-pounders they had was terrific, though they were not always a match for the devices we adopted to divert their aim. When we wanted to create a diversion, we used to pile up some of the muskets behind the mud-wall, and mount them with hats and shakos, and then allow the sepoys to expend their powder on these dummies, while we went elsewhere.

The sufferings of the women and children from thirst were intense, and the men could scarcely endure the cries for drink which were almost perpetual from the poor little babes; terribly unconscious they were, most of them, of the great, great cost at which only it could be procured. I have seen the children of my brother officers sucking the pieces of old waterbags, putting

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scraps of canvas and leather strips into the mouth to try and get a single drop of moisture upon their parched lips. Not even a pint of water was to be had for washing from the commencement to the close of the siege; and those only who have lived in India can imagine the calamity of such a privation to delicate women who had been accustomed to the most frequent and copious ablutions as a necessary of existence. Had the relieving force which we all thought to have been on its way from Calcutta ever seen our beleaguered party, strange indeed would the appearance presented by any of us after the first week or ten days have seemed to them. Tattered in clothing, begrimed with dirt, emaciated in countenance were all, without exception; faces that had been beautiful were now chiselled with deep furrows; haggard despair seated itself where there had been a month before only smiles. Some were sinking into the settled vacancy of look which marked insanity — the old, babbling with confirmed imbecility, and the young raving in not a few cases with wild mania; while only the strongest maintained the calmness demanded by the occasion. Looking back upon the horrible straits to which the women were driven, the maintenance of modesty and delicate feeling by them to the last is one of the greatest marvels of the heart-rending memories of those twenty-one days.[i]

At last, when courage had done its utmost and endurance been wasted out, the garrison was induced to surrender, on the promise that they should be allowed to retire in safety to Allahabad. They were escorted by the rebels to the river side, but there the greater part of the boats prepared ostensibly for their embarkation were drawn up too high in the mud to be launched; and during the delay occasioned by this obstacle three guns were fired from the Nana's camp, as the signal for the massacre to begin. Volleys of musketry were immediately opened upon the boats already launched, when they had reached the middle of the river, and out of the whole flotilla of about forty boats which were embarked on the 27th of June, only one escaped.[c] This was the one under the command of Major Vibart. Captain Mowbray Thomson goes on to describe the last scene witnessed by him at Cawnpore.[a]

As soon as Major Vibart had stepped into his boat, "Off" was the word; but at a signal from the shore the native boatmen, who numbered eight and a coxswain to each boat, all jumped over and waded to the shore. We fired into them immediately, but the majority of them escaped. Before they quitted us, these men had contrived to secrete burning charcoal in the thatch of most of the boats. Simultaneously with the departure of the boatmen, the identical troopers who had escorted Major Vibart to the ghaut opened upon us with their carbines. As well as the confusion by the burning of the boats would allow, we returned the fire of these horsemen, who were about fifteen or sixteen in number, but they retired immediately after the volley they had given us.

Those of us who were not disabled by wounds now jumped out of the boats and endeavoured to push them afloat, but, alas! most of them were utterly immovable. Now from their ambush, in which they were concealed all along the banks, it seemed that thousands of men fired upon us; besides four nine-pounders, carefully masked and pointed to the boats, every bush was filled with sepoys. The scene which followed this manifestation of the infernal treachery of our assassins is one that beggars all description. Some of the boats presented a broadside to the guns, others were raked from stem to stern by the shot. Volumes of smoke from the thatch somewhat veiled the full extent of the horrors of that morning. All who could move were speedily expelled from the boats by the heat. Alas! the wounded were burned

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to death; one mitigation only there was to their horrible fate — the flames were terrifically fierce, and their intense sufferings were not protracted. Multitudes of women and children crouched behind the boats, or waded out into deeper water, and stood up to their chins in the river to lessen the probability of being shot. Meanwhile Major Vibart's boat, being of lighter draught than some, had got off and was drifting down the stream, her thatched roof unburned. I threw into the Ganges my father's Ghuznee medal, and my mother's portrait, all the property I had left, determined that they should have only my life for a prey; and with one final shudder at the devilry enacting upon that bank, which it was impossible to mitigate by remaining any longer in its reach, I struck out, swimming for the retreating boat.[b]

Major Vibart's boat contrived to get only ten miles down the river, when it was overtaken, and all within it were killed or taken prisoners except four men, who made their escape by swimming. Of those who survived the massacre at the embarkation, and who were carried back to Cawnpore, the men were murdered, while the women and children were reserved for a more lingering death. All this was accomplished by the orders and under the direction of Nana Sahib; and when the foul work was accomplished, he issued proclamations in which he gloried in the deed, and justified his proceedings, by the charges he attempted to fasten upon the British government and its functionaries.[c]

After the men who had not escaped in the two boats had all been shot at the ghaut, the women and children were dragged out of the water into the presence of the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in one of the buildings opposite the assembly rooms; the Nana himself taking up his residence in the hotel which was close at hand. When Major Vibart's boat was brought back from Soorajpore, that party also was taken into the Nana's presence, and he ordered the men and women to be separated; the former to be shot, and the remainder to join the captives in the dwelling or dungeon beside the hotel. Mrs. Boyes, the wife of Doctor Boyes, of the 2nd cavalry, refused to be separated from her husband; other ladies of the party resisted, but were forcibly torn away, a work of not much difficulty when their wounded, famished state is considered. All efforts, however, of the sepoys to sever Mrs. Boyers from her husband were unavailing; they were therefore all drawn up in a line before the assembly rooms. Captain Seppings asked to be allowed to read prayers; this poor indulgence was given, then they shook hands with one another, and the sepoys fired upon them. Those that were not killed with the volley they despatched with their tulwars. The spy who communicated these facts could not tell what became of the corpses, but there is little doubt they were thrown in the river, that being the native mode of disposing of them.

The wretched company of women and children now consisted of 210, viz.: 163 survivors from the Cawnpore garrison, and 47 refugees from Fathigarh. That Bithur butcher had murdered all the males except three officers, whose lives he spared for some purpose, but for what it is impossible to say. The captives were fed with only one meal a day of dhal and chupatties, and these of the meanest sort; they had to eat out of earthen pans, and the food was served by menials of the lowest caste *(mehter)*, which in itself was the greatest indignity that easterns could cast upon them. They had no furniture, no beds, not even straw to lie down upon, but only coarse bamboo matting of the roughest make. The house in which they were incarcerated had formerly been occupied as the dwelling of a native clerk; it comprised two principal rooms, each about twenty feet long and ten broad, and besides there was a

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number of dark closets rather than rooms, which had been originally intended for the use of native servants; in addition to these, a courtyard about fifteen yards square presented the only accommodation for these two hundred most wretched victims of a brutality, in comparison with which hereafter the Black Hole of Calcutta and its sharp but short agonies must sink into insignificance.

Closely guarded by armed sepoys, many of them suffering from wounds, all of them emaciated from lack of food, and deprived of all means of cleanliness, the deep dark horrors of the prisoners in that dungeon must remain to their full extent unknown, and even unimagined. The spies, all of them, however, persisted in the statement that no indignities were committed upon their virtue; and as far as the most penetrating investigation into their most horrible fate has proceeded, there is reason to hope that one, and only one exception, to the bitterest of anguish was allotted to them — immunity from the brutal violence of their captors' worst passions. Fidelity requires that I should allege what appears to me the only reason of their being thus spared. When the siege had terminated, such was the loathsome condition into which, from long destitution and exposure, the fairest and youngest of our women had sunk, that not a sepoy would have polluted himself with their touch.

The advance of General Havelock, and his attempt to liberate them, brought the crisis of their fate. The Nana was persuaded that the general was marching upon Cawnpore only in the hope of rescuing the women and children, and that if they were killed the British forces would retire, and leave India.[i]

JUSTIN McCARTHY'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAWNPORE MASSACRE

It was intimated to the prisoners that they were to die. Among them were three or four men. These were called out and shot. Then some sepoys were sent to the house where the women still were, and ordered to fire volleys through the windows. This they did, but apparently without doing much harm. Some persons are of opinion, from such evidence as can be got, that the men purposely fired high above the level of the floor, to avoid killing any of the women and children. In the evening five men, two Hindu peasants, two Mohammedan butchers, and one Mohammedan wearing the red uniform of the Nana's bodyguard, were sent up to the house, and entered it. Incessant shrieks were heard to come from that fearful house. The Mohammedan soldier came out to the door, holding in his hand a sword-hilt from which the blade had been broken off, and he exchanged this now useless instrument for a weapon in proper condition. Not once but twice this performance took place. Evidently the task imposed on these men was hard work for the sword blades.

After a while the five men came out of the now quiet house and locked the doors behind them. During that time they had killed nearly all the English women and children. They had slaughtered them like beasts in the shambles. In the morning it appeared indeed that the work, however zealously undertaken, had not been quite thorough. The strongest arms and sharpest sabres sometimes fail to accomplish a long piece of work to perfect satisfaction. In the morning it would seem that some of the women, and certainly some of the children, were still alive; that is to say, were not dead. For the five men came then with several attendants to clear out the house of the captives. Their task was to tumble all the bodies into a dry well beyond some trees that grew near. A large crowd of idlers assembled to watch this operation. Then it was seen by some of the spectators that certain of the women and children

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were not yet quite dead. Of the children some were alive, and even tried to get away. But the same well awaited them all.

Some witnesses were of opinion that the Nana's officials took the trouble to kill the still living before they tossed them down into the well; others do not think they stopped for any such work of humanity, but flung them down just as they came to hand, the quick and the dead together. At all events, they were all deposited in the well. Any of the bodies that had clothes worth taking were carefully stripped before being consigned to this open grave.

When Cawnpore was afterwards taken by the English, those who had to look down into that well saw a sight the like of which no man in modern days had ever seen elsewhere. No attempt shall be made to describe it here. When the house of the massacre itself was entered, its floors and its walls told with terrible plainness of the scene they had witnessed. The plaster of the walls was scored and seamed with sword-slashes low down and in the corners, as if the poor women had crouched down in their mortal fright with some wild hope of escaping the blows. The floor was strewn with scraps of dresses, women's faded, ragged finery, frilling, underclothing, broken combs, shoes, and tresses of hair. There was some small and neatly severed curls of hair, too, which had fallen on the ground but evidently had never been cut off by the rude weapon of a professional butcher. These doubtless were keepsakes that had been treasured to the last, parted with only when life and all were going.

There was no inscription whatever on the walls when the house was first entered. Afterwards a story was told of words found written there by some Englishwomen telling of hideous wrong done to them, and bequeathing to their countrymen the task of revenge. This story created a terrible sensation in England, as was but natural, and aroused a furious thirst for vengeance. It was not true. Some such inscription did appear on the walls afterwards, but it is painful to have to say that it was a vulgar, and what would have been called in later times a "sensational" forgery. These English women died without leaving behind them any record of a desire on their part for vengeance. We may be sure they had other thoughts and other hopes as they died. One or two scraps of paper were found which recorded deaths and such like interruptions of the monotony of imprisonment; but nothing more. The well of horrors has been filled up, and a memorial chapel surrounded by a garden built upon the spot. It was right to banish all trace of that hideous crime, and to replace the house and the well, as Mr. Trevelyan says, by "a fair garden and a graceful shrine."

Something, however, has to be told of the Nana and his fortunes. He made one last stand against the victorious English in front of Cawnpore, and was completely defeated. He galloped into the city on a bleeding and exhausted horse; he fled thence to Bithur, his residence. He had just time left, it is said, to order the murder of a separate captive, a woman who had previously been overlooked or purposely left behind. Then he took flight in the direction of the Nepalese marches; and he soon disappears from history. Nothing of his fate was ever known. Many years afterwards England and India were treated to a momentary sensation by a story of the capture of Nana Sahib. But the man who was arrested proved to be an entirely different person; and indeed from the moment of his arrest few believed him to be the long-lost murderer of the English women. In days more superstitious than our own, popular faith would have found an easy explanation of the mystery which surrounded the close of Nana Sahib's career. He had done, it would have been said, the work of a fiend; and he had disappeared as a fiend would do when his task was accomplished.[g]

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THE BRITISH REGAIN CAWNPORE

In the meantime Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, was the place of rendezvous for the British troops that could be sent from Calcutta, Benares, and other quarters, and Colonel Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta from the Persian War, was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent to the recovery of Cawnpore and the relief of the garrison in Lucknow. This gallant veteran, who had entered the army in 1815, and who, notwithstanding his worth, had served twenty-three years before he attained the rank of captain, was now to exhibit, in one short and final campaign, such talents as might have won and which now helped to recover Great Britain's Indian Empire to its former rule. He arrived at Allahabad on the 30th of June, and set out from this place by a forced march under a burning sun, to attack the enemy. He was joined on the way by a body of troops under Major Renaud, which raised his force to fourteen hundred British and nearly six hundred native soldiers, with eight guns. On the morning of the 11th of July he found the rebels, to the number of three thousand five hundred, strongly intrenched at Fathipur, having twelve pieces of cannon, with which they opened fire upon the British as they advanced. But their ardour was quickly damped by discharge of Enfield rifles which killed them from a distance, and with a certainty on which they had not calculated; they were speedily put to the rout, and they fled back to Cawnpore, leaving behind them their ammunition and baggage and all their guns.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK
(1795–1857)

This victory was won without the loss of a single European killed, but twelve were struck down during the fight by sunstroke, for they had made a forced march of nearly twenty miles before this four hours' engagement commenced. The march upon Cawnpore was resumed, but on the 15th the victors were twice encountered by the rebels, first at the village of Aong, and afterwards at the bridge over the Pandoonudee, eight miles from Cawnpore. In both engagements the revolted sepoys were completely routed, and Havelock pressed forward. The advance of General Havelock was retarded by a rebel army of five thousand men posted behind some villages in front of Cawnpore; but by a few skilful manœuvres, and the gallant daring of the 78th Highlanders, the enemy, although so greatly superior in numbers, and notwithstanding their desperate attempts to rally, were driven at every point from their positions and guns, and sent fleeing in wild confusion.

The British entered Cawnpore in triumph, but they found nothing but the slaughter-house, on the walls of which the blood of the murdered was still warm, the well in which their limbs were still quivering with the recent death-

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agony. It was a sight over which the brave conquerors wept like women, until their tears were dried up by the burning desire of vengeance. Wherever a rebel was caught, unless he could prove his innocence of the deed, he was instantly hanged. As for the chief rebels, they were compelled, previously, to cleanse a certain portion of the pool of blood, that was still two inches deep, where the murders had taken place — for to touch blood was, with high-caste natives, to incur damnation, however plentifully they might cause it to shed — and when they shrank back in abhorrence, the lash of the provost-marshal drove them forward to the task. "No one," writes Havelock indignantly, "who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy' as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies — alas! containing upwards of two hundred women and children — I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave."[c]

BRITISH RETRIBUTION

Of the punishment wreaked upon the sepoys, Spencer Walpole[l] has written with severity. He cites the act of one deputy-commissioner who shot without trial 237 sepoys and threw their bodies into a well; reporting his deed with the comment, "There is a well at Cawnpore, but there is also a well at Ujnalla." John Lawrence, as quoted by his biographer, referred to this report as "that nauseous despatch." Walpole goes on to say:

"The pillage which followed the fall of the imperial city was more complete than that which had disgraced its capture by the barbarian, Nadir Shah. Natives were brought forward in batches to be tried by a military commission, or by special commissioners, each one of whom had been invested by the supreme government with full power of life and death. Almost all who were tried were condemned, and almost all who were condemned were sentenced to death. A four-square gallows was erected in a conspicuous place in the city, and five or six culprits were hanged every day. English officers used to sit by, puffing at their cigars, and look on at the convulsive struggles of these victims.[1] More than three thousand men, twenty-nine of whom were members of the royal family, were thus hanged. In the Punjab, excluding those slain in arms, 2,384 sepoys were executed. The governor-general declared that the proceedings of the courts were "indiscriminate judicial murder." "There is," so he wrote to the queen, "a rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad; not one man in ten seems to think that the hanging and shooting of forty or fifty thousand mutineers can be otherwise than practicable and right."[l]

Fearful would have been the doom of the chief offender if he had but ventured to wait the arrival of the British at Bithur. But Nana Sahib, the murderer of women and children, had performed a consistent part by running away from his strongly fortified palace, and in company with his numerous cut-throats, although they mustered five thousand men, with whom he might have made a decisive stand. On the 19th Bithur was occupied by the British; the evacuated fortress was destroyed, and thirteen guns found in it were carried away.

THE FAILURE TO REACH LUCKNOW

The relief of Lucknow was the next task to be attempted, and leaving General Neill in command at Cawnpore, Havelock crossed the Ganges into

[1] The text is taken word for word from Holmes.[k]

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Oudh, and resumed an exhausting march at the height of the rainy season, through an overflowed country, and under the heat of a withering sun. On the 29th of July he was confronted by a rebel army near the town of Unao. Their position was truly formidable, for their right was protected by a swamp that could neither be forced nor turned, their advance was drawn up in a garden inclosure, which had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion, while the rest of their forces were posted in or behind a village, the houses of which were loop-holed. The flooded state of the country on the British right and the swamp on their left made an attack upon the enemy's front unavoidable. It was gallantly made, although at every disadvantage, and with complete success: the village was set on fire, and its defenders driven out; and by a series of skilful movements on a narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao, the enemy, who were rallied, and drawn up in line upon the plain, were driven from their batteries, deprived of their guns, and put utterly to the rout.

After a brief rest of only three hours, that was more than needful by the fatigue of such a victory, the British advanced against Buserut Gunge, a walled town on the road to Lucknow, with wet ditches, and provided with every means of a strong resistance. But in spite of these obstacles, and a heavy cannonade, the earthworks were scaled, the intrenchments broken through, and the town captured.

Here, however, General Havelock was obliged to pause in his hitherto victorious progress, for he was encumbered with his sick and wounded, and cholera had broken out in his little army. He therefore fell back upon Mangalwar, about six miles from the Ganges, to recruit his troops and wait for reinforcements, for he declared that to advance upon Lucknow in their present condition was to march to certain destruction. On the 5th of August, hearing that the enemy had again rallied at Buserut Gunge, he advanced against them and was again victorious, turning them both in front and flank, and driving them off the field with great slaughter. He then made preparations to return to Cawnpore for reinforcements, and had already sent his baggage across the Ganges, when he heard that the enemy had rallied for a third time at Buserut Gunge, to abide yet another trial upon that fated spot. With four thousand men and six guns, they now varied their mode of defence, but in vain; for Havelock, by a correspondent change in his attack, foiled all their arrangements, captured their redoubts, guns, and batteries, and drove them before him into a retreat that was soon changed into flight.

Wearied and worn out with so many successes, as well as wounds, sickness, and incessant action under a burning sun, the army now recrossed the river and returned to Cawnpore, but not to rest, for they were almost immediately dragged again into the field by a strong body of the enemy who had mustered at Bithur, and were threatening to descend upon Cawnpore. Having united his force to that of General Neill, Havelock, on the 16th of August, advanced upon the rebels, who consisted of four thousand of the mutineers, joined with a portion of Nana Sahib's own troops, and who occupied a position which General Havelock described as one of the strongest he had ever seen. But after an hour of hard fighting, the rebels were driven from their almost impregnable defences with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat to Seorajpur, and if Havelock had possessed a few cavalry, not one of the enemy would have reached that place.

Seldom, if ever, had so small an army made such marches and obtained so many victories in so short a space of time. Between the 12th of July and

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the 17th of August it had fought nine battles, and been successful in them all. Reduced by sickness and the sword to seven hundred men, they now took up their quarters at Cawnpore, to wait the arrival of reinforcements under General Sir James Outram, without which it was impossible for them to march to the relief of Lucknow.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DELHI

But leaving Lucknow for the present, we must now turn our attention to the important siege of Delhi, before which the small force under General Barnard had established itself on the 8th of June. The first purpose of the besiegers was merely to maintain their ground and hold the rebels of the city in check, until the arrival of reinforcements should enable them to become the assailants, and they successfully resisted the numerous attacks that continued to be made upon them from the city. Reinforcements, indeed, they continued to receive, but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the troops of rebels that poured into Delhi, now the great centre and stronghold of the revolt. On the 5th of July General Barnard died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Reed, who on the 16th was obliged from ill health to resign office to Brigadier Wilson. By the middle of the month the besieging army had been raised to nine thousand men, of whcm half were Europeans, and in every encounter they succeeded in repelling the enemy with heavy loss.

The arrival of fresh reinforcements of native soldiers, and a siege train from Meerut, on the 4th of September, encouraged the British to turn the blockade into an active siege, which was commenced on the 11th, as soon as the batteries were completed. And it was no easy undertaking; for this ancient city of the Mughals and chief capital of India was strong in its fortifications, that extended about seven miles in circumference, and included an area of about three square miles, while it was defended by a numerous army that expected little mercy, and fought with the courage of despair. After a heavy bombardment of two days from fifty-four siege guns, by which some of the best defences of Delhi were shattered and their cannon silenced, the assault was ordered on the morning of the 14th. While no quarter was to be given to the mutineers, no harm was to be inflicted upon women and children, and the soldiers were warned of the necessity of keeping closely together, instead of straggling from their columns.

In the advance of the four columns of attack it was necessary to blow open the Kashmir gate, to give an entrance to the city; and this hazardous deed was performed, at the almost certain risk of death, by a gallant handful who devoted themselves to the work. Through the gap, the first, second, and third columns rushed and formed within the ruined gate, but as yet the outer works only were won; a fierce resistance was maintained from the interior defences and from the city, which retarded the advance of the besiegers for several days, and it was not till the 20th that the whole external defences of Delhi were in possession of the British, and the gate of the strongly fortified palace blown in.

And now all resistance was at an end. The old king fled from his palace, the inhabitants from the city, and the rebel soldiers from their bastions and ramparts — all that could escape were fleeing in confused crowds, some across the bridge of boats into the Doab country, some down the right bank of the Jumna, and some to the bottom of the Ganges and the Jumna, in their blind hurry to escape the vengeance of the conquerors. Thus Delhi was won, but

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not without a loss to the besiegers of 1178 in killed and wounded on the first day of assault, and 177 in the intervening days to the 20th.

THE KING'S SONS KILLED BY HODSON OF HODSON'S HORSE

But before the hopes of the mutineers could be effectually crushed, it was necessary to obtain possession of the phantom of rebel sovereignty, the king of Delhi, and inflict justice upon his murderous family; and attempts were next made to discover the hiding-places in which they lay concealed. Lieutenant Hodson [known to fame as Hodson of Hodson's Horse, from the troops which he raised and commanded], was commissioned for the purpose. He soon found the old man, who could not flee far, and brought him back to Delhi. Learning that three of the king's sons had concealed themselves in the tomb of the Mughal sovereign Humayun, a huge pile of buildings at some distance from Delhi, Lieutenant Hodson on the following morning repaired to the place of refuge, with a company of one hundred soldiers.[c] The incident which followed exposed Hodson to severe censure. An account of what occurred written by Lieutenant Macdowell, who on this occasion shared the command of the British force, is sufficiently interesting for quotation:[a]

"In Humayun's tomb were the princes and about three thousand Mussulman followers. In the suburb close by about three thousand more, all armed, so it was rather a ticklish bit of work. We halted half a mile from the place, and sent in to say the princes must give themselves up unconditionally or take the consequences. A long half hour elapsed, when a messenger came out to say the princes[1] wished to know if their lives would be promised them, if they came out. 'Unconditional surrender,' was the answer. Again we waited. It was a most anxious time. We dared not take them by force, or all would have been lost, and we doubted their coming. We heard the shouts of the fanatics (as we found out afterwards) begging the princes to lead them on against us. And we had only one hundred men, and were six miles from Delhi. At length, I suppose, imagining that sooner or later they must be taken, they resolved to give themselves up unconditionally, fancying, I suppose, as we had spared the king, we would spare them.

"Soon they appeared in a small *ruth* or Hindustani cart drawn by bullocks, five troopers on each side. Behind them thronged about two thousand or three thousand (I am not exaggerating) Mussulmans. Meanwhile Hodson galloped back, and told the sowars (ten) to hurry the princes on along the road, while we showed a front and kept back the mob. They retired on Humayun's tomb, and step by step we followed them. Inside they went up the steps, and formed up in the immense garden inside. The entrance to this was through an arch, up steps. Leaving the men outside, Hodson and myself, with four men rode up the steps into the arch, when he called out to them to lay down their arms. There was a murmur. He reiterated the command, and (God knows why, I never can understand it) they commenced doing so.

"Well, there we stayed for two hours, collecting their arms, and I assure you I thought every moment they would rush upon us. I said nothing, but smoked all the time, to show I was unconcerned; but at last, when it was all done, and all the arms collected, put in a cart, and started, Hodson turned to me and said, 'We'll go, now.' Very slowly we mounted, formed up the troop, and cautiously departed, followed by the crowd. We rode along quietly. You will say, why did we not charge them? I merely say, we were

[1] Called shahzadahs.

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one hundred men, and they were fully six thousand. I am not exaggerating; the official reports will show you it is all true. As we got about a mile off, Hodson turned to me and said, 'Well, Mac, we've got them at last'; and we both gave a sigh of relief. Never in my life, under the heaviest fire, have I been in such imminent danger. Everybody says it is the most dashing and daring thing that has been done for years (not on my part, for I merely obeyed orders, but on Hodson's, who planned and carried it out). Well, I must finish my story. We came up to the princes, now about five miles from where we had taken them, and close to Delhi. The increasing crowd pressed close on the horses of the sowars, and assumed every moment a more hostile appearance. 'What shall we do with them?' said Hodson to me. 'I think we had better shoot them here; we shall never get them in.'

"We had identified them by means of a nephew of the king's whom we had with us, and who turned king's evidence. Besides, they acknowledged themselves to be the men. Their names were Mirza Mogul, the king's nephew and head of the whole business; Mirza Kishere, Sultamet, who was also one of the principal rebels, and had made himself notorious by murdering women and children; and Abu Bukt, the commander-in-chief nominally, and heir-apparent to the throne. This was the young fiend who had stripped our women in the open street, and cutting off little children's arms and legs, poured the blood into their mothers' mouths; this is literally the case. There was no time to be lost; we halted the troop, put five troopers across the road behind and in front. Hodson ordered the princes to strip and get again into the cart; he then shot them with his own hand. So ended the career of the chiefs of the revolt, and of the greatest villains that ever shamed humanity.

"Before they were shot, Hodson addressed our men, explaining who they were, and why they were to suffer death; the effect was marvellous, the Mussulmans seemed struck with a wholesome idea of retribution, and the Sikhs shouted with delight, while the mass moved off slowly and silently. One of the sowars pointed out to me a man running rapidly across a piece of cultivated ground, with arms gleaming in the sunlight. I and the sowar rode after him, when I discovered it was the king's favourite eunuch, of whose atrocities we had heard so much. The sowar cut him down instantly, and we returned, well satisfied that we had rid the world of such a monster. It was now four o'clock; Hodson rode into the city with the cart containing the bodies, and had them placed in the most public streets, where all might see them. Side by side they lay where, four months before, on the same spot, they had outraged and murdered our women." [d]

Hodson's plea of necessity for his action in regard to the princes has since been refused and some have not hesitated to characterise the shooting of the princes as an inexcusable murder. Lord Roberts, however, says:[a] "My own feeling on the subject is one of sorrow that such a brilliant soldier should have laid himself open to so much criticism. Moreover, I do not think that under any circumstances he should have done the deed himself, or ordered it to be done in that summary manner, unless there had been evident signs of an attempt at a rescue. But it should be understood that there was no breach of faith on Hodson's part, for he steadily refused to give any promise to the princes that their lives should be spared: he did, however, undoubtedly by this act give colour to the accusation of blood-thirstiness which his detractors were not slow to make."[e]

Justin McCarthy thus sums up the feeling against the deed: "If in cool blood the deed could now be defended, it might be necessary to point out that there was no evidence whatever of the princes having taken any part in the

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massacre of Europeans in Delhi; that even if evidence to that effect were forthcoming, Hodson did not wait for or ask for it; and that the share taken by the princes in an effort to restore the dynasty of their ancestor, however it might have justified some sternness of punishment on the part of the English government, was not a crime of that order which is held in civilised warfare to put the life of its author at the mercy of anyone who captures him when the struggle is all over, and the reign of law is safe. One cannot read the history of this India Mutiny without coming to the conclusion that in the minds of many Englishmen a temporary prostration of the moral sense took place, under the influence of which they came to regard the measure of the enemy's guilt as the standard for their right of retaliation, and to hold that if he had no conscience they were thereby released from the necessity of having any. As Mr. Disraeli put it, they were making Nana Sahib the model for the British officer to imitate. Hodson was killed not long after; we might well wish to be free to allow him to rest without censure in his untimely grave." *g*

Soon afterwards two others of the king's sons, who had been equally guilty, were tried before a military commission, condemned to death, and executed. By these terrible acts of justice all hope of the restoration of the Mughal dynasty, or even the pretext of it, which the mutineers had held out, was utterly destroyed. The last act of the recovery of Delhi was to appoint a flying column for the pursuit of the fugitives on the right bank of the Jumna, and into the Doab, and this was done on the 23rd of September, the regiments that composed this force being known during the rest of the war under the name of Greathead's column, from that of Colonel Greathead, its commander.

In this important capture of Delhi, it is worthy of note that the deed was achieved before a single soldier of the many thousands from Britain sent out for the recovery of India had landed upon its shores. What might not, therefore, be anticipated for the complete re-establishment of the British dominion when these troops had arrived? Another gratifying circumstance was the faithful devoted zeal of those native soldiers who remained true to their colours during all the weary months of siege, and the hearty co-operation of the rajah of Patiala, and the Jhind rajah, the former in quelling the revolt of Ambala, and the latter in the operations of the siege. Their services, as well as those of several khans, showed that all India was not against Britain — that there were many who could rightly appreciate the benefits of her rule, and maintain it in the field even against their own countrymen. They were thanked by the governor-general in council, and in the proclamation delivered afterwards it was stated, "These true-hearted chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour, and friendship of the British government, and they will not repent it."

SIEGE AND RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

After the capture of Delhi, the great object of interest was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, whose condition was every day becoming more perilous. Already they had endured a long and harassing siege, in which active courage and patient endurance had been equally tried to the utmost; and upon any day, or at any hour, no alternative might be left to them but surrender. Deprived successively of their two brave leaders, the situation of the little garrison was perilous in the extreme. The neighbouring mosques and noblemen's houses, which Sir Henry Lawrence, from a regard to religious buildings and private property, had spared, although he was urged to destroy them, were manned by the enemy's sharpshooters, who kept up an incessant

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fire; and as they were within pistol-shot of the British barricades, every part of the residency was exposed to the muskets of about eight thousand men, who discharged their volleys wherever a gap was found or a living object was visible. Thus even the women and children were comparatively under fire in the recesses of the innermost apartments, and the sick in the hospitals were exposed to the same mischievous annoyance, by which several lives were lost.

Nothing could exceed the pertinacity of the enemy, who surrounded the British post with batteries mounting from twenty to twenty-five guns, which were protected by barricades that defied every attempt to silence them by musketry, and who constructed mines under the principal defences of the residency, by which its defenders were constantly in danger of being blown into the air. Every art of warfare which they had learned in the British service was adopted by the mutineers, who were confident in the thousands they could muster for the attack, and in the miserably limited means and numbers of those who resisted. But those who had such overwhelming odds to confront were true to the long-established reputation of their countrymen; and never were British valour and British indomitable resolution more conspicuous than in the defence which this small party maintained against such an oceantide of opposition at Lucknow. To sleeplessness was added the nightly toil of moving heavy guns, repairing breaches, and other fatigue-duties. When opportunity offered, they even assumed the aggressive, and in five sorties which they successively made they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns and blew up several of the neighbouring houses, from which the fire had been especially dangerous. But wofully were their numbers thinned, not only by the casualties of such a defence, but by scanty and coarse provisions, which added small-pox and cholera to the list of their other calamities. And what the while of the heroines of Lucknow? They too have erected for themselves an imperishable record, and strong men became stronger at the spectacle of their unfearing, uncomplaining endurance. Many of them were made widows in the siege; and at the bedsides of the sick and wounded, where every one was a Florence Nightingale, they found in active Christian duty the best sources of Christian consolation and hope.

But human endurance, which in this instance seemed to be boundless, has its limits; and from day to day many a wistful eye had looked into the far distance for the expected relief, only to be disappointed, while the messengers whom they sent out for tidings never returned. At length, on the twenty-sixth day of the siege, the garrison was cheered by a letter from Havelock's camp, informing them that the troops were on their march, and in five or six days would probably reach them. But six days elapsed and no aid arrived. They did not learn until thirty-five long days had passed that the relieving force, after such strenuous efforts and signal victories, had been obliged to fall back upon Cawnpore. But their relief from Cawnpore was to issue at last, and not an hour later than the march could be commenced. At that city Sir James Outram, justly called by Napier the "Bayard of India," arrived on the 16th of September with the reinforcements for which Havelock had been so anxiously waiting.

Although, as superior officer and chief commissioner of Oudh, Sir James himself might have undertaken the relief of Lucknow, he chivalrously resigned the whole glory of the enterprise to General Havelock, who had already achieved such deeds in the attempt, offering to accompany him as volunteer. Thus invested with a mission on which his generous heart was

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XXII. The Relief of Lucknow

(From the painting by Thomas J. Barker)

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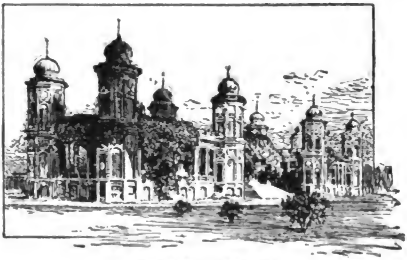
so keenly bent, Havelock crossed the Ganges at the heard of twenty-five hundred men, among which were the gallant 78th Highlanders, to whom his previous victories were chiefly owing, and seventeen guns. The enemy, after retiring at his approach, attempted, on the 21st (September), to make a stand at Mangalwar, but after a four hours' fight they were defeated; and Havelock, pressing forward, was within three miles of the residency of Lucknow, when on the 23rd he found the enemy advantageously posted, with their left resting on the Alambagh, an isolated building with gardens and enclosures, and their centre and right drawn up behind a chain of hillocks. But the strategetic skill and rapid movements of General Havelock, seconded as they were by the gallantry of Sir James Outram, were again successful; the enemy were defeated once more; and after halting his troops, that had marched three days in a heavy deluge of rain, and been scantily provisioned and badly lodged, the victorious commander effected his decisive advance upon the residency.

No wonder that Havelock himself looked back upon the march with astonishment, accustomed as he was to dare all but impossibilities. "Our advance," he writes, "was through streets of flat-roofed, loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and thus each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of ten thousand good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear. The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear, some or all have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men." Among those who thus fell was the brave General Neill, a name distinguished in this unhappy war, who was killed on entering the gate leading to the Doolie square.[c] Mr. R. Gubbins, who was present during the siege of Lucknow, wrote the following account of the relief.[a]



RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW

An Eye-witness' Account of the Relief of Lucknow

On the night of the 22nd [the messenger Ungud] brought a letter from General Sir James Outram which announced to us that an army thoroughly appointed had crossed the Ganges on the 19th, and would, D.V., soon relieve us. Here then, at last, were the long-wished-for and expected tidings of relief! Havelock had not disappointed us! The spirits of the garrison, European and native, were greatly raised by the intelligence, which spread like wildfire. Nor were we left after this long in suspense. During the morning of the 23rd of September the weather cleared, and the sound of artillery in the direction of Cawnpore was distinctly heard. By two in the

afternoon the reports became quite loud and frequent. All now was exultation and joy in the garrison.

The guns of the relieving army were heard again the next day and early on the morning of the 25th, and became louder by ten o'clock. About half-past eleven the firing ceased; but, soon after, numbers of the city people were observed flying over the bridges across the river, carrying bundles of property on their heads. An hour later the flight became more general, and many sepoys, matchlock men, and irregular cavalry troopers crossed the river in full flight, many by the bridge, but more by throwing themselves into the river and swimming across it. The guns of our redan battery, and every other gun that could be brought to bear upon the flying enemy, as well as our mortars, opened a rapid fire upon them, which was maintained for upwards of an hour. No sooner did this begin, than the enemy assailed us on every side with a perfect hurricane of shot and shell from all their batteries. Fragments of shell were falling everywhere, and the interior of the residency itself was visited by round shot in places which had never been reached before.

About two o'clock the smoke of our guns was seen in the suburbs of the city, and presently after the rattle of musketry could be heard. At four o'clock the officers at the look-out could clearly distinguish European troops and officers in movement. About five o'clock the column of the 78th Highlanders and Sikhs, accompanied by several mounted officers, was seen to turn into the main street leading to the residency, up which they charged at a rapid pace, loading, shouting, and firing as they passed along. I will here quote the eloquent description of the greeting given to our friends from the account of "a staff officer":

"Once fairly seen, all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended; and then the garrison's long-pent-up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery — from behind the sand-bags piled on shattered houses — from every post still held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer on cheer, even from the hospital! Many of the wounded crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten."

The Highlanders stopped everyone they met, and with repeated questions and exclamations of "Are you one of them?" — "God bless you!" — "We thought to have found only your bones," bore them back towards Dr. Fayrer's house, into which the general had entered. Here a scene of thrilling interest presented itself. The ladies of that garrison with their children had assembled in the most intense anxiety and excitement under the porch outside, when the Highlanders approached. Rushing forward, the rough and bearded warriors shook the ladies by the hand midst loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another to be caressed in turn, and then, when the first burst of enthusiasm and excitement was over, they mournfully turned to speak among themselves of the heavy loss they had suffered, and to inquire the names of the numerous comrades who had fallen on the way.

It is quite impossible to describe the scene within the intrenchment that evening. We had received no post, nor any but the smallest scrap of news for 113 days since the date of the outbreak at Cawnpore. All had relatives and friends to inquire after, whose fate they were ignorant of, and were eager to learn. Many had brothers, friends, or relatives in the relieving force whom they were anxiously seeking. Everyone wished for news of the outer world, of Delhi, Agra, Calcutta, and of England. Everybody was on

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foot. All the thoroughfares were thronged, and new faces were every moment appearing of friends whom one had least expected to see. The happy and excited moments passed quickly, until by degrees the excitement moderated. Gradually quarters were found for the officers and soldiers who had come in. Every garrison was glad to welcome in the new-comers, who were sufficiently worn and exhausted to require early repose. *i*

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL SECURES THE RETREAT FROM LUCKNOW

Though much had been done, the garrison of Lucknow by this last exploit had been reinforced but not relieved. A sufficiency of troops had arrived to lighten the labours of the overwearied defenders and insure their safety for the present, but not to withdraw them from the place around which the coil of siege, after the momentary interruption, was drawn as closely and strongly as ever. Finding it impossible, therefore, to extricate the women, children, and non-combatants, General Havelock and his companions-in-arms resolved to remain with them and abide the brunt of conflict until General Sir Colin Campbell, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, should be able effectually to relieve them. This distinguished hero of the Crimean War had arrived at Calcutta from England on the 14th of August; but, as he was obliged to wait the coming of reinforcements from home, it was not till the 9th of November that he was able to set out from Cawnpore for the effectual relief of Lucknow.

COLIN CAMPBELL
(1792-1863)

Even then, important and difficult as was the task, his force amounted to only 4,550 men and thirty-two guns. On the 12th he arrived at the Alambagh, and there his difficulties commenced, as the residency was to be reached through the heart of the city, where every street, house, and wall was a fortress, a march along which would have been enough to have destroyed thrice the numbers he commanded. But he had been previously informed of all the localities of the city and suburbs, and the positions of the enemy, and he availed himself of this knowledge by making a detour to the right as Havelock had done. It was effected with equal success, although against obstacles equally formidable; and, after a series of desperate skirmishes, he reached the residency on the 17th, his arrival being aided on the part of Havelock and the garrison by a sally, in which the enemy was routed and the way cleared for his entrance.

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And now to remove the women and children, the sick, wounded, and civilians, for he saw that the residency must be abandoned! This was a still more difficult task than to lead armed men into the place. But this also was successfully accomplished. By a series of masterly feints Sir Colin distracted the attention of the enemy; and while he kept them massed together in the expectation of an immediate attack, he quietly removed the helpless during the afternoon and night of the 19th, along a line of posts which he formed on the left rear of his position, and conveyed them in safety to Dilkusha, a palace belonging to the kings of Oudh, after which the troops of the garrison followed on the 22nd, and all reached Dilkusha in safety, without the loss of a man. In like manner the whole of the treasure and all the European guns were carried off in safety. So completely the while was the enemy deceived that their fire was kept up on the old British positions many hours after they had been abandoned.

Altogether it was one of the most masterly retreats under trying disadvantages which the history of modern warfare has on record. Only one event occurred to mar the joy of the rescued, and this was the death of the brave Havelock, who expired at Dilkusha on the 24th, by an attack of dysentery, under which his enfeebled frame, worn out with such excessive exertions, rapidly sunk. Undistinguished during a long course of military service since 1815, except among his friends, who knew him to be a master of strategy in all its branches, he had no sooner attained a separate command, and found his right sphere of action, than he crowded within little more than two short months such a series of victories as would have sufficed for a lifetime, and made any commander illustrious. In that brief period he combined the rapidity of Napoleon with the caution and foresight of Wellington, and upon his own limited field was as successful as either, while the tidings of his victories, which reached home in rapid succession, made all men wonder who this new hero was, and why he had been neglected so long. The queen created him a baronet, but it was three days after he had expired at Dilkusha, and thus the wreath that should have decked his brow could only be planted on his grave.

Sir Colin Campbell was now in full retreat to Cawnpore, where the ladies, children, and civilians, a helpless band of two thousand souls, might be left in safety before further military operations could be undertaken; and he had reached Bunnee on the evening of the 27th of November, when he heard heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, for which he could not account, as he had received no news from that quarter for several days. But there a desperate battle was going on, and the British arms were in danger. During the absence of Sir Colin, General Windham occupied the military cantonments which lay to the south of that city; but on learning that the Gwalior contingent of rebels were advancing to attack it on the north, he marched on the 26th to encounter them before they could reach Cawnpore, and found them drawn up on the opposite bank of the Pandoonudee, the bed of which river was at that time dry.

The disparity between the two armies was alarming, for while General Windham's force consisted of only twelve hundred infantry, one hundred cavalry, and eight guns, the rebels were about twenty-five thousand men, well provided with artillery. They were gallantly charged, and their advanced troops were driven back; but on their main body coming up, General Windham retired his troops to the canal. On the following day the rebels commenced the attack with a heavy cannonade, that was kept up for five hours, under which the British were obliged to withdraw to their intrenchments

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after severe loss, while their tents and camp stores, which they were compelled to leave behind them, were burned by the enemy. It was this firing that arrested the attention of Sir Colin Campbell, and surmising that General Windham was attacked, he hurried forward to the rescue.

On reaching the scene of conflict in the evening, he found the British shut up within their intrenchments, and the rebels in possession of the city. It was necessary to dislodge them; but before the attempt could be made, the helpless survivors of Lucknow under his charge had to be conveyed across the Ganges by a single bridge which the enemy had not destroyed, and it was not until the 30th that the last cart had crossed the bridge, while two or three days more were spent in having them safely forwarded to Allahabad. He was now in readiness for the fight; but his arrival had made the enemy cautious, and it was not until they had been reinforced by the rebels of Oudh and the followers of Nana Sahib that they ventured, on the 6th of December, to make a decisive stand. But they were effectually beaten, with the loss of all their guns and ammunition, and wherever they attempted to rally they were met by British detachments, and so thoroughly routed and dispersed that this Gwalior contingent as an army could no longer be found. Nor did Nana Sahib, who had sent reinforcements to the rebels, escape a merited chastisement; for troops were sent to Bithur who destroyed all his remaining property, discovered and seized his treasures which were concealed in the wells, and soon left him too poor to continue long his rebellion with any hope of success.

While one powerful rebel chief was thus reduced to comparative helplessness, the British government in India had obtained an effective ally in Maharajah Jung Bahadur, the prime minister of the king of Nepal. This prince having offered his aid to the governor-general, which was gladly accepted, crossed the frontier with ten thousand Gurkhas, among the most warlike of the population of India, and in his advance he twice encountered and defeated a rebel army. He then, at the close of the year, established himself at Gorakhpur, to check the rebels of Lucknow in any attempt they might make in an easterly direction after Sir Colin Campbell should have driven them from the city, an event which was anticipated as likely soon to take place.

Indeed, all fear and foreboding as to the result of the Indian Mutiny were now at an end. Reinforcements had been sent from Britain in such numbers that no native army could confront them successfully in the field; the British soldiers were confident in the valour and skill of their well-tried illustrious leader, while the rebels were so daunted by repeated defeats that their courage and confidence were on the wane. The revolt was now in a great measure confined to Rohilkhand, to the territory between Agra and Allahabad, to Bundelkhand, and to Oudh, while the great metropolis of the insurrection after the fall of Delhi was the populous, warlike, and strongly fortified city of Lucknow. To strike a mortal blow, therefore, at the head of the evil, by the final conquest of this place, was the aim of the commander-in-chief after he had effected the liberation of the garrison.

THE RECAPTURE OF LUCKNOW

All being in readiness for this important enterprise, Sir Colin Campbell commenced operations by sending forward two regiments on the 1st of January, 1858, to prevent the rebels from destroying an iron suspension-bridge across the river Kalli-Nuddi. He then commenced his own march two days

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after to Fathigarh, where he remained till the 1st of February, restoring order in the disaffected districts of the Doab, after which he proceeded to Cawnpore, for the purpose of crossing the Ganges at that place; and to clear his line of march, strong detachments were sent forward, by one of which, commanded by General Franks, a brilliant victory was gained over an army of rebels twenty-one thousand strong, who were encountered and completely scattered at Badshahgunge, about two miles from Sultanpur.

On the 5th of March Sir Colin was before Lucknow with his whole force collected, and his siege train brought up, the right of his line resting on Bibiapur and the Gumtee rivers, and his left stretching towards the Alambagh. With such a force as was now arrayed against the devoted city, the issue could not long be doubtful. On the 9th the attack commenced, and by the 21st all the strong defences of Lucknow were stormed and won, and the rebels were fleeing in every direction. It was now the hour of triumph for the Asiatic allies of the British, and they did not neglect the opportunity.

"Those stately buildings," says an eye-witness, "which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oudh on a state day, were now open to the common soldier and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendour vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives were oppressive." After a painful description of the spectacle, the writer adds, "It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least twenty thousand camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder — the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld — coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooly-bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Gurkhas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth."

On the whole, it seems to have been but a renewal of the capture and sacking of Jerusalem, Babylon, or Nineveh, as they were exhibited when war was comparatively young, and the passions of men at the wildest. How unfortunate it was for the British that the necessity of their position should have united them with such allies, and made them in some measure responsible for their deeds.

SUCCESSES OF SIR HUGH ROSE IN CENTRAL INDIA: AGAINST THE RANI OF JHANSI

In noticing the leading events of this war, it would be unpardonable to omit the campaign that was carrying on in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose, at the head of the Malwa or Nerbudda field force of about six thousand men, of which twenty-five hundred were British. At the end of January Sir Hugh captured Rathgarh, situated on a pear-shaped hill, and surrounded with precipices, except at the narrowest part, by which, however, the access was very difficult. Although one of the strongest forts in Central India, its difficulties were surmounted and the walls stormed in three days, and such of the rebels as escaped were obliged to use ropes to aid their descent down the rocks. He then advanced to the relief of Sagar, where a European

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garrison and about a hundred women and children had been closely besieged for more than half a year; and on his arrival the enemy were glad to raise the siege. Soon after the Garakhot fort yielded almost without a blow, although it was so strong that it might have withstood a siege for months against the whole assailing force.

Sir Hugh Rose, having thus dislodged the rebels from their most available defences, commenced at the end of February his march upon Jhansi, on the way to which there was a mountain-ridge with three passes, that formed the means of a military advance upon Jhansi. The forts of the passes were speedily taken, and Sir Hugh Rose was master of the whole country between Sagar and Jhansi, to the east of the Betwa river.

The attack of Jhansi itself was now the great object of enterprise. It was the richest city in Central India, and one of the most culpable in the massacres and plunders of the rebellion, so that there was scarcely a house in which there was not some booty that had been taken from the English. Its fortress also was strong, not only by its natural position but by the resources of art; and its walls, which were built of granite, from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, were well embrasured for cannon and loop-holed for musketry, while the place was defended by a garrison of twelve thousand men, headed by a fearless virago, the rani of Jhansi. Altogether, the siege was one of the most desperate undertakings of the war; but the capture of fort and city was certain to be followed by the downfall of the rebellion in Central India. Desperate was the resistance of the men of Jhansi, who were conscious of their crimes, and apprehensive of a just retribution. By the 30th of March the defences both of city and fort were dismantled by the British artillery, but as the ammunition of the besiegers was running short, they resolved to attempt Jhansi by escalade. The assault was made on the 2nd of April, and the city was successfully entered by two storming columns, who fought their way through every obstacle until they met and were concentrated in the palace.

"This was not effected," says Sir Hugh Rose in his graphic description of the siege, "without bloody, often hand-to-hand combats. One of the most remarkable of them was between detachments of her majesty's 85th regiment and 3rd Europeans, and thirty or forty Velaitie sowars, the bodyguard of the rani, in the palace stables under the fire of the fort. The sowars, full of opium, defended their stables, firing with matchlocks and pistols from the windows and loop-holes, and cutting with their tulwars, and from behind the doors. When driven in they retreated behind their horses, still firing, or fighting with their swords in both hands, till they were shot or bayoneted, struggling even when dying on the ground to strike again. A party of them remained in a room off the stables, which were on fire, till they were half burned: their clothes in flames, they rushed out, hacking at their assailants, and guarding their heads with their shields."

Such frantic deeds of despairing resistance, of which the foregoing is a specimen, were multiplied over the streets and buildings of Jhansi before it was taken; and it was well that there was nothing less than the utmost of British courage and firmness to confront them. When all was hopeless both for city and fortress, the rani gave the signal for flight, by mounting a gray horse and making off with only four attendants, with a body of British cavalry in full pursuit; and on the night after the rebels fled from the fort, leaving it wholly defenceless, but not until they had lost five thousand men in the siege and storm. The city was treated with more humanity than it had expected, and the British soldiers, after the storm had ceased, were to be seen

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everywhere sharing their rations of food with the wives and children of those who had been the murderers of their countrymen.

After the fall of Jhansi, the capture of Kalpi was the next enterprise to be attempted, and Sir Hugh Rose, directing his march in this direction, encamped about three miles from Kalpi, where he was attacked on the 22nd of May by the rebels, who were put to the rout. Besides these successes, other victories which had been gained by Generals Roberts and Whitlock made Sir Hugh Rose imagine that Central India was now completely cleared of the rebels, and that there would be no further occasion for the services of his troops in that quarter. But his hopes were premature, for the war was not yet ended: the leader of the rebels at Kalpi, whose name was Tantia Topee, had retreated before the fall of the town, and in him the British found the ablest and most impracticable of all the chiefs of the rebellion. He retired to Gwalior, the capital of Sindhia, whose troops he persuaded to fraternise with the rebels; and when the fugitives of Kalpi fled, they joined these new allies, and drove Sindhia from his capital to the British cantonments at Agra, after which they placed Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, upon the throne of Gwalior.

These events called Sir Hugh Rose again into the field; but before his arrival, the principal rebels and Tantia Topee had left Gwalior, taking with them all the treasure they could find, and leaving the rani of Jhansi to abide the encounter, at the head of her rebels of Kalpi and the mutineers of the troops of Sindhia. Sir Hugh found them occupying a cantonment in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, dislodged and defeated them, and drove them in headlong flight into the capital. On the 19th of June, the rebels rallied upon a range of heights in front of the town, being headed by the rani of Jhansi, who was dressed in male attire, and fought gallantly like a common soldier; but they were defeated with the loss of twenty-seven guns, and also of their brave Amazonian leader.[1] Sindhia was thus restored to his capital and throne, and the rebellion in Central India being now at an end, the troops of Sir Hugh Rose were parted into garrisons for Jhansi, Gwalior, and other parts of the country.

With the fall of Lucknow its capital, the kingdom of Oudh might be considered as disarmed; and it now became necessary to determine the line of policy that was to be followed out in the government of this dangerous and rebellious province. This was soon announced by Lord Canning, the governor-general, then at Allahabad, in a proclamation which he issued on the 3rd of March. His first object, he declared, would be to reward those who had been steadfast in their allegiance, and who had aided and supported the British authority; and, after this, the nature of the reward was announced, and the persons who were to enjoy it. Six talukdars (landowners) of Oudh, including two rajahs, were named, and it was declared that these were henceforward to be the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when the province came under British rule, with such additional rewards as the government should judge fit to confer upon them — but that with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, to be disposed of according to its own judgment. To those talukdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who should make submission to the chief commissioner of Oudh, surrendering their arms to him and obeying his orders, an indemnity from punishment should be granted, provided that their hands were unstained

[[1] Of this Joan of Arc whom Walpole[l] calls "the heroine of the Mutiny," Sir Hugh Rose exclaimed, "the best *man* upon the side of the enemy was the *woman* found dead, the rani of Jhansi."]

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with English blood murderously shed; but for any further indulgence they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. Those among them who should promptly come forward and support the chief commissioner in the restoration of peace and order were to have their claims of restitution to their rights liberally considered; but those who had participated in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen were to be excluded from all mercy.

Such was the proclamation sent to Sir James Outram, the chief commissioner, who neither relished its terms nor the ungracious power with which it invested him, and he lost no time in writing from his camp at Chinhat to Lord Canning, remonstrating upon the impolicy of the measure. There were not, he declared, a dozen chiefs and landholders who had not participated in the rebellion; and those who were thus to be summarily dispossessed would betake themselves to their domains and continue their resistance. Hitherto, he alleged, they had been most unjustly treated under British settlement operations, and hence, when the rebellion was at its height, and their country overrun by the rebel soldiery, they had made common cause with the insurgents; and this being the case, they ought now to be treated rather as honourable enemies than as rebels. These, and other such considerations, were urged by Sir James Outram, but with little effect, for although Lord Canning added a short clause more definite in its promises of restitution to those who should give their aid in the establishment of peace and order, no abatement was made to the right of wholesale confiscation, and the punishment of general dispossession.

Had these resolutions been adopted at an earlier period, and when the progress of the British conquest of India was in full career, they might have been passed without question and acted on without scruple. But now the case was different. The British had almost lost their hold of India, and this by the severity of their rule, originating in over-confidence in their power. Such was the general feeling at home when tidings of this widely-spread and all but universal rebellion in her eastern empire had arrived in England; and while reports followed of the victories which British arms were achieving in the East, the popular triumph was accompanied with the surmise that the rebellion had been provoked, and that justice must be done to India. This was manifested even in the India House, when the original draft of Lord Canning's proclamation had arrived; and a despatch, in the form of a letter from the secret committee of the court of directors of the company, was sent to his lordship, animadverting upon his resolutions, and enjoining their mitigation. Great Britain had annexed the kingdom of Oudh to her own dominion without just cause, and notwithstanding its past services and fidelity to her alliance;[1] she had deprived it of its king, and imposed upon it her own rule, and administered its revenues, without regard to those whom the change had reduced from wealth and distinction to utter destitution. Under these circumstances the hostilities carried on in Oudh had rather the character of a legitimate war than that of rebellion, and its people were to be regarded rather with indulgent consideration, "than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation." And in conclusion they added, "We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oudh. We

[[1] The reader will recollect that the reason for the annexation of Oudh was the misgovernment of its rulers who, though friendly to the British, acted very oppressively towards their own subjects.]

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desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people: there cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation."

TRANSFER OF THE COMPANY'S POWERS TO THE CROWN

But the days of the company itself were already numbered, and this humane appeal was a graceful close to its existence. The great subject of importance in parliament during the session of 1858 was the suppression of the rebellion in India, and the means of retaining the country under British rule, and for this even the important question of parliamentary reform was postponed.

As it was now certain that measures were about to be introduced by ministers for altering the form of government in India, the company drew up a long, elaborate, and able petition to parliament, setting forth its past services and exertions for the benefit of India[1] and the empire at large, and deprecating the withdrawal of their powers, and the transference of their rule into other hands. [But before the discussions on the subject had terminated, the Palmerston ministry fell and a new scheme introduced by Disraeli met with general disapproval.]

We cannot advert to the discussions that followed, in which every step was followed by a pause or a conflict: all this was only commensurate with the importance of the great question of the future government of the Indian Empire, in which so many mistakes were to be amended and so many evils redressed. The India Bill finally passed the house of commons on the 8th of July, and that of the lords on the 23rd, and received the assent of the crown on August 2nd, the last day of the session. There is a solemnity and vastness of meaning in the simple words by which the transfer is announced in the first clause of the bill, to which the grandeur of the decrees of the Roman senate can present no parallel:

"The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all the powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said company, in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said company, and all rights vested, or which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act, India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid."

While these discussions were going on in the British parliament, the progress of the war in India was such as promised both a speedy and successful termination. A strong garrison was left in Lucknow to control the city and its neighbourhood, while a campaign was opened against the district of Rohilkhand, to which the Lucknow rebels had retired. Every fort that was assailed by the British was taken, and every enemy in the field put to the rout—and hence the little interest that belongs to the narrative of this closing

[[1] Of the services of the company, Spencer Walpole writes: "In a single century it had amassed an empire, and had brought one person in every six in the world into subjection. Where else in the world's history can be found a dependency which in the course of three generations produced men of the capacity of Warren Hastings, of Wellesley, and of Dalhousie? And which has produced in the same period among its subordinate officials such men as the two Lawrences, as Havelock and Outram, as Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm, as Metcalfe and Munro?"]

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portion of the war. In all these proceedings, also, were to be recognised the masterly intellect and military skill of Sir Colin Campbell, who directed each movement, and who, for his able services, was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Clyde. The progress towards a general pacification was likewise promoted by the transference of the government of India to the British crown, and the natives were induced to reverence a sovereign power, more especially when aggrandised by remoteness and invisibility, in preference to the authority of men who were present, and known to be subjects like themselves. Accordingly, when a royal proclamation, which was transmitted to India, was published by the governor-general on the 1st of November, it called forth several addresses to the queen, expressive of their loyalty and attachment.

In this proclamation it was announced to the native princes of India that all engagements which had been made with them by the company would be scrupulously maintained and fulfilled; that no extension of territorial possession was sought; and that no aggression upon it should be tolerated, or encroachment upon that of others sanctioned. The British government held itself bound to the natives of its Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound it to all the other subjects of the British Empire. Upon the important subject of religion, in which the rebellion had originated, the declaration wa explicit: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure." It was added that all of whatever race or creed were to be freely and impartially admitted to such offices in her majesty's service as they were qualified to hold. Those who inherited lands were to be protected in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and in framing and administering the law, due regard was to be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

LUCKNOW ENTRANCE GATE, SIKANDRA BAGH
(Where two thousand mutineers were killed in 1857)

With regard to the late rebellion, a general pardon was granted for past offences, except to those who had taken part in the murder of British subjects, or who had given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt; but in apportioning

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the penalty due to such persons, full consideration should be given to the circumstances under which they had been tempted from their allegiance. To all others still in arms against the government, an unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion was promised, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits, and compliance with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

END OF THE MUTINY

The chief difficulty that still remained was the pacification of Oudh, without which the government of India could not be fully re-established; and to effect this, such decisive measures were adopted, as could only be justified by the necessity of the case, and the warlike, dangerous spirit of the people. A proclamation was issued by Mr. Montgomery, who had been appointed chief commissioner of Oudh, ordering that all talukdars, zamindars, and native inhabitants of the province should deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police station, within one month from that date, all their cannon, firearms, weapons, and ammunition, under pain of fine and imprisonment for one year, with flogging; and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands. The next step was to suppress the rebels who were still in the field, which was no such easy achievement, for they had made Oudh their place of shelter and rallying point for their final stand, and were likely to defend it with the fierceness of despair. They had also for one of their chief leaders the ex-queen of Oudh, a woman of fearless courage and unyielding spirit, who issued a counter-proclamation to the people, warning them not to trust the promises of the British government, and analysing the proclamation of the British sovereign, paragraph by paragraph, with all the shrewdness and caustic severity of a well-practised literary reviewer. The winter campaign was opened in November, and the Oudh chieftains surrendered their hill-forts, or were driven from them after a short and useless resistance.

With the close of the year, the rebellion in Oudh, its last stronghold, had terminated, and an army, originally numbering one hundred and fifty thousand, been routed and dispersed with comparatively little loss to the victors. Resistance indeed continued to be made, but it was the hopeless resistance of broken bands and fugitive chiefs, lurking among the fastnesses of Nepal, beyond the British dominions, and urged by hunger or revenge; and with every attempt their numbers were diminished and their range circumscribed, so that what had lately been armies, were little more than troops of brigands, whose outrages the nearest military station was strong enough to suppress. The British Empire was re-established in India upon a basis more august and imposing than before.[c]

The act for the better government of India (1858), which finally transferred the entire administration from the company to the crown, enacts that India shall be governed by and in the name of the sovereign of England through one of the principal secretaries of state, assisted by a council of fifteen members. The governor-general received the new title of viceroy. The European troops of the company, numbering about twenty-four thousand officers and men, were amalgamated with the royal service, and the Indian navy was abolished. By the Indian Councils Act (1861) the governor-general's council, and also the councils at Madras and Bombay, were augmented by the addition of non-official members, either natives or Europeans, for legislative purposes only; and by another act passed in the same

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year high courts of judicature were constituted out of the existing supreme courts at the presidency towns.

It fell to the lot of Lord Canning both to suppress the Mutiny and to introduce the peaceful revolution that followed. As regards his execution of the former part of his duties, it is sufficient to say that he preserved his equanimity undisturbed in the darkest hours of peril, and that the strict impartiality of his conduct incurred alternate praise and blame from the fanatics on either side. The epithet then scornfully applied to him of "Clemency" Canning is now remembered only to his honour.

Peace was proclaimed throughout India on July 8th, 1859; and in the following cold weather Lord Canning made a viceregal progress through the upper provinces, to receive the homage of loyal princes and chiefs, and to guarantee to them the right of adoption. The suppression of the Mutiny increased the debt of India by about forty millions sterling, and the military changes that ensued augmented the annual expenditure by about ten millions. To grapple with this deficit, Mr. James Wilson was sent out from the treasury as financial member of council. He reorganised the customs system, imposed an income-tax and licence duty, and created a state paper currency. The penal code, originally drawn up by Macaulay in 1837, passed into law in 1860, together with a code of civil and criminal procedure.[b]

To Canning's services as governor, Spencer Walpole pays this tribute: "If Dalhousie was the last, and in some respects the greatest of the old type of governors, Canning was the first and one of the greatest of the new class of rulers. That he had defects in his character, and that his defects were attended with serious consequences, it would be absurd to deny. A Clive or a Wellesley, or even a Hastings or a Hardinge, would possibly have stamped out rebellion more rapidly, or confined a revolt within narrower limits. But neither Clive nor Wellesley, neither Hastings nor Hardinge, would have furnished subject India with so grand an example of the nobler features of the British character. The man who maintained his equanimity amidst panic, whose courage never quailed amidst disaster, who, conscious of his own virtue, moved calm amidst obloquy; who, amidst rage and tumult, in the hour of severity never forgot to be just, was a ruler worthy of the great country whose honour, in the hour of her supreme peril, was entrusted to his keeping."[l]

INDIAN JAR. INDIA MUSEUM.

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CHAPTER VII

INDIA SINCE THE MUTINY

[1858–1906 A.D.]

Lord Canning left India in March, 1862, and died before he had been a month in England. His successor, Lord Elgin, lived only till November, 1863, when he too fell a victim to the excessive work of the governor-generalship, dying at the Himalayan station of Dharmsala, where he lies buried. He was succeeded by Sir John Lawrence [afterwards Lord Lawrence], the saviour of the Punjab. The chief incidents of his administration were the Bhutan War and the terrible Orissa famine.[b]

The drought of 1865 had caused a dearth in 1866. Unforeseen by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, it could not be met with imported supplies, and before the following rainy season brought relief a million souls had died of hunger or consequent disease, out of a province containing a population of only four millions. Lord Napier saved Madras from a similar calamity by his foresight, and a year later the sufferings from a drought in Mysore were considerably mitigated by the British rulers.[a]

LORD LAWRENCE'S VICE-ROYALTY (1863–1869 A.D.)

Bhutan is a little Himalayan state to the north of Assam. For some years past the Bhutia highlanders had made frequent inroads in British ground lying at the foot of their hills, and claimed by their chiefs as part of Bhutan. In 1863 the Honourable Mr. Ashley Eden had been sent to treat with the Bhutan government on behalf of the British subjects who had been kidnapped in these raids. The utter failure of the mission was crowned by the insults heaped upon the envoy himself. In fear of his life he had to sign a treaty surrendering the very lands in dispute. After some vain attempts to patch up the quarrel and gain redress for the outrage, Sir John Lawrence, in November, 1864, declared war against Bhutan. A small force entered the hills;

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but mismanagement and a sickly season delayed its progress; some of the British troops on one occasion were disgracefully defeated, and not till some months later was the enemy driven to sue for peace and give some pledges for its maintenance.[h]

Great importance also attaches to Lawrence's Afghan policy, the interest of the British power in Afghan affairs having become closer as her frontiers advanced towards Afghanistan in consequence of the annexations following on the Sind and Sikh wars.[a] Of Lawrence's attitude, Bright[c] has said that his "consistent policy, sometimes slightingly spoken of as masterly inactivity, consisted in holding entirely aloof from the dynastic quarrels of the Afghans, in the recognition of any prince who either by force or by popular favour succeeded in establishing himself on the throne, and in attempting to cultivate the friendship of the amir by gifts of money and arms, while carefully avoiding topics of offence."

THE GOVERNORSHIPS OF LORDS MAYO AND NORTHBROOK (1869–1876 A.D.)

Lord Mayo, who succeeded Lawrence in 1869, carried on the permanent British policy of moral and material progress with a special degree of personal energy. The Ambala (Umballa) *darbar*, at which Sher Ali was recognised as amir of Afghanistan, though in one sense merely the completion of what Lord Lawrence had begun, owed much of its success to the personal influence of Lord Mayo himself. The same quality, combined with sympathy and firmness, stood him in good stead in all his dealings both with native chiefs and European officials. His example of hard work stimulated all to their best. While engaged in exploring with his own eyes the farthest corners of the empire, he fell by the hand of an assassin in the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands in 1872.

His successor was Lord Northbrook, whose ability showed itself chiefly in the department of finance. During the time of his administration a famine in Lower Bengal in 1874 was successfully obviated by government relief and public works, though at an enormous cost; the gaekwar of Baroda was dethroned in 1875 for misgovernment and disloyalty, while his dominions were continued to a nominated child of the family; Lord Lytton followed Northbrook in 1876.

QUEEN VICTORIA BECOMES EMPRESS OF INDIA (1877 A.D.)

On January 1st, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India at a *darbar* of unequalled magnificence, held on the historic "ridge" overlooking the Mughal capital of Delhi. But, while the princes and high officials of the country were flocking to this gorgeous scene, the shadow of famine was already darkening over the south of India. Both the monsoons of 1876 had failed to bring their due supply of rain, and the season of 1877 was little better. The consequences of this prolonged drought, which extended from the Deccan to Cape Comorin, and subsequently invaded northern India, were more disastrous than any similar calamity since the introduction of British rule. Despite unparalleled importations of grain by sea and rail, despite the most strenuous exertions of the government, which incurred a total expenditure on this account of eleven millions sterling, the loss of life from actual starvation and its attendant train of diseases was lamentable. The total number of deaths from disease and want in the distressed tracts in excess of the normal mortality for the two years 1876–1878 is estimated to have raised the

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death-rate forty per cent., or five millions. In the autumn of 1878 the affairs of Afghanistan again forced themselves into notice.[b]

RELATIONS WITH THE AFGHANS

In following the history of the course of affairs in Afghanistan during the nineteenth century, it should be remembered that the Saddozais and Barakzais are two branches of the Durani tribe, which was raised to dominant power by its chief, Ahmed Khan, the founder of an Afghan kingdom under the Saddozai dynasty towards the end of the eighteenth century. His descendants had ruled, amid many vicissitudes, at Kabul, until in 1818 the assassination by the reigning amir of his powerful minister, Fatteh Khan Barakzai, led to a revolt headed by the Barakzai family, which ended in the expulsion of the Saddozai Shah Shuja, and the establishment at Kabul of Dost Muhammed, Fatteh Khan's son; while Shah Shuja took refuge in the Punjab. By this time the political situation of Afghanistan had become materially affected by the consolidation of the formidable military dominion on its eastern frontier in the Punjab, under Ranjit Singh and his Sikh army. Ranjit Singh took advantage of the distracted condition of Afghanistan to seize Kashmir, and in 1823 he defeated the Afghans in a battle which gave him the suzerainty of the Peshawar province on the right bank of the Indus, though an Afghan chief was left to administer it. Ten years later Shah Shuja, the exiled Saddozai amir, made a futile attempt to recover his kingdom. He was defeated by Dost Muhammed, when Ranjit Singh turned the confusion to his own account by seizing Peshawar and driving the Afghans back into their mountains.

At this point begins the continual interference of England and Russia in the affairs of Afghanistan, which has ever since exercised a dominant influence upon all subsequent events and transactions. It has not only transformed the situation of the ruling amirs, but has also profoundly affected the Asiatic policy of the two European governments. Shah Shuja's enterprise in 1833 had been supported by the co-operation of Ranjit Singh, and encouraged by the British viceroy, Lord W. Bentinck. Although the expedition failed, the result was to excite jealousy of the British designs; and the Russian envoy at Tehran instigated the Shah of Persia to attack Herat, the important frontier fortress of northwestern Afghanistan, which was then in the possession of an independent chief. In 1837, in spite of remonstrances from the British representative at Tehran, a Persian army besieged the city, but the appearance of British troops on the southern coast of Persia compelled the Persians to withdraw from Herat in 1838.

The rivalry between England and Russia was now openly declared, so that each movement from one side was followed by a counter move on the Afghan chess-board from the other side. The British ministry had been seriously alarmed at the machinations of Russia and the attitude of Dost Muhammed at Kabul; and it was determined that the most effective means of securing their own interests within the country would be by assisting Shah Shuja to recover his sovereignty. A tripartite treaty was made between Ranjit Singh, the British governor-general of India, and Shah Shuja; and a British army marched up the Bolan pass to Kandahar, occupied that city, pushed on northwards to Ghazni, which was taken by assault, and entered Kabul in 1839. As Dost Muhammed had fled across the northern mountains, Shah Shuja was proclaimed king in his stead.

But this ill-planned and hazardous enterprise was fraught with the elements

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THE PRINCE OF WALES (NOW H. M. KING EDWARD VII) IN INDIA

(From the painting by Vasili Vereshchagin)

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of inevitable failure. A ruler imposed upon a free people by foreign arms is always unpopular; he is unable to stand alone; and his foreign auxiliaries soon find themselves obliged to choose between remaining to uphold his power, or retiring with the probability that it will fall after their departure. The leading chiefs of Afghanistan perceived that the maintenance of Shah Shuja's rule by British troops would soon be fatal to their own power and position in the country, and probably to their national independence. The attempt to raise taxes showed that it might raise the people; so that for both men and money the shah's government was still obliged to rely principally upon British aid. The result was that after two years' occupation of the country, in the vain hope of establishing a national government under Shah Shuja, the British found their own situation untenable; for the fierce and warlike tribes broke out into incessant revolt, until a serious insurrection at Kabul in the winter of 1841–42 compelled the British army to make an ignominious and disastrous retreat. The whole force was lost on the road between Kabul and Jalalabad; but Jalalabad was successfully defended by its British garrison, and General Nott held out at Kandahar until Generel Pollock's temporary reoccupation of Kabul in 1842 restored in some degree the military reputation of Great Britain. The British troops then completely evacuated the country. Dost Muhammed, who had been a state prisoner in India, was replaced on the Kabul throne; and the policy of intervention in Afghan affairs was suspended for nearly forty years.

It has been said that the declared object of this policy had been to maintain the independence and integrity of Afghanistan, to secure the friendly alliance of its ruler, and thus to interpose a great barrier of mountainous country between the expanding power of Russia in Central Asia and the British dominion in India. After 1849, when the annexation of the Punjab had carried the Indian northwestern frontier up to the skirts of the Afghan highlands, the corresponding advance of the Russians southeastward along the Oxus river became of closer interest to the British, particularly when, in 1856, the Persians again attempted to take possession of Herat. Dost Muhammed now became the British ally, but on his death in 1863 the kingdom fell back into civil war, until his son Sher Ali had won his way to undisputed rulership in 1868. In the same year Bokhara became a dependency of Russia. To the British government an attitude of non-intervention in Afghan affairs appeared in this situation to be no longer possible. The meeting between the amir Sher Ali and the viceroy of India at Ambala in 1869 had drawn nearer the relations between the two governments; the amir consolidated and began to centralize his power; and the establishment of a strong, friendly, and united Afghanistan became again the keynote of British policy beyond the northwestern frontier of India.

When, therefore, the conquest of Khiva in 1873 by the Russians, and their gradual approach towards the amir's northern border, had seriously alarmed Sher Ali, he applied for support to the British; and his disappointment at his failure so far estranged him from the British connection that he began to entertain amicable overtures from the Russian authorities at Tashkend. In 1869 the Russian government had assured Lord Clarendon that they regarded Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere of their influence; and in 1872 the boundary line of Afghanistan on the northwest had been settled between England and Russia so far eastward as Lake Victoria. Nevertheless the correspondence between Kabul and Tashkend continued, and as the Russians were now extending their dominion over all the region beyond Afghanistan on the northwest, the British government determined, in 1876,

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once more to undertake active measures for securing their political ascendancy in that country. But the amir, whose feelings of resentment had by no means abated, was now leaning toward Russia; and upon his refusal to admit a British agent into Afghanistan the negotiations finally broke down.

THE AFGHAN WAR OF 1878-1880

In the course of the following year (1878) the Russian government. to counteract the interference of England with their advance upon Constantinople, sent an envoy to Kabul empowered to make a treaty with the amir. It was immediately notified to him from India that a British mission would be deputed to his capital, but he demurred to receiving it; and when the British envoy was turned back on the Afghan frontier hostilities were proclaimed by the viceroy in November, 1878, and the second Afghan War began. Sir Donald Stewart's force, marching up through Baluchistan by the Bolan pass, entered Kandahar with little or no resistance; while another army passed through the Khyber pass, and took up positions at Jalalabad and other places on the direct road to Kabul. Another force under Sir Frederick Roberts marched up to the high passes leading out of Kuram into the interior of Afghanistan, defeated the amir's troops at the Paiwar Kotal, and seized the Shutargardan pass which commands a direct route to Kabul through the Logar valley. The amir Sher Ali fled from his capital into the northern province, where he died at Mazar-i-Sherif in February, 1879. In the course of the next six months there was much desultory skirmishing between the tribes and the British troops, who defeated various attempts to dislodge them from the positions that had been taken up; but the sphere of British military operations was not materially extended. It was seen that the farther they advanced the more difficult would become their eventual retirement; and the problem was to find a successor to Sher Ali who could and would make terms with the British government.

In the meantime Yakub Khan, one of Sher Ali's sons, had announced to Major Cavagnari, the political agent at the headquarters of the British army, that he had succeeded his father at Kabul. The negotiations that followed ended in the conclusion of a treaty in May, 1879, by which Yakub Khan was recognized as amir; certain outlying tracts of Afghanistan were transferred to the British government; the amir placed in their hands the entire control of his foreign relations, receiving in return a guarantee against foreign aggression; and the establishment of a British envoy at Kabul was at last conceded. By this convention the complete success of the British political and military operations seemed to have been attained; for whereas Sher Ali had made a treaty of alliance with, and had received an embassy from Russia, his son had now made an exclusive treaty with the British government, and had agreed that a British envoy should reside permanently at his court.

Yet it was just this final concession, the chief and original object of British policy, that proved speedily fatal to the whole settlement. For in September the envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his staff and escort, was massacred at Kabul, and the entire fabric of a friendly alliance went to pieces. A fresh expedition was instantly despatched across the Shutargardan pass under Sir Frederick Roberts, who defeated the Afghans at Charasia near Kabul, and entered the city in October. Yakub Khan, who had surrendered, was sent to India; and the British army remained in military occupation of the district round Kabul until in December (1879) its communications with India were interrupted, and its position at the capital placed in serious jeopardy, by a

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general rising of the tribes. After they had been repulsed and put down, not without some hard fighting, Sir Donald Stewart, who had not quitted Kandahar, brought a force up by Ghazni to Kabul, overcoming some resistance on his way, and assumed the supreme command. Nevertheless the political situation was still embarrassing.

Abdurrahman, the son of the late amir Sher Ali's elder brother, had fought against Sher Ali in the war for succession to Dost Muhammed, had been driven beyond the Oxus, and had lived for ten years in exile with the Russians. In March, 1880, he came back across the river, and began to establish himself in the northern province of Afghanistan. The viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, on hearing of his reappearance, instructed the political authorities at Kabul to communicate with him. After pressing in vain for a treaty he was induced to assume charge of the country upon his recognition by the British as amir, with the understanding that he should have no relations with other foreign powers, and with a formal assurance from the viceroy of protection from foreign aggression, so long as he should unreservedly follow the advice of the British government in regard to his external affairs. The province of Kandahar was severed from the Kabul dominion; and the sirdar Sher Ali Khan, a member of the Barakzai family, was installed by the British representative as its independent ruler.

LORD ROBERTS
(1832–)

For the second time in the course of this war a conclusive settlement of Afghan affairs seemed now to have been attained; and again, as in 1879, it was immediately dissolved. In July, 1880, a few days after the proclamation of Abdurrahman as amir at Kabul, came news that Ayub Khan, Sher Ali's younger son, who had been holding Herat since his father's death, had marched upon Kandahar, had utterly defeated at Maiwand a British force that went out from Kandahar to oppose him, and was besieging that city. Sir Frederick Roberts at once set out from Kabul with ten thousand men to its relief, reached Kandahar after a rapid march of 313 miles, attacked and routed Ayub Khan's army on September 1st, and restored British authority in southern Afghanistan. As the British ministry had resolved to evacuate Kandahar, Sher Ali Khan, who saw that he could not stand alone, resigned and withdrew to India, and the amir Abdurrahman was invited to take possession of the province. But when Ayub Khan, who had meanwhile retreated to Herat, heard that the British forces had retired, early in 1881, to India, he mustered a fresh army and again approached Kandahar. In June the fort of

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Girisk, on the Helmund, was seized by his adherents; the amir's troops were defeated some days later in an engagement, and Ayub Khan took possession of Kandahar at the end of July. The amir Abdurrahman, whose movements had hitherto been slow and uncertain, now acted with vigour and decision. He marched rapidly from Kabul at the head of a force, with which he encountered Ayub Khan under the walls of Kandahar, and routed his army on September 22nd, taking all his guns and equipage. Ayub Khan fled toward Herat, but as the place had meanwhile been occupied by one of the amir's generals he took refuge in Persia. By this victory Abdurrahman's rulership was established.[d]

Roughly speaking, of the years from the close of 1858, when the government of British India was transferred from the East India Company to the crown, to the commencement of 1900, half were occupied in preparing, in plotting out, and in making a vigorous commencement in the execution of the great projects for the moral and material development of India, of which the latter half saw the application and extension. The schemes which were then put into force, more particularly for the material development of India, for increasing the sytem of railway communications, for fiscal reform, or for the prosecution of irrigation works, had their inception in the preceding period, and more particularly in its second decade. The work of reorganisation, of progress, and of financial reform, which was commenced in 1859 by Lord Canning, though from time to time hindered under his successors by war, was on the whole continuously carried on. In spite of discouragement from famines and plague, from a succession of wars on the northwestern and eastern frontiers, and from the ruinous effect on Indian finance of the continuous fall in the value of silver relatively to gold, the work begun in the first half of the forty-one years under review, and vigorously resumed after 1880, was more or less consistently carried on up to 1900. Thus the whole period forms, as it were, one growth. The first half is inextricably bound up with the second; and while much of the progress of the last twenty years has been in directions previously but little pursued, more has been but the sequence and necessary outcome of the foregoing period.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The finances of the country, which, during the years immediately preceding 1876 and 1877, had been very carefully husbanded by the Indian government, were in those two years made the subject of a fresh and exhaustive study. Sir John Strachey took charge of the finances in 1876, and his administration marks a new era in Indian finance. He was not destined to reap the fruit of all his labours; but great changes had already been effected by him, and more were in contemplation, when the stress and strain of the Afghan War deferred their execution. The obstructive old internal salt customs frontier line, stretching at one time from the Indus to the Mahanadi in Madras, a distance of 2,300 miles, and guarded by nearly 2,000 men, had been finally abolished. The inland salt duties throughout India were at the same time in great measure equalised. Arrangements had been concluded with certain native states by which, subject to compensation allotted to them, the great Indian sources of salt supply, which lie for the most part within their territories, were made over to the control of the government of India. The consumption of salt at once considerably increased as a consequence of this measure, and the revenue corresponded. Similar reforms had been contemplated, and in a

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small measure had been commenced, with regard to the customs revenue from import duties levied in India on cotton goods.

During Lord Mayo's rule administrative measures had been initiated, having for their object the decentralization of the finances; the transfer, that is to say, to the several provincial governments of the direct control of a portion of the public receipts and expenditure within their limits, with corresponding relief and advantage to the central administration. In 1877–1879 these measures were further developed. Certain important local sources of revenue were definitely placed in the hands of the provincial governments, which were left to cultivate and improve them, to augment their produce, and to spend all or a definite part of them, at their discretion. On the other hand, the expenditure in certain branches of administration was transferred to provincial governments, of which the cost would be defrayed from the funds assigned them. Economy and good administration resulted, so far as the finances and the provincial governments were concerned, while the central government was relieved from provincial importunities, of which it could not always measure the relative importance, and from the control of details of provincial administration of which, in truth, it was not a competent judge.

Education had advanced during the twenty years under review, though relatively to area and population it was still in an extremely backward state. A despatch from England in 1854 had laid down with fulness and precision the principles which were to guide the government in state education, and its provisions were continued and enlarged by a subsequent despatch of 1859. These two despatches still form the charter of education in India. The three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had been incorporated in 1857 by acts of the Indian legislature. Among the several presidencies and provinces Bengal and Madras had on the whole shown the greatest advance; but Bombay, with its large and highly intelligent Parsee population, has always been prominent in respect of education.

The three great codes which pre-eminently do honour to the Indian legislature — the Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Civil Procedure Code — were passed during the earlier part of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. The labours of Sir Henry Sumner Maine and Sir Fitz-James Stephen had enriched the Indian statute book with other important acts, such as the Evidence Act, various forest laws, the Criminal Tribes Act, the Christian Marriage Act, the Mohammedan and Parsee Marriage Act, and an Act for the Prevention of the Murder of Female Infants. The relations of landlord and tenant in upper India and in Oudh had occupied the attention of the legislature. A high court of judicature, similar to those already existing in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, had been established for the north-west provinces. The police system throughout India had been reorganised; sanitation had been especially recognised as claiming attention; the trade of India had developed from a total in round figures of forty-one millions of imports and forty-three millions of exports in 1859–64 to a total of sixty-two millions of imports and seventy-six millions of exports in 1880–81. Notably the great tea industry had taken firm root, and was assuming ever-increasing proportions. There existed at that date twenty-one jute mills, mostly in Bengal. Brewing had been introduced, and was becoming more and more extended. Steam paper mills and some minor industries had also taken root.

The administrative note, therefore, of the seventeen years from 1859, after the close of the Mutiny, to 1876 was one of moderation and cautious advance. They were years but little removed from the rule of the late East India Company and the great catastrophe of 1857. The whole machinery of govern-

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ment, more especially during the earlier part of that period, was successively brought under review, and in almost every department reorganisation more or less complete was projected. It was a time mainly of study and deliberation, preliminary to action; of prudent but thorough overhauling of the administration which had been but recently handed over to the crown.

With the advent in 1880 of Lord Ripon as viceroy the portals of war were closed, and India entered once more upon the pleasant paths of peace. Remission of taxation, encouragement of primary and secondary education, the promotion of local self-government, the amelioration of the status of the agricultural tenant, the recognition and promotion of native claims to a share in directing the internal affairs of India — these were the cardinal points of the policy of 1880 and the years immediately ensuing. During the preceding period the attention of the central government, and the genius of those who inspired it, had been more immediately devoted to the material progress of India. Of that sympathetic and indulgent handling of the native population which characterised the East India Company, the traces become less and less apparent as we pass from the sixth towards the close of the seventh decade. The greatest benefits had been conferred on the people by the fiscal and public works measures introduced during those years. But of any seeking or strengthening of personal touch with them on the part of the administration there is comparatively little trace. Much was done for the people, but in concert with them little was attempted. The steps taken in this direction during the eighth decade mark a return to the more personal and human aspects of administration which before 1857 had been perhaps exclusively prominent, but which of later years might be judged to have fallen too greatly into abeyance. In short, after 1880, and for a brief term of subsequent years, the moral development of India again took an equal place in the foreground, and the characteristic note of the decade which succeeded 1880 is to be found in the greater effort made during that period to combine moral with material progress.

In 1882 India was freed from taxation on her imports, strong liquors and salt excepted. The customs duty thenceforth, and till further changes, was derived entirely from the produce of an export duty on rice, and from import duties on salt and alcohol. At the same time the salt duty was reduced. The estimated loss of revenue consequent on this reduction was £1,400,000. A total of two and one-half millions in taxation was thus remitted to the country. In their *Finances and Public Works of India*,[e] the two Stracheys, writing in 1881, had expressed themselves on the subject in strong terms: "The policy followed by the government of India during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton was one of absolute free trade, without reserve or qualification, and financial necessities alone prevented that policy from being carried out to the fullest extent. The proceedings of the last three of four years have, however, succeeded in rendering inevitable the almost total abolition of the customs duties, which of all Indian taxes are probably the worst."

It is, however, necessary to add that the abolition of the import duties on cotton goods was carried out against the very general feeling whether of Europeans or of the educated natives of India.

EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES IN PUBLIC SERVICE

The salaries of the upper grades of the native subordinate executive services were improved in 1882, at an estimated increase of about £50,000 a year. It was declared to be the intention of the British government and of the gov-

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ernment of India that a constantly increasing share of the work of the country should be performed by natives of India. Few aspects of Indian administration are more disagreeable at first sight than this, that with few exceptions all the higher posts, which carry with them the larger salaries, are confined to Europeans. Given the conditions and requirements of the administration this is at present inevitable. But it necessarily bears on the face of it that appearance of a monopoly by a foreign caste of the higher grades of employment, which cannot fail to attract hostile criticism. It may confidently be asserted on behalf of the Indian government, that it is ever on the watch to modify the existing state of matters, and is more than desirous of finding occasion for the advancement of natives to the higher ranks of civil employ. Its efforts in this direction have not been rewarded, so far, with any corresponding success. But any native now who, by education, force of character, probity, or good service, can prove his fitness for advancement to the higher grades of employment is no longer debarred from arriving at them.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The system of decentralisation, and of assigning to provincial governments the financial profit and loss on certain branches of administration, was largely extended in 1882. Practically, excepting the departments of army, marine, post office, telegraphs, opium, salt, customs, and for the most part the railways, all branches of the public service, with their receipts and expenditure, may be said to have been then made over to provincial hands. The result has been productive of economy and of good government; but on the other hand the measure has erected something of a barrier between the central government and the internal conduct of affairs. To borrow a term from telegraphy, there is a fault in communication.

In connection with the extension of provincial finance, greater latitude of self-administration was at the same time accorded to municipalities and local bodies throughout India. Few measures that have been greeted on their introduction with comparative indifference are likely, with lapse of time, to take deeper root in the country than the scheme of conferring self-government on municipalities. The aim and ideal of the energetic and highly-trained officers to whom is entrusted the administration of the various districts into which India for executive purposes is divided, has been hitherto government of and for the people, rather than government by or with the people. The prestige of the powerful Indian civil service is based on successes achieved in past years, when the authority of its officers was the only authority, and when, by the energetic and enlightened exercise thereof, great results had been everywhere obtained. Intimate knowledge of native character, and daily experience of the weakness, the jealousies, the animosities, and the trivial aims and pursuits of native society, might well make those who up to the present had been its guides not a little sceptical as to the uses to which local self-government would be put, and doubtful as to the intelligence and interest with which it would be carried into effect. So far as concerns the district or local bodies, these apprehensions have not been without justification. But so far as town and municipal bodies are concerned, the measure of 1882 has met with a degree of success fully equal to any that its authors could have expected. Local self-government in all countries is a plant of slow growth. In India, with its counter-currents of Hindu and Mohammedan, its apathy, its passion for hereditary usages and employment, the indifference of its several units to the general good, the aptitude of the Indian for verbal controversy and inapti-

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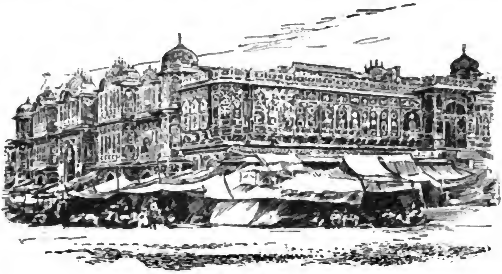
tude for collective action, any marked or early development of disinterested public spirit could not be counted on. It would be untrue to assert that the results have so far brought India into line with even moderately progressive European countries. But with regard, at least, to the more important towns, it may be affirmed that the measure enforced by the government of Lord Ripon has, up to the present time, proved as useful as its authors hoped, and promises with the progress of years to acquire increasing stability.

It is to be noted that in India, and more especially in Upper India, the Mohammedan element, though considerable, is numerically inferior to the Hindu. The former have thus found themselves, wherever election is the rule of appointment, in danger of being left permanently in a minority. They view with distrust and natural dislike the passing of authority into Hindu hands. Especially is this the case where, as often happens, the hands into which power passes are those of classes of Hindus who, though previously



COLLEGE AT JEYPORE

of no consideration, of obscure origin, and socially of less than little weight, are enabled by their familiarity with English, and by their education in British colleges, wholly to manipulate and control the municipal councils. In this direction there will for long exist antagonism between Hindu and Mohammedan. Resentment will smoulder on the one side, and on the other there will be little wish to conciliate. In India such differences do not take the form of party, but are inflamed by the virus of race and of religion, and become the more embittered.

The conduct of education and the control of colleges and schools in India is in the hands of the provincial governments. But in this, as in all other departments, the central government retains the ultimate authority. It has been already noted that the main lines on which the system of education in India is carried on were laid down in 1854 and 1859. Since then, necessarily, progress has been made, and fresh developments have called for further instructions. To the three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have been added universities at Lahore and at Allahabad, respectively the headquarters of the Punjab and north-western governments.

Western education at the most has as yet touched little more than the fringe of Indian life. But the crying defect of education in India is the failure to find means of extending education to girls. Only 402,158 girls were under

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instruction in 1896-97, whether in public or private institutions, forming 2.34 of the percentage of school age. Practically, woman in India is wholly uninfluenced by western education. Mothers, wives, or daughters at no time of their existence come under its influence. Whether from a social or political point of view this is lamentable, and the consequences are far-reaching and injurious. The influence of women in India is very considerable, and it is to be feared that it is exerted consistently in a direction opposed to the ethical or educational standards set up in English teaching institutions. But the position of woman in the East, and the strictness with which, after her earlier years, she is guarded from contact with all but the nearest members of her family, oppose barriers which are at present impassable.

In general terms it may perhaps be added that, so far as concerns the masses, to live under British administration, when at its best, is in itself a liberal education. Enlightened codes, justice, equality before the law, social and religious freedom, protection, order, method, moderation in the assessment of fiscal burdens, good and easy means of transport, are no mean lessons in enlightenment to the millions who, till comparatively recent years, have lived in the dark ages of bigoted tyranny and have cowered under violence and misrule.

Great attention was paid by Lord Ripon's government towards carrying out the recommendations of the famine commission of 1880 with regard to the extension of railways. A programme was prepared in 1883-84 covering the ensuing six years, but it was not put into practical effect till Lord Dufferin had assumed the reins of government in 1885. But from that date to the present time the extension of the Indian railway system, whether directly by the state or by aided enterprise, whether for commercial, protective, or military lines, has been pursued with vigour.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

A proposed alteration of the Criminal Procedure Code, with the view of conferring criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects upon certain classes of native judicial officers in the interior, caused during 1883 the greatest excitement throughout India.

A bill was accordingly introduced on February 9th, 1883. Immediately there arose the clamour of opposition. On the 20th of February a public meeting of the European inhabitants of Calcutta was held in the town hall, at which a resolution was passed denouncing the principle of the bill, and pledging the community to oppose its progress. From that time the opposition rapidly gathered strength, and later in the year became violent beyond all precedent. The British community, with rare exceptions, united in opposing the bill.

In 1884 the government undertook to agree in select committee to the right being given to European British subjects, when brought for trial before a district magistrate or sessions judge, to claim trial by jury, such as is provided by section 451 of the Criminal Procedure Code, subject to the following conditions: (1) No distinction to be made between European or native district magistrates or sessions judges; (2) the powers of district magistrates under section 446 of the code to be extended to imprisonment for six months or fine of 2,000 rupees. The settlement thus arrived at became law without further opposition in January, 1884, and remains the law on this subject to the present time.

Among other prominent measures of the early years of the eighth decade

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was the repeal of the Vernacular Press Acts passed by Lord Lytton. In the opinion of Lord Ripon's government, the Press Acts passed by Lord Lytton (9 and 16 of 1878) constituted a direct departure from the policy with respect to the press in India which had been followed by the government of India for upwards of forty years. It was the aim of these acts to restrain the press, which was stated to have been at that time markedly seditious in its tone. They provided that a paper, after having been warned, would be liable to suspension, and they applied not only to publications of a nature to excite disaffection and endanger the public peace, but also to those affecting private persons and public servants. Other objections apart, it was held by Lord Ripon's government that an invidious exception was thus permitted in favour of the English press; and it was contended that if the Penal Code did not meet such cases, the existing defect in the code might be remedied. Acts 9 and 16 of 1878 were accordingly repealed. Later, in 1898, in consequence of plague riots in Poona, the murder of two British officers in retaliation for alleged insults to native usage and custom in the searching of women's apartments, and of much seditious writing connected therewith in the Bombay press, the Penal and Criminal Procedure codes were respectively amended by Acts 4 and 5 of 1898, which rendered the law in regard to seditious writing very considerably more stringent.

From Lord Ripon's tenure of office date also the revival and reorganisation, in accordance with the recommendations of the famine commission of 1878, of an agricultural department, whether in the government of India or in provincial governments. Such a department had already been brought into existence in 1871, but only to be abolished in 1877. It was not till the tenure of office by Lord Dufferin that the Bengal and Oudh Rent bills actually became law; but they had been framed and prepared and made almost ready for legislative sanction before his predecessor resigned office. They aimed at securing to the cultivating tenant a more stable interest in his holding, and they modified previous legislation principally in this direction. In Bengal, and in a lesser measure in Oudh, the objects aimed at by the legislature met with strenuous and organised opposition. In both provinces the landlord had hitherto enjoyed in a degree unusual in India the power of rack-renting and evicting his tenants. In neither province had he shown solicitude for the tenant by whose labour he so largely profited. The Bengal and Oudh Rent acts dealt with a vast variety of local tenures and sub-tenures and complicated questions of tenant right in a spirit of equity and moderation. The result has been everywhere beneficial. Speaking in general terms, it may be said that legislation was more favourable to the tenant than to the landlord. The dust of controversy has since settled down, and the new legislation has become the rule of practice.

The year 1885 furnishes the high-water mark of peaceful and uninterrupted progress. From that date clouds again began to accumulate around and about the Indian horizon. Before that year was over Great Britain had been nearly plunged into war by a collision between Russian and Afghan troops at Panjdeh, in Central Asia. Over £2,000,000 had been expended in hurried war preparations; commercial and famine railway extension had been arrested, and a large scheme of unremunerative military railways had in part overlaid and superseded it. Then came, almost on the heels of the Panjdeh incident, the outbreak of the Burma War, which in one or other form dragged on for the space of nearly two years. Meanwhile, in view of the approach of Russia in Central Asia, the government of India had decided to increase the effective strength both of its British and native army, the former by ten thousand, the

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latter by twenty thousand men, at an estimated annual increase of little less than one and one-half million sterling. Military defence works and measures for more speedy mobilization added largely to prospective military expenditure. Exchange, which had remained for the space of three or four years fairly stationary, again resumed its downward course. A succession of costly frontier wars was entered on; and, as in 1878, before long the attention of the government was once more diverted from all home questions. Finally, though at a later date, came a recurrence of famine and the appearance in India of the bubonic plague. Such, during the period from 1885 to 1900, was the accumulation of disastrous circumstances, some of which it was not in the power of the government of India by the exercise of any prudence or wisdom to avert. Following rapidly one on the other, they again obstructed indefinitely that uncertain and hesitating path of progress which is so soon lost or choked by the sudden and tropical growth of tangled troubles in India.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Before, however, all this had finally occurred, one or two measures of importance remain to be noticed, which originated with Lord Dufferin's government, though they were in their final stage put into execution by his successor. They are marked by the desire to conciliate native opinion, and to provide a field for the due expansion of native ambitions, which had uniformly characterised the administration both of Lord Dufferin and of his predecessor. In October, 1886, a strong mixed commission was appointed by the government of Lord Dufferin to inquire into the system under which natives of India were at that time admitted by statute to the covenanted civil service, or to offices formerly reserved exclusively for members of that service; and also their employment in all branches of the public service connected with the civil administration of the country. The commission presented a report at the close of 1887, dealing with all branches of the civil administration. The recommendations of the commission, with comparatively unimportant reservations, were accepted by the government of India and the secretary of state for India, and are at the present moment in force. They have greatly improved and strengthened the prospects of higher employment to all classes of natives of India, and have for some time to come, it may be reasonably anticipated, set at rest agitation on this point.

A measure was introduced by Lord Dufferin's government which concerns rather the military and political than the internal administration of India, but which cannot be wholly regarded as outside the general scope of Indian affairs. At the time of the Panjdeh difficulty in 1885, when war with Russia seemed imminent, all the leading native princes made offers of pecuniary aid. Their offers were refused, but it was intimated to them at a somewhat later date that if they would place a small military force in each state at the disposal of the British government, to be commanded by state officers, but drilled, disciplined, and armed under the supervision of British officers and on British lines, the government would undertake to find the necessary supervising officer, arms, and organisation. The offer was universally accepted, and the Imperial State troops, as they are called, amount at present to nearly 18,000, mainly cavalry and infantry, whose efficiency is very highly thought of. They rendered good service in Chitral and Gilgit, in the wars on the north-west frontier, and in China. The total native state troops are said to number, inclusive of this body, about one hundred and ten thousand, largely an ill-

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armed and ill-disciplined rabble. The Imperial Service troops, therefore, amount to about 16 per cent. of the total number.

During the twenty-one years preceding 1880 both upper and southern India had been visited at times by devastating famines. In 1896–97 India was revisited by famine, and the bubonic plague, which has since been constantly present in more or less virulence, first showed itself. The famine of 1896–97 extended over some 310,000 square miles, with a population in round figures of 35 millions, and was most severe in the north-west provinces, in Oudh, and in the central provinces. It lasted from about September, 1896, till October, 1897. At the worst time the total numbers on relief were 4,609,000. The death-rate per mile in the famine districts rose from 32.80, the normal death-rate, to 39.54. The total government expenditure and loss to government is estimated at about seventeen and one-quarter millions. Again, in 1900, famine appeared and proved itself most severe in Bombay, Rajputana, and the central provinces. The tract concerned contained a population of eighty-five millions, of whom perhaps fifty-two millions were severely affected. Of the eighty-five millions, forty-three and one-quarter millions were inhabitants of native states, and forty-one and three-quarter millions were in British territory. At the close of May 1900, 5,802,000 were in receipt of relief. After the rainy season of 1900 distress gradually abated. The expenditure necessary to cope with the famine was estimated at £13,000,000 (at 15 rupees to the £1). The death of adults from starvation is stated to have been of rare occurrence, and due entirely to the apathy of the people themselves.

THIRD BURMESE WAR (1885 A.D.)

The causes which led to this war, and the consequent annexation of Upper Burma, may be briefly narrated. Relations between the British and Burmese governments had for some years been considerably strained, but it was not till the accession of Thibaw to the throne in 1878 that matters became really serious. This potentate opened his reign by a series of more than usually cold-blooded massacres of his nearest male relatives, and it soon became evident that the position of a British envoy at the court of Ava was no longer either a desirable or dignified one. In 1879, therefore, Great Britain ceased to be represented in Mandalay, and matters went from bad to worse. Thibaw lent himself more and more to foreign intrigues; and finally, in the summer of 1885, matters came to a crisis over a dispute that had arisen between the king and a large British mercantile firm called the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, which for years had been engaged in the export of timber from the great teak forests of the king's dominions. The imposition of an impossible fine on this company, coupled with the threat of confiscation of all their rights and property in case of non-payment, led to the British ultimatum of October 22nd, 1885; and by November 9th a practical refusal of the terms having been received at Rangoon, the occupation of Mandalay and the dethronement of the king were determined upon.

At this time, beyond the fact that the country was one of dense jungle, and therefore most unfavourable for military operations, little was known of the interior of Upper Burma; but British steamers had for years been running on the great river highway of the Irawadi, from Rangoon to Mandalay, and it was obvious that the quickest and most satisfactory method of carrying out the British campaign was an advance by water direct on the capital. The total effective of the British force was 9,034 fighting men,

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2,810 native followers, and 67 guns; and, for river service, 24 machine guns. The river fleet which conveyed the troops and stores was composed of a total of no less than 55 steamers, barges, launches, etc.

Thayetmyo was the British post on the river nearest to the frontier, and here, by November 14th, five days after Thibaw's answer had been received practically the whole expedition was assembled. On the same day General Prendergast received instructions to commence operations. There is not the slightest doubt that the Burmese king and his country were taken completely by surprise by the unexampled rapidity of the advance. There had been no time for them to collect and organise for the stubborn resistance of which the river and its defences were undoubtedly capable. They had not even been able to block the river by sinking steamers, etc., across it, for, on the very day of the receipt of orders to advance, the armed steamers, the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen*, engaged the nearest Burmese batteries, and brought out from under their guns the king's steamer and some barges which were lying in readiness for this very purpose. On the 16th the batteries themselves on both banks were taken by a land attack, the enemy being evidently unprepared and making no resistance. On the 17th of November, however, at Minhla, on the right bank of the river, the Burmans in considerable force held successively a barricade, a pagoda, and the palace and redoubt of Minhla. The attack was pressed home by a brigade of native infantry on shore, covered by a bombardment from the river, and the enemy were defeated with a loss of 170 killed and 276 prisoners, besides many more drowned in the attempt to escape by the river.

The advance was continued next day and the following days, the naval brigade and heavy artillery leading and silencing in succession the enemy's river defences at Nyoungu, Pokoko, and Myingyan. On the 26th of November, when the flotilla was approaching the ancient capital of Ava, envoys from King Thibaw met General Prendergast with offers of surrender and on the 27th, when the ships were lying off that city and ready to commence hostilities, the order of the king to his troops to lay down their arms was received. There were three strong forts here, full at that moment of thousands of armed Burmans, and though a large number of these filed past and laid down their arms by the king's command, still many more were allowed to disperse with their weapons; and these, in the time that followed, broke up into "dacoit" or guerilla bands, which became the scourge of the country and prolonged the war for years. Meanwhile, however, the surrender of the king of Burma was complete; and on November 28th, in less than a fortnight from the declaration of war, Mandalay had fallen, and the king himself was a prisoner, while every strong fort and town on the river, and all the king's ordnance (1,861 pieces), and thousands of rifles, muskets, and arms had been taken. Much valuable and curious "loot" and property was found in the palace and city of Mandalay, which, when sold, realized about 9 lacs of rupees (£60,000). A grant of money was divided among the troops as "prize money."

From Mandalay, General Prendergast made a bold stroke and seized Bhamo on December 28th. This was a very important move, as it forestalled the Chinese, who were preparing to claim the place. But unfortunately, although the king was dethroned and deported, and the capital and the whole of the river in the hands of the British, the bands of armed soldiery, unaccustomed to conditions other than those of anarchy, rapine, and murder, took advantage of the impenetrable cover of their jungles to continue a desultory armed resistance. Reinforcements had to be pressed into the country, and it was in this phase of the campaign, lasting several years, that the most

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difficult and most arduous work fell to the lot of the troops. It was in this jungle warfare that the losses from battle, sickness, and privation steadily mounted up; and the troops, both British and native, proved once again their fortitude and courage.

Various expeditions followed one another in rapid succession, penetrating to the remotest corners of the land, and bringing peace and protection to the inhabitants, who, it must be mentioned, suffered at least as much from the "dacoits" as did the troops. The final, and completely successful, pacification of the country was only brought about by an extensive system of small protective posts scattered all over the country, and small lightly-equipped columns moving out to disperse the enemy whenever a gathering came to a head, or a pretended prince or king appeared.[g]

THE DECLINE OF INDIAN PROSPERITY

The first fruits of political complications and military measures, combined with a further fall in the exchange, was the repeal of the then existing licence tax and the reimposition of an income tax in March, 1886; this being the first of a succession of fiscal measures by which in the course of the ensuing eight years the work of Sir John Strachey and Sir Evelyn Baring was gradually but completely undone, and the country again subjected to methods of taxation which it had been the object of their reforms finally to remove.

In introducing the Income Tax Bill in 1886, the financial member of the council said: "With the present year our brief spell of happiness has come to an end. The fat kine have passed on, and the lean kine have come in. Three uninterrupted years of prosperity is a godsend in the annals of every nation; in our Indian annals it is extraordinarily good fortune." In 1885–1886 the fall in exchange which had been temporarily suspended recommenced, and the Burmese War broke out. In 1886 India definitely entered into the region of depression and storm from war, famine, pestilence, and exchange, from which in 1902 she had not yet emerged.

Taking the average net expenditure of the years 1883–1885, and contrasting it with 1895–1896, the Indian expenditure commission found that the increase in the later period amounted to twelve and one-half millions of pounds. To meet the increased expenditure it had therefore become necessary that the resources of the Indian treasury should be increased by about £12,000,000. Thus the taxation on salt and imports, which was abolished by Sir John Strachey and Sir E. Baring, has now been reimposed, and remains in force. Other taxation has been added. The normal growth of revenue during the period of comparison (£5,800,000) was absorbed by the increase of expenditure under "defence and foreign affairs"—in other words, military and political—in India, and apart from the charge for exchange.

Of the total increased expenditure of £12,400,000, not less than £9,786,000, inclusive of exchange, was due to military and political expenditure. From 1886 onwards, with but brief intervals, there has occurred a series of wars and frontier expeditions, some of which, such as the Burmese War of 1886–1887, were extremely costly. The preparation for possible war with Russia amounted, in 1885–1886, to over two millions. The war with Burma cost, in the three years 1885–1886 to 1887–1888, over four millions. Minor expeditions, from 1887–1888 to 1895–1896, cost over five millions. The Tirah campaign of 1897–1898 (though this was of a date later than 1896–1897, the last year of the commission's comparison) cost over three millions—say in all, in round numbers, fourteen millions in eleven years. Increase in military and

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political expenditure, and increased loss by exchange (itself partly caused by the increase in military expenditure), are the causes which have led to the reimposition of the customs duties on cotton and other goods, and to the raising of the salt duties. The increased loss by exchange has been checked by closing the Indian mints to the coinage of silver and by the adoption of a gold standard. The further increase of military and political expenditure must largely depend on the policy pursued by the government of India with regard to the tribes on its north-western frontier and to the course of events hereafter in Afghanistan.

EVENTS ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

Since 1889 India has suffered from a succession of frontier wars. At the close of the Kabul War in 1880 the British cabinet decided to withdraw not from Kabul only, but from Kandahar, and with the exception chiefly of the Pishin and Sibi districts, and of Quetta, the British retired within their former borders. So matters remained till 1883–1884, when the advance of Russia in Central Asia again turned the attention of the government of India to affairs on and beyond the frontier, and led ultimately to the final abandonment of the policy of observation and reserve, which is known as the Lawrence policy. The control of the frontier was transferred in the latter part of the eighth decade from the lieutenant-governor of the Punjab to the government of India in its foreign department.

From that time the policy of non-interference was replaced by increasing activity. From 1885, when war with Russia seemed imminent, there has been more or less continuous movement along one or other part of the frontier and beyond the British border, indicating the gradual development of a prearranged plan of operations. Between the years 1885–1895 there were delimited at various times by joint commissions the Russo-Afghan frontier. To the westward, after various disagreements and two military expeditions, the territories comprising the Zhob, Barhan, and Bori valleys, occupied by Pathan tribes, were in 1890 finally incorporated in the general system of the Trans-Indus protectorate. About the same time (in 1889) at the other end of the frontier, where it touches China, the post of British resident in Gilgit had been re-established. The result became very shortly apparent. The government of Kashmir having for the time passed under the direct control of the British authorities through the death of the maharajah, in 1889, a council of regency was established under the supreme direction and authority of the British resident in Kashmir. Acting under his instructions, the council asserted and, with the aid of its troops led by the resident of Gilgit and by other British officers, re-established its supremacy over the petty states of Hunza and Nagar, in the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which it claimed as feudatories. The former chieftains were deposed, and others, more friendly to the British government, replaced them. In 1893 the frontiers of Afghanistan and British India were defined by a joint agreement between the two governments. There followed on the part of the British authorities, interference in Chitral, which had fallen to India, ending in an expedition in 1895 and the ejection of the local chiefs in favour of candidates amenable to British influence.

A more formidable hostile combination, however, awaited the government of India. By the agreement of 1893 with the amir most of the Waziri clan, the Bajouris, and the Afridis had been left outside the limits of the amir's influence and transferred to the British zone. Soon after that date the establishment of the British military authorities of posts within the Waziri country

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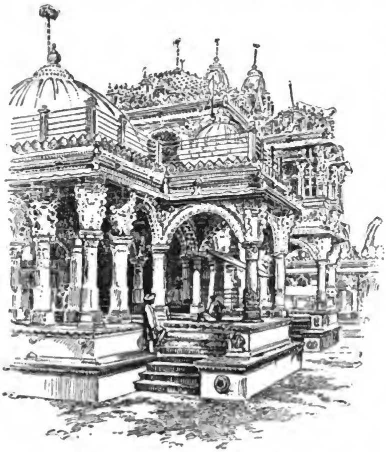
had led to apprehension on the part of the local tribesmen. In 1895 the occupation of points within the Swat territory for the safety of the road from India to Chitral similarly roused the suspicion of the Swatis. The Waziris and Swatis successively rose in arms, in June and July, 1897, and their example was followed by the Mohmands. Finally, in August the powerful Afridi tribe joined the combination and closed the Khyber pass, which runs through their territory, and which was held by them, on conditions, in trust for the government of India. This led to the military operations known as the Tirah campaign, which proved very costly both in men and money. It was not till February, 1898, that hostilities finally ceased along the border, with a total British loss in all the several engagements with the several tribes of 506 of all ranks killed, 537 dead of disease, 1,428 wounded, and 9 missing — in all 2,480. By the middle of 1898 British authority had been made paramount throughout the whole belt of territory which stretches between the former British frontier and the frontiers of Russia and Afghanistan, and from the Karakoram pass to Pishin.



TEMPLE OF HATHISINH AT AHMEDABAD

VICEROYS, 1880–1906

The viceroys who held office during the period here dealt with were the marquis of Ripon, 1880–84; the marquis of Dufferin and Ava, 1884–88; the marquis of Lansdowne, 1888–95; the earl of Elgin, 1895–99; Baron Curzon of Kedleston, 1899; [and the earl of Minto from 1905]. Few viceroys have been animated by greater zeal, or sustained by a higher conception of duty, than Lord Ripon. In the prime of life, possessed of much ability, an indefatigable worker, and of experience in public affairs, he was greeted on arrival in India with a welcome the more warm in that the public had grown distrustful of his predecessor. Before he laid down office the goodwill with which he had been received had turned into hatred such as had never before dogged the footsteps of an Indian governor-general. So long as Lord Ripon confined himself to raising and improving the status of the native of India his action was followed by the British community, if not with warm approval, at least with kindly good will. But when he proceeded to assimilate the authority of native magistrates over European British subjects to that of British magistrates

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themselves, he was rudely made to feel that the government of India, autocratic though it may at times be with the natives, must be more circumspect in dealing with the British community.

The struggle with his fellow countrymen in which Lord Ripon suffered himself to be involved dealt a death-blow to his usefulness as viceroy. Instead of holding the balance between all parties, the viceroy became seemingly a partisan of one against another. When Lord Ripon's name grew to be a symbol between contending factions, nothing remained for him but to withdraw from an office in which he could no longer render useful service. But the Indian historian will hereafter record that to Lord Ripon belongs the distinction of having been the first viceroy openly to recognise and give practical encouragement to the growth of a self-respecting spirit of endeavour and of the desire for some measure of self-government among the more advanced classes of the natives. He sought, as events have shown not unsuccessfully, to assist them in raising themselves from an attitude of passive administrative subjection to a position more worthy both of themselves and of the government under whose liberal rule they live. His generous and kindly recognition of their claims and capacity was warmly responded to by all classes of natives; and if he was condemned to leave Calcutta in whatever disgrace may be thought to attach to the censure of that city, he received from the natives of India throughout his journey to Bombay a spontaneous and enthusiastic ovation, of which the like has never been accorded to his predecessors or successors.

It is greatly to the honour of Lord Dufferin that, though by no means indifferent to popularity among his countrymen, he never for a moment hesitated to continue and to carry further the main lines of the enlightened policy which had been initiated by Lord Ripon. But in Lord Dufferin's sagacious hands the rocks and shoals on which his predecessor foundered were avoided. In raising the status of the native civil service, and in enlarging the basis and extending the attributes of the several legislative councils, Lord Dufferin laid the native population under a lasting debt of gratitude. In the historic interview with the amir of Afghanistan in 1885 at Rawal Pindi, as throughout his treatment of the Panjdeh incident, his characteristic firmness and suavity were equally displayed. His term of office was darkened by financial difficulties, largely owing to the fall in exchange. The conquest of Upper Burma, though it increased his popularity and added to the lustre of his viceroyalty, reopened the floodgates of military expenditure and added to financial troubles.

With the advent of Lord Lansdowne the liberal policy of his immediate predecessors suffered eclipse. As time passed, it became evident that his thoughts were more occupied with affairs beyond the north-west frontier of India than with the interests of good government within its limits. The growing influence exercised over the viceroy by his chief military and political advisers became more and more matter of uneasy comment. Under their influence, and probably with approval in Whitehall, Lord Lansdowne renewed in substance Lord Lytton's policy, and the wars which have drained India of money and men since 1896 were due to the course of action adopted under his auspices in the years preceding. There never was a time since 1838 when Simla was so actively the centre of ambitions and of designs beyond the Indus. The most favoured type of Indian official was no longer the provincial governor or the sagacious resident, but that warden of the marches of Baluchistan, Sir Robert Sandeman, whose unique aim it was to extend the zone of British influence beyond the frontier, and whose method was to participate in

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tribal dissensions, and to profit by them. "Sandemania," which has proved so contagious, then first became epidemic in high quarters.

It should be added, however, to the credit of his administration, that Lord Lansdowne grappled successfully with one hideous evil in Hindu social life. He left behind him an act to raise the age of consent among Indian wives from ten to twelve, which, while it provoked much popular clamour, was approved by men of enlightenment of all creeds and races.

During so much of his term of office as was not occupied with combating famine and plague, Lord Elgin was engaged in conflict beyond the frontier with enemies who were none of his own seeking, or in acrid controversy with political friends in England on questions arising out of the political difficulties which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor. Though the credit of introducing a gold standard into India does not personally rest with Lord Elgin, it was during his term of office that the measure was matured and effect given to it.[f] Lord Curzon became viceroy in 1899. Under him the years 1900–1902 were marked by a great famine which was especially pronounced in the Bombay presidency, Baroda, Hyderabad, and the Central Indian States. Still more terrible were the ravages of the plague, which, beginning in 1896, gradually increased in virulence until in the year 1903 about 842,000, and in 1904 about 1,029,000 persons died of it. The fact that in December and January of 1902–03 about $1,000,000 was expended on the great coronation Durbar at Delhi, when this money might have been devoted to saving human lives, aroused much criticism.

In the year 1903 a British mission under Colonel Younghusband was despatched by the Indian government to Tibet to discuss trade relations and to secure the observance of certain conventions made in 1890 and 1893. In the following March, after long delays and protracted negotiations, the military escort which accompanied the mission became involved in an armed conflict with the Tibetans. After some further delays and negotiations, the expedition then fought its way to the mysterious forbidden city of Lhasa, which was taken on the 3d of August. There a formal treaty was signed by which arrangements were made for commercial intercourse between India and Tibet, and Tibet agreed to pay an indemnity of £500,000, but this sum was later reduced to £166,000.

Lord Curzon's administration was in general a satisfactory one, but in 1905 he became involved in a controversy with Lord Kitchener, the commander-in-chief of the forces in India, over a proposal to increase the powers of the latter, and as Kitchener was sustained by the home government, the viceroy resigned on August 12th. He was succeeded by the earl of Minto.

On September 1, 1904, the presidency of Bengal was divided into two provinces known as East Bengal and Assan. This partition aroused opposition among the Bengalis, and in 1907 the agitation spread into the Punjab; there were signs of latent sedition throughout eastern Bengal and the Punjab; there was some rioting, and the government was obliged to take rather harsh measures. The reasons underlying the movement appear to be the inevitable antagonism of the native Indian to alien rule. Babu Chundra Pal, a Bengali of considerable education, much ability, and of great eloquence, was the chief purveyor of seditious ideas; and it was noted that the Europeanised barristers and others, having a western education, were among the most active in the movement.[a]

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A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA (1336–1908 A.D.)

1336 Independent Afghan dynasty (capital Ghor) begins to reign in Bengal.
1347-1357 Earliest Mohammedan dynasty established in the Deccan by Ala-ud-din (capital Gulbargah).
1391 Independent Mohammedan dynasty founded at Ahmadabad in Guzerat.
1484 Imad Shahi dynasty founded at Berar (capital Ellichpur).
1489 Adil Shahi dynasty founded at Bijapur.
1490 Nizam Shahi dynasty founded at Ahmadnagar.
1492 Barid Shahi dynasty founded at Bidar.
1498 Vasco da Gama discovers the Cape route to India and reaches Calicut.
1500 Portuguese factories established at Kananur and Cochin.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1505 First Portuguese viceroy in India: the Portuguese discover Ceylon.
1510 The Portuguese viceroy conquers Goa and
1511 Malacca.
1512 Kutab Shahi dynasty founded at Golconda.
1515 Portuguese established at Diu.
1518 Portuguese settle in Ceylon.
1521 The discontented subjects of the emperor of Delhi summon Baber (Zehir-ud-din), the Mughal king of Kabul, to India.
1526 Baber defeats the Delhi emperor in the great battle of Panipat and takes Agra; the Rana Sanga of Mewar (Udaipur) collects a vast host against him.
1527 Baber wins the battle of Kanweh and makes himself master of India.
1530 Death of Baber. His son Humayun succeeds him.
1531 Daman taken and destroyed by Portuguese.
1539 Humayun defeated by Shir Shah who becomes lord of Hindustan; Humayun takes refuge in Persia.
1543 St. Francis Xavier founds Christian settlements in Travancore.
1545 Portuguese viceroy defeats the king of Guzerat at Diu.
1556 Humayun recovers part of his empire, including Delhi. Humayun dies and is succeeded by Akbar the Great under regency of Bairam Khan. He begins a series of wars to recover the empire of Baber.
1558 Portuguese settled at Daman.
1560 Akbar assumes the government in person and exercises a strong and humane government.
1565 Battle of Talikota; the five Mohammedan kings of the Deccan defeat the Hindu rajah of Vijayanagar and overthrow his empire (founded 1118) which splits up into small sovereignties.
1567 Princes of western India league against the Portuguese but are defeated by them.

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1568 Akbar takes Chitor and conquers Ajmir.
1570 Akbar obtains Oudh and Gwalior.
1572 Akbar defeats the ruler of Ahmadabad and constitutes Guzerat a viceroyalty. The Afghans expelled from Bengal, and the lower Ganges valley recovered for Akbar.
1578 Orissa annexed to Akbar's empire. Akbar invites Jesuit missionaries to Lahore.
1579 The Englishman, Thomas Stephens visits India.
1581 Kabul added to Akbar's empire.
1586 Kashmir acquired by Akbar.
1592 Sind acquired by Akbar.
1594 Kandahar submits to Akbar.
1596 Akbar subdues Berar.
1600 Charter granted to the English East India Company.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1602 First voyage made for the East India Company. Dutch East India Company formed.
1605 Akbar dies and is succeeded by his son Jahangir.
1606 Rebellion of Jahangir's son, Khusru, punished.
1612 The East India Company's first factory founded at Surat. First Danish East India Company founded.
1614 British agency established at Ajmir.
1615 An English embassy despatched to the court of Delhi.
1616 Danish settlements at Tranquebar and Serampur.
1620 Portuguese fleet defeated by the English.
1622 The Dutch massacre eighteen Englishmen at Amboyna. English factory established at Masulipatam.
1627 Shah Jahan succeeds Jahangir; the Mughal Empire at its height.
1634 Portuguese expelled from Bengal.
1638 Aurangzeb, son of Shah Jahan, having seized and plundered Hyderabad becomes governor of the Deccan. The Dutch take Portuguese forts in Ceylon.
1639 English settlement established at Madras.
1650 Shah Jahan renders the kingdom of Bijapur (Deccan) tributary.
1657 The Mahratta, Sivaji, rebels against the king of Bijapur and builds up a Mahratta power in the Deccan.
1658 Aurangzeb, having defeated three brothers and assassinated another, usurps the throne of his father, Shah Jahan. The Dutch take Colombo and the last Portuguese possessions in Ceylon.
1661 Bombay ceded to England by Portugal.
1664 The Dutch take the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast. Sivaji pillages Surat.
1666 Shah Jahan dies and is buried in the beautiful Taj Mahal which he had built at Agra.
1668 Bombay transferred to the East India Company. Successful campaign of Aurangzeb in the Deccan.
1670 Second Danish East India Company founded.
1674 French East India Company established at Pondicherry.
1680 Sivaji, having consolidated a strong Mahratta power in the Deccan, dies.
1682 Aurangzeb sets out to conquer the Deccan.
1683-1687 Aurangzeb incorporates the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda with his empire.
1686 The English attempt to take Chittagong and are driven from Bengal.
1687 Bombay becomes the headquarters of the East India Company.
1693 East India Company's charter renewed.
1698 "General Society trading to the East Indies" formed in England.
1700 Calcutta purchased by the East India Company.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1707 Death of Aurangzeb, the last great ruler of the Mughal dynasty. War between his sons; Bahadur Shah the victor. The authority of the Mughal power gradually usurped by minor chieftains.
1709 "General Society" unites with English East India Company.
1712 Death of Bahadur Shah. Quarrels between his sons.
1713 Jahandar Shah, son of Bahadur Shah, deposed and strangled; Farrakhsiyyar succeeds.
1714 Kamr-ud-din (Asaf Jah) is appointed governor of the Deccan and becomes founder of the Hyderabad dynasty. The peshwas of Poona begin to found an independent Mahratta power which becomes the head of the Mahratta confederacy.

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1716 The Bhonsla king Raghoji establishes a Mahratta power of Nagpur.
1719 Farrakhsiyyar deposed and strangled; Muhammed Shah succeeds. Various French companies consolidated as "Company of the Indies."
1720 Saadat Ali Khan appointed nawab of Oudh, which he makes an independent sovereignty.
1721 Commencement of the foundation of the Mahratta state of Baroda.
1724 The Mahratta dynasty of Sindhia establishes itself at Gwalior.
1733 Foundation of the Mahratta power of Indore, or Holkar's dominions.
1735 Kashmir incorporated with the kingdom of Kabul.
1736 Sindhia's forces invade Hindustan and advance to Delhi.
1739 Persians under Nadir Shah invade India and withdraw after sacking Delhi.
1746 Madras captured by the French under La Bourdonnais.
1748 The English besiege Pondicherry.
1751 French and English having taken sides in the quarrels of the Deccan princes, the English under Clive take Arcot and defend it against the French and their allies.
1753 The French acquire the Northern Circars from the sovereign of the Deccan.
1756 Clive becomes governor of Fort St. David. The fort at Calcutta taken by Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah) and the European prisoners confined in the Black Hole of Calcutta.
1757 Clive defeats Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey, and establishes Mir Jafar in his place. The British relieve Trichinopoli, besieged by the French, who take the English factory at Vizagapatam. Madura surrendered to the British.
1758 French under Lally take Fort St. David from the British.
1759 Lally fails in the siege of Madras. The British take Masulipatam from the French and obtain eight districts from the ruler of the Deccan. Northern Circars transferred to British. Clive aids Mir Jafar to repel an invasion from Rohilkhand.
1760 The British defeat Lally at Wandewash and take Pondicherry. Bardwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong ceded to the British.
1761 The king of Kabul totally defeats the Mahrattas at Panipat and finally destroys the power of the king of Delhi.
1763 War between the British and the nawab of Bengal.
1764 The great Mughal with Sujah-ud-Daula, ruler of Oudh, aids the nawab of Bengal and is defeated at Baxar. The English make a treaty with the great Mughal who grants them the zemindari of Benares.
1765 Sujah-ud-Daula and the Mahrattas defeated by the British at Korah. The great Mughal empowers Clive to collect the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.
1766 Hyder Ali makes himself rajah of Mysore.
1767 War between the peshwa and Hyder Ali. The British and the nizam of the Deccan aid the peshwa. The peshwa makes a separate peace with Hyder. The British retreat and defeat the Mysore troops at Trinomali and Ambur.
1768 Nepal conquered by the Gurkas.
1769 Hyder, joined by the French, makes successful attacks on the British. Treaty of Hyder Ali with the British.
1770 Great famine in Bengal.
1771 War between Hyder and the peshwa. Shah Alam becomes nominal sovereign of Delhi under the real domination of Sindhia.
1772 Marawar war. Impeachment of Clive. Warren Hastings governor of Bengal.
1773 "Regulating Act" for the East India Company passed.
1774 British troops aid Sujah-ud-Daula of Oudh in the Rohilla war. Hastings becomes governor-general.
1775 War with Mahrattas (first Mahratta war) and acquisition of Salsette by the Bombay presidency. The supreme council at Calcutta forces the Bombay government to break faith with the Mahratta chief Ragoba.
1778 War between France and England. Hastings seizes Chandarnagar. War with the Mahrattas renewed.
1780 Hyder Ali overruns the Coromandel Coast and defeats the British at Conjeveram. Independence of Baroda recognised by the British government.
1781 Hyder ravages Tanjore and is defeated at Porto Novo by Sir Eyre Coote, who relieves Vellore.
1782 Sea fights between the British and the French under Suffren. Tipu Sahib succeeds his father Hyder Ali.
1783 Bednor taken by the British and recovered by Tipu, who besieges Mangalore. Indecisive sea fight off Cuddalore between Suffren and Hastings.
1784 The British evacuate Mangalore. Peace with Tipu. Pitt's India Bill, regulating the management of the East India Company, passed.
1786 Lord Cornwallis becomes governor-general of India. Supplementary bills passed.
1787 Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

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1788 Tipu Sahib overruns and oppresses Calicut.
1789 Tipu attacks the rajah of Travancore, a British ally. The British make alliance with the peshwa against Tipu. Tipu defeats the rajah of Travancore.
1790 War with Tipu. The rajah of Travancore restored.
1791 Cornwallis takes Bangalore and defeats Tipu, but retreats.
1792 Cornwallis takes Seringapatam and forces Tipu to surrender half his territories, the British retaining his possessions on the Malabar coast.
1793 "Permanent Settlement" (of assessments on land in Bengal).
1795 Sindhia attacks and defeats the nizam of the Deccan. The British take the Dutch forts in Ceylon.
1796 French company of the Indies abolished by the French national assembly.
1798 Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley) becomes governor-general. Napoleon Bonaparte opens negotiations with Tipu Sahib; French from Mauritius organise a jacobin club in Seringapatam. Ranjit Singh becomes ruler of Lahore.
1799 British declare war on Tipu and defeat him at Malaveli; they capture Seringapatam, where Tipu is killed. The Kanara district becomes British territory. Maharajah Krishna, representative of the ancient dynasty of Mysore, made sovereign of Mysore.
1800 Sir John Malcolm is sent as ambassador to the king of Persia and concludes an alliance between him and the British government. The East India Company assumes the government of Surat. By treaty with the nizam the East India Company engages to defend Hyderabad against foreign aggression, receives territories in trust (Berar) to defray cost of British troops, and assumes direction of Hyderabad's foreign affairs.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801 The East India Company interferes in the disputes for the rule of the Carnatic and takes over the government in perpetuity.
1802 The peshwa, driven from Poona by Holkar, concludes the Treaty of Bassein with the Company. British possessions in Ceylon become a direct dependency of the British crown.
1803 Second Mahratta War. General Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) restores the peshwa. Wellesley defeats the Mahrattas at Assaye. Lake takes Aligarh, wins the battle of Laswari and takes Delhi and Agra. Wellesley defeats the Mahrattas at Argam. Powell overruns Bundelkhand and takes Gwalior. Cuttack conquered by the British. Unsuccessful war in Ceylon. Treaty with Sindhia who surrenders his suzerain rights over the chiefs between the Jumna and Ganges and others.
1804 War with Holkar. Wellesley disperses the predatory bands formed from Sindhia's army. Holkar besieges Delhi which Lake relieves. Holkar's forces destroyed at Dig and Farrakhabad.
1805 Lake besieges Bhartpur, but fails to take it; the rajah of Bhartpur makes a treaty with the British. Treaty with Sindhia, who cedes Gwalior and part of Gohud to the British; treaty with Holkar secures Poona and Bundelkhand to the British.
1806 Sepoy mutiny at Vellore quelled by Colonel Gillespie.
1807 Lord Minto becomes governor-general.
1809 Treaty between the British and Shuja-ul-Mulk king of Kabul. Shuja-ul-Mulk defeated by his brother Mahmud. Treaty between the British and Ranjit Singh. Kashmir becomes an independent kingdom.
1810 Amboyna and the Banda Islands conquered by the Company. The British conquer Mauritius.
1811 The Company's troops conquer Java from the Dutch.
1813 An act of Parliament modifies the political organisation of the East India Company and extends the privilege of trading with India to other persons. A system introduced for the support of government-paid missionaries in India. Lord Moira (Hastings) governor-general. Ranjit Singh obtains possession of Attock.
1814 Disastrous war with Nepal. Amboyna, Banda Islands and Java restored to the Dutch.
1815 The British defeat the tyrant of Ceylon; the whole island becomes British; civil and religious liberty granted to the inhabitants.
1816 Second war with Nepal; the Gurkas defeated at Mukwanpur; a British residency established in Nepal.
1817-1818 Power of the robber Pindharis crushed by the British. Third Mahratta war; the Mahrattas of Poona (peshwa's capital), Nagpur and Indore (Holkar's dominions) rise against the British and are overthrown; Holkar defeated at Mehidpur. Ranjit Singh obtains possession of Multan.
1819 An English factory established at Singapore. Ranjit Singh annexes Kashmir.
1823 Lord Amherst becomes governor-general.

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1824 First Burmese war.
1825 Dispute over the succession to Bhartpur. Burmese War ended by Treaty of Yandabuy Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim ceded to the British.
1826 Bhartpur besieged and taken by Lord Combermere.
1828 Lord William Bentinck becomes governor-general.
1829 Bentinck decrees the abolition of suttee (sati).
1831 Misgovernment in Mysore compels the British to assume the direct administration.
1833 The charter of the East India Company renewed; it is compelled to abandon its trade; a commission, under Macaulay's presidency, appointed to codify the law of India.
1835 Lord Auckland governor-general.
1838 First Afghan war; the British in alliance with Ranjit Singh undertake to restore Shah Shuja.
1839 Ghazni and Kabul taken and Shah Shuja reinstated. Death of Ranjit Singh.
1840 The amirs of Sind arise against the British.
1841 Revolt in Kabul; the British envoys murdered; disastrous retreat of the British garrison, only one man reaching Jalalabad alive. The Afghans besiege the British garrisons in Kandahar and Jalalabad.
1842 Lord Ellenborough succeeds Auckland. Afghans defeated at Jalalabad and Kandahar. The British occupy Kabul; they evacuate Afghanistan.
1843 War in Sind; Sir Charles Napier wins the battles of Miani and Hyderabad. Sind annexed.
1845 The English acquire the Danish settlements at Tranquebar and Serampur by purchase. First Sikh War; the Sikhs invade British territory and are defeated at Mudki and Ferozshaw.
1846 Sikhs defeated at Aliwal and Sobraon; Lahore surrenders to the British, Dhuleep (Dhalip) Singh is recognised as rajah of Lahore, and a British garrison is stationed there; the Jalandhar Doab annexed by the British; Kashmir recognised as independent.
1848 Lord Dalhousie becomes governor-general. Murder of British officers at Multan begins the second Sikh War.
1849 Multan taken by the British. Battle of Chilianwala and heavy British losses. Gough destroys the Sikh army at Gujrat. The Punjab annexed to the British dominions. Satara annexed.
1852-1853 Second Burmese War resulting in the annexation of Pegu.
1853 Nagpur and Jhansi escheat to the central government. Change in the charter of the East India Company decreasing the company's influence on the government and throwing the Indian civil service open to competition.
1854 Ganges canal opened. Treaty with Baluchistan.
1856 The king of Oudh dethroned for misgovernment and a British commissioner appointed. Lord Canning becomes governor-general. Successful war with Persia.
1857 Religious fears of the sepoys roused by the issue of greased cartridges. First attempt at mutiny suppressed. Formidable mutiny at Meerut and murder of many Europeans; the mutineers escape to Delhi, are joined by the garrison there, and proclaim the king of Delhi sovereign of India; the British destroy the Delhi powder magazine. Mutinies and massacres at Neemuch, Allahabad, Jhansi, Mhow, and other places in the Bengal Presidency. Massacre in Delhi. Nana Sahib besieges Cawnpore. Sir John Lawrence aided by Sikh troops prevents mutiny in the Punjab. The British besiege Delhi. Neill recovers Allahabad. Cawnpore garrison massacred. Mutineers besiege the residency at Lucknow. Massacre of the women and children at Cawnpore. Delhi taken by storm; Hodson shoots down the king's sons. Mutinies in the Bombay Presidency. Outram and Havelock relieve Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell brings reinforcements from England and finally rescues the Lucknow garrison.
1858 Sir Colin Campbell recovers Lucknow. The revolted city of Jhansi taken by Sir Hugh Rose. Campbell subdues Rohilkhand. Kalpi and Gwalior taken by Rose. Behar reduced. End of the East India Company; its territories and powers transferred to the crown; Canning receives the title of viceroy.
1862 Lord Elgin viceroy. Death of the ex-king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah, the last of the great Mughals.
1863 Sir John Lawrence viceroy.
1865 War with Bhutan ended by the cession by the Bhutias of the eighteen Dwars of Bengal and Assam in return for a subsidy.
1866 Terrible famine and flood in Orissa.
1869 Lord Mayo viceroy; interview at Ambala with Sher Ali, amir of Afghanistan.
1872 Lord Mayo assassinated at the Andaman Islands. Lord Northbrook viceroy.
1874 Famine in Lower Bengal. Gaikwar of Baroda deposed for incapacity and a new gaikwar established.

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1876 Lord Northbrook resigns and is succeeded by Lord Lytton. Treaty with the khan of Kalat; the British Government undertakes to uphold the khan's authority.
1877 Queen Victoria proclaimed empress of India. Severe famine in India.
1878 Acts restraining the liberty of the press passed. Sher Ali receives a Russian mission and declines to admit a British one. Second Afghan War; the British invade Afghanistan.
1879 By the Treaty of Gandamak the British frontier is advanced towards Afghanistan and a British resident admitted at Kabul. Murder of the British resident and his escort. A punitive expedition under General Roberts takes Kabul. The amir deposed.
1880 Lord Lytton resigns and is succeeded by Lord Ripon. Abdurrahman Khan proclaimed amir of Kabul. Disaster at Maiwand; a British force is defeated by a son of the deposed amir and the remnant besieged in Kandahar. March of General Roberts to relieve Kandahar; he routs the enemy before the walls. The British withdraw from Afghanistan.
1881 Government of Mysore restored to the Hindu dynasty.
1882 Abolition of cotton duties; salt duties reduced; increased administrative powers conferred on provincial governments.
1883 Controversy over the Ilbert Bill concerning the extension of the powers of covenanted civil servants.
1884 The Ilbert Bill passed with a reservation granting European British subjects the right of trial by jury. Lord Dufferin viceroy. The Indian national congress, designed to oppose the exclusive conduct of Indian affairs by the ruling race, holds its first annual session.
1885 Collision between Afghans and Russians at Panjdeh leads to preparations for war in India; the affair arranged diplomatically. Burmese War; Ava and Mandalay occupied and the king Thibaw taken.
1886 Upper Burma formally annexed.
1887 Civil service reform. British Baluchistan incorporated with India.
1888 Hazara expedition. A British expedition expels the Tibetans from Sikkim. Lord Lansdowne viceroy.
1889 Burmese War ends.
1890 China acknowledges the British protectorate over Sikkim.
1891 Manipur expedition.
1892 Indian Councils Act passed.
1893 Frontier between India and Afghanistan defined.
1895 Opium inquiries; the report declares against repressive measures. Chitral expedition. Lord Elgin viceroy.
1896 Famine and plague in India.
1897 Burma made a lieutenant-governorship. The Waziris, Swatis, Mohmands, and Afridis rise against the British; the Tirah campaign undertaken in consequence.
1899 Lord Curzon of Kedleston viceroy. Nushki district and Niabat in Baluchistan transferred to British management.
1900 Severe famine.
1903 842,000 people die of the plague.
1904 An expedition captures Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. 1,029,000 people die of the plague.
1905 Lord Curzon resigns and is succeeded by the earl of Minto.
1907 Disturbances in Bengal and the Punjab.

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BOOK VIII

THE COLONIAL WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

Owing to its position at the antipodes of the civilised world, Australia has been longer a *terra incognita* than any other region of the same extent. Its first discovery is involved in considerable doubt, from confusion of the names which were applied by the earlier navigators and geographers to the Australasian coasts.

The ancients were somehow impressed with the idea of a Terra Australis which was one day to be revealed. The Phœnician mariners had pushed through the outlet of the Red Sea to eastern Africa, the Persian Gulf, and the coasts of India and Sumatra. But the geographer Ptolemy, in the 2nd century, still conceived the Indian Ocean to be an inland sea, bounded on the south by an unknown land, which connected the Chersonesus Aurea (Malay Peninsula) with the promontory of Prasum in eastern Africa. This erroneous notion prevailed in mediæval Europe, although some travellers like Marco Polo heard rumours in China of large insular countries to the southeast.

The investigations of Mr. R. H. Major make it appear probable that the Australian mainland was known as "Great Java" to the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century; and the following passage in the *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum* of Cornelius Wytfliet,[h] printed at Louvain in 1598, is perhaps the first distinct account that occurs of the country: — "The Australis Terra is the most southern of all lands, and is separated from New Guinea by a narrow strait. Its shores are hitherto but little known, since, after one

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voyage and another, that route has been deserted, and seldom is the country visited, unless when sailors are driven there by storms. The Australis Terra begins at one or two degrees from the equator and is ascertained by some to be of so great an extent, that if it were thoroughly explored it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world."

It was in 1606 that Torres, with a ship commissioned by the Spanish government of Peru, parted from his companion Quiros (after their discovery of Espiritu Santo and the New Hebrides), and sailed from east to west through the strait which bears his name; while in the same year the peninsula of Cape York was touched at by a vessel called the *Duyfhen* or *Dove* from the Dutch colony of Bantam in Java, but this was understood at the time to form a part of the neighbouring island of New Guinea. The Dutch continued their attempts to explore the unknown land, sending out in 1616 the ship *Endraght*, commanded by Dirk Hartog, which sailed along the west coast of Australia from lat. 26° 30′ to 23° S. This expedition left on an islet near Shark's Bay a record of its visit engraved on a tin plate, which was found there in 1801. The *Pera* and *Arnhem*, Dutch vessels from Amboyna, in 1618 explored the Gulf of Carpentaria, giving to its westward peninsula, on the side opposite to Cape York, the name of Arnhem Land. The name of Carpentaria was also bestowed on this vast gulf in compliment to Peter Carpenter, then governor of the Dutch East India Company. In 1627 the *Guldene Zeepard*, carrying Peter Nuyts to the embassy in Japan, sailed along the south coast from Cape Leeuwin, and sighted the whole shore of the Great Bight. But alike on the northern and southern seaboard, the aspect of New Holland, as it was then called, presented an uninviting appearance.

An important era of discovery began with Tasman's voyage of 1642. He, too, sailed from Batavia; but, first crossing the Indian Ocean to the Mauritius, he descended to the 44th parallel of S. lat., recrossing that ocean to the east. By taking this latter course he reached the island which now bears his name, but which he called Van Diemen's Land, after the Dutch governor of Batavia. In 1644 Tasman made another attempt, when he explored the northwest coast of Australia, from Arnhem Land to the 22nd degree of latitude, approaching the locality of Dirk Hartog's discoveries of 1616. He seems to have landed at Cape Ford, near Victoria River, also in Roebuck Bay, and again near Dampier's Archipelago. But the hostile attitude of the natives, whom he denounced as a malicious and miserable race of savages, prevented his seeing much of the new country; and for half a century after this no fresh discoveries were made.

The English made their first appearance on the Australian coast in 1688, when the northwestern shores were visited by the famous buccaneer Captain William Dampier, who spent five weeks ashore near Roebuck Bay. A few years later (1697) the Dutch organised another expedition under Vlamingh, who, first touching at Swan River on the west coast, sailed northward to Shark's Bay, where Hartog had been in 1616. Dampier, two years later, visited the same place, not now as a roving adventurer, but with a commission from the English admiralty to pursue his Australian researches. This enterprising navigator, in the narrative of his voyages, gives an account of the trees, birds, and reptiles he observed, and of his encounters with the natives. But he found nothing to invite a long stay. There was yet another Dutch exploring squadron on that coast in 1705, but the results were of little importance.

It was Captain Cook, in his voyages from 1769 to 1777, who communicated the most important discoveries, and first opened to European enterprise and

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settlement the Australasian coasts. In command of the bark *Endeavour*, 370 tons burden, and carrying 85 persons, amongst whom were Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, returning from the Royal Society's expedition to observe the transit of Venus, Cook visited both New Zealand and New South Wales. He came upon the Australian mainland in April, 1770, at a point named after Lieutenant Hicks, who first sighted it, on the shore of Gipps' Land, Victoria, S. lat., 38°, E. long. 148° 53′. From this point, in a coasting voyage not without peril when entangled in the barrier reefs of coral, the little vessel made its way up the whole length of the eastern sides of Australia, rounding Cape York, and crossing Torres Strait to New Guinea. In his second expedition of Australasian discovery, which was sent out in 1773, Cook's ship, the *Resolute*, started in company with the *Adventure*, commanded by Captain Furneaux. The two vessels separated, and Cook went to New Zealand, while Furneaux examined some parts of Tasmania and Bass Strait. The third voyage of Cook brought him, in 1777, both to Tasmania and to New Zealand.

WILLIAM DAMPIER
(1652-1715)

Next to Cook, twenty or thirty years after his time, the names of Bass and Flinders are justly honoured for continuing the work of maritime discovery he had so well begun. To their courageous and persevering efforts, begun at their private risk, is due the correct determination of the shape both of Tasmania and the neighbouring continent. The French admiral Entrecasteaux, in 1792, had made a careful examination of the inlets at the south of Tasmania, and in his opinion the opening between Tasmania and Australia was only a deep bay. It was Bass who discovered it to be a broad strait, with numerous small islands. Captain Flinders survived his friend Bass, having been associated with him in 1798 in this and other useful adventures. Flinders afterwards made a complete survey in detail of all the Australian coasts, except the west and northwest. He was captured, however, by the French during the war, and detained a prisoner in Mauritius for seven years.[b]

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOUTH WALES

New South Wales, the oldest of the Australian group, was founded in 1788. The more immediate reason for its occupation arose from the necessity of finding an outlet for British criminals, who, until that time, had been sent to America. On the 13th of May, 1787, the "first fleet," as it has ever since been called, consisting of eleven vessels, sailed from Portsmouth. In these 348 free persons — officers, guards, women, children, etc., were embarked, together with 504 male and 192 female prisoners. Captain Arthur Phillip,

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R.N., was in charge of the expedition, which arrived after a tedious voyage of eight months.

The first attempt to land was made at Botany Bay, so named by Sir Joseph Banks from the profusion of wild flowers abounding there. The harbour was found to be spacious, but exposed to easterly gales, and the land, where it was not swampy, was composed of sand hills. It did not seem to be suitable for a permanent settlement, and Captain Phillip determined to select another site. He soon fixed upon the promontory where Sydney now stands, and there he disembarked on the 26th of January, 1788. Immediately on his arrival, he endeavoured to make the infant settlement independent of supplies from Europe, but his first attempts to farm at Parramatta, then called Rose Hill, were unsuccessful.

Captain Phillip ruled with rare ability until 1792 — often under circumstances of considerable difficulty. He was succeeded by Captain John Hunter, R.N., a man of firm character and of generally sound judgment. If he had met with more loyal co-operation from his officers he might have effected greater good. A few free settlers arrived, and agriculture made some progress.

THE MUSEUM, COLLEGE STREET, SYDNEY

The rich district of the "Cow-pastures," about forty miles to the southwest of Sydney, was discovered by some cattle, which, having escaped from the herd, increased and multiplied. Two churches were built, one at Sydney and the other at Parramatta, the former being named St. Phillip — not in honour of the apostle, but of the first governor.

Captain Philip Gidley King was the third governor. Van Diemen's Land was now colonised as a penal settlement, and a futile attempt was made to settle at Port Phillip by Captain David Collins. Several free settlers arrived, and grants of farms upon the river Hawkesbury were made to them. For a time they prospered, but one of those floods, to which the rivers are so subject, destroyed £3,500 worth of produce. Danger of absolute starvation ensued, as this valley was the granary of the colony. Maize and flour sold at 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound. A 2 lb. loaf reached the price of 5*s.* For many months the inhabitants adopted stringent measures to restrict consumption. The growth of garden vegetables was encouraged, and sea-fishing was undertaken. The crisis had passed when Captain King's term of office expired. He left the colony in August, 1806.

Captain William Bligh, the hero of the mutiny of the *Bounty*, succeeded him. The fact that he had been unfortunate in his control of men should

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have warned the English government against his appointment to so difficult a charge as that of a penal settlement. Almost immediately upon his arrival he was involved in disputes with the officers of the New South Wales corps, whose conduct was in many respects open to censure. The measures which were adopted by Captain Bligh during the collision which ensued were, to say the least, ill-advised. The opposition to them culminated in an overt act of rebellion. The officers of the corps deposed him from his office on the 26th of January, 1808. He was placed on board the *Porpoise*, with the object of returning to England, but he lingered about Van Diemen's Land and the coast until the arrival of the newly appointed governor, Colonel Lachlan Macquarie.

The earlier difficulties of colonisation had now been surmounted. The state of the settlement was well described by Macquarie himself in his vindication of the policy from the aspersions cast upon him. He says that on his arrival:

"I found the colony barely emerging from infantile imbecility, and suffering from various privations and disabilities. The country impenetrable beyond forty miles from Sydney, agriculture in a yet languishing state, commerce in its early dawn, revenue unknown, threatened with famine, the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and mouldering to decay, the few roads and bridges formerly constructed rendered almost impassable, the population in general oppressed by poverty, no public credit or private confidence, the morals of the great mass of the populace in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost totally neglected. Such was the state of New South Wales when I took charge of its administration, on January 1st, 1810. I left it in February last (1821), reaping incalculable advantages from my extensive and important discoveries in all directions, including the supposed almost impassable barrier called the 'Blue Mountains,' to the westward of which are situated the fertile plains of Bathurst, and in all respects enjoying a state of private comfort and public prosperity which I trust will at least equal the expectation of his majesty's government." He goes on to say that in 1810 there were: population, 11,590, sheep, 25,888; cattle, 9,544; acres in cultivation, 7,615; and that in October, 1821, the population was 38,778; sheep, 290,158; cattle, 102,939; acres in cultivation, 32,267.

The means Macquarie adopted for the reformation and elevation of the prisoners formed matter for keen controversy. He invited to his table, and appointed as magistrates men from the convict population whom he supposed to be reformed. These and other marks of favour towards the emancipists were deeply resented by the free settlers and by the military, who then constituted society.

The controversy excited much interest in England, and Mr. John Bigge was sent out in 1819 with the fullest powers for investigation. Serious doubts were entertained in Downing Street, not only as to the wisdom of Macquarie's policy, but also whether transportation had not, in consequence of it, ceased to be a terror to evildoers. After an inquiry spread over two years, three separate reports were forwarded; a continuation of transportation was recommended, but several improvements in discipline were suggested. The governor's avowed patronage of prisoners was censured, and his liberality in the issue of pardons and indulgences was severely animadverted upon.

Governor Macquarie's financial policy had been rather singular. The balance of trade had caused a scarcity of coin. Private individuals were auth-

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orised to issue promissory notes for 5s., redeemable in copper. This "currency" was soon depreciated to the extent of 25 per cent. It was the origin of the slang term "currency," a name bestowed upon the native-born youth as contradistinguished from the "sterling," by which term the immigrant was known. Another expedient to prevent the exportation of the Spanish dollar, a coin then much in use, was to punch out the centre. The "dump" passed for 1*s*. 3*d*., and the remaining ring was declared to be still worth 5*s*. Old colonists were for many years familiar with the phrase the "holy dollar," but were not aware of the origin of it.[f]

ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION: GOLD AND SHEEP

Governor Macquarie was succeeded as governor in 1821 by Sir Thomas Brisbane, the distinguished astronomer, in whose administration (1822–25) the first legislative council met, trial by jury in criminal cases was substituted for trial by military juries, and the censorship of the press was abolished. A penal colony established at Moreton Bay in 1824 afterward developed into the colony of Queensland, the capital city of which was named from Governor Brisbane. In 1825 Sir Ralph Darling became governor and established many needed reforms, particularly in regard to the land system. It was during his administration that the movement to put an end to the system of convict transportation attained new force by the alliance of the governor with the exclusionists. In 1831 he was superseded by Sir Richard Bourke of whom it has been said that he revolutionised the whole system of government, and inaugurated a new era for the colony.

Free grants of land, excepting such as were for public purposes, were abolished, thus doing away with one of the greatest sources of fraud and discontent. The convict system was remodelled and regulated, abuses in "assignment" were rectified and the severity of punishments mitigated. The immigration of women was encouraged in order to remedy the defect due to the extraordinarily disproportionate numbers of men in the colony; a law providing for more liberal religious equality was enacted. In the six years of Governor Bourke's administration the population of New South Wales had almost doubled.

In 1838 Sir George Gipps became governor, remaining at the head of the colonial government until 1846. A violent temper and great obstinacy made the new governor unpopular in the extreme, but his administration was marked by great progress in many directions. It was a period of rapid growth in the new districts of Victoria (Australia Felix or Port Phillip) and in South Australia. The abolition of transportation in 1840 was followed by the encouragement of free immigration. In 1841 the population passed 130,000. Extravagant speculation, undue inflation, overtrading and overproduction led to a crisis which was precipitated by a fall in the price of wool in England and a severe drought in 1841–42. Land sales fell from £316,000 in 1840 to £90,000 in the following year, and in 1842 the sales barely defrayed the expenses of the survey.

Sir Charles Fitzroy was governor from 1846–1855. His administration was marked by several occurrences of importance. By 1851 the population of New South Wales had reached 190,000 while Victoria and South Australia aggregated about 80,000 inhabitants each.[a]

At Summerhill Creek, 20 miles north of Bathurst, in the Macquarie plains, gold was discovered, in February, 1851, by Edward Hammond Hargraves, an Australian gold miner returned from California. The

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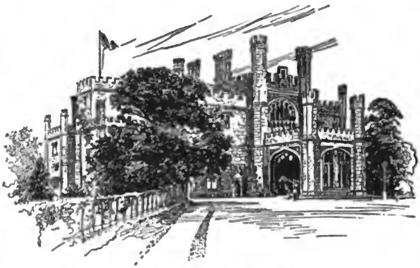
intelligence was made known in April or May; and then began a rush of thousands — men leaving their former employments in the bush or in the towns to search for the ore so greatly coveted in all ages. In August it was found at Anderson's Creek, near Melbourne; a few weeks later the great Ballarat gold field, 80 miles west of that city, was opened; and after that, Bendigo, now called Sandhurst, to the north. Not only in these lucky provinces, New South Wales and Victoria, where the auriferous deposits were revealed, but in every British colony of Australasia, all ordinary industry was left for the one exciting pursuit. The copper mines of South Australia were for the time deserted, while Tasmania and New Zealand lost many inhabitants, who emigrated to the more promising country. The disturbance of social, industrial, and commercial affairs, during the first two or three years of the gold era, was very great. Immigrants from Europe, and to some extent from North America and China, poured into Melbourne, where the arrivals in 1852 averaged 2,000 persons in a week. The population of Victoria was doubled in the first twelvemonth of the gold fever.[b]



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY

In the year of the gold discovery Victoria was established as an independent colony. Two years later (1853), the imperial parliament enacted as law the new constitution drawn up by the New South Wales legislative council which made the colony self-governing on a responsible representative basis.[a]

Any one, who had patiently studied the statistics of Australia during the opening years of the nineteenth century might have been puzzled to name the advantages which were likely to result from the foundation of the settlement. Yet there were, even at that time, causes in operation which were slowly securing success for the colony. In 1791 the same ship which had brought out a load of fever-stricken convicts carried a young man, John MacArthur, who had bought a commission in the corps which the government decided to form for New South Wales, and who was resolute to seek his fortune in the colony. Three years afterwards, when land was granted to officers, MacArthur purchased sixty Bengal ewes and lambs which had been imported from Calcutta, and two Irish ewes and a young ram. The Indian sheep produced coarse hair, but by crossing the two breeds, MacArthur had the satisfaction to see the lambs of the Indian ewes bear a mingled fleece of hair and wool. He had the perspicacity to infer from this circumstance that the climate of the colony was suited to the production of wool, and he had the courage to speculate on the conclusions which he formed. It so happened that a flock of Merino sheep was on sale at the Cape of Good Hope, that its value was not understood by the Dutch, and that an agent whom MacArthur

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employed succeeded in securing five ewes and three rams from among them. Taking every precaution to preserve the breed pure, MacArthur subsequently added to his flock 1,200 sheep which he purchased at the Cape. In 1801 he carried to England specimens of the wool which he had obtained from his flock; and in 1804 he succeeded in obtaining a grant of 5,000 acres of land and an assignment of convicts for the prosecution of his experiment. Confident as MacArthur was, he could hardly have foreseen, and he did not himself live to see, the full consequence of what he was doing. In 1800 New South Wales possessed 6,757 sheep, or probably as many sheep as there were people in the colony; in 1821 she had 120,000 sheep, or about three sheep for every person in the colony. In 1834, when the population had risen to between 50,000 and 60,000, the sheep had increased to 1,000,000. In 1839, when the population exceeded 100,000, the sheep numbered 3,000,000. In 1856 the colony contained 265,000 persons and 7,700,000 sheep. In the next twenty-five years the population was trebled, and the huge stock of sheep increased more than fourfold.j

Ministry succeeded ministry at short intervals, and it was some years before constitutional government worked smoothly. The powers of the new parliament were utilised for extending representative institutions. Vote by ballot was introduced; the number of members in the assembly was increased to 80, and the franchise was granted to every adult male after six months' residence in any electoral area. Meanwhile the material progress of the colony was unchecked.

During the *régime* of Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, who succeeded Sir William Denison in 1861, several important events occurred. The land policy of previous governments was entirely revised, and the Land Bill, framed by Sir John Robertson, introduced the principle of deferred payments for the purchase of crown lands, and made residence and cultivation, rather than a sufficient price, the object to be sought by the crown in alienating the public estate. This measure was followed by similar legislation in all of the Australian colonies. It was during the governorship of Sir John Young that the distinction between the descendants of convicts and the descendants of free settlers, hitherto maintained with great strictness, was finally abandoned. In 1862 the agitation against the Chinese assumed importance, and the attitude of the miners at Lambing Flat was so threatening that a large force, military and police was despatched to that gold-field in order to protect the Chinamen from ill treatment by the miners. The railways were gradually extended, and the condition of the country roads was improved. The only drawback to the general progress and prosperity of the country was the recrudescence of bushranging, or robbery under arms, in the country districts. This crime, originally confined to runaway convicts, was now committed by young men born in the colony, familiar with its mountains and forests, who were good horsemen and excellent shots. It was not until a large number of lives had been sacrificed, and many bushrangers brought to the scaffold, that the offence was thoroughly stamped out in New South Wales, only to reappear some years afterwards under somewhat similar conditions.

The earl of Belmore was governor from 1868 to 1872. Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord Rosmead, was sworn in as governor in 1872. During his rule the long series of political struggles, which prevented any administration from remaining in office long enough to develop its policy, was brought to an end by a coalition between Sir Henry Parkes and Sir John Robertson. Lord Augustus Loftus became governor in 1879, in time to inaugurate the first international exhibition ever held in Australia. The census taken during the

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following year gave the population of the colony as 751,468. The railway to Melbourne was completed in 1880; and in 1883 valuable deposits of silver were discovered at Broken Hill, near the western frontier of New South Wales.

In 1889 the premier, Sir Henry Parkes, gave his adhesion to the movement for Australasian federation, and New South Wales was represented at the first conference held at Melbourne in the beginning of 1890. Lord Jersey assumed office January 15, 1891, and a few weeks afterwards the conference to consider the question of federating the Australian colonies was held at Sydney. A board of arbitration and conciliation to hear and determine labour questions and disputes was formed and by later legislation its powers have been strengthened.[n] Sir William Duff, who followed Lord Jersey, died in 1895, and was succeeded by Lord Hampden, who in 1899 gave way to Earl Beauchamp. Federation was not so popular in New South Wales as in some of the colonies; and when the federation bill came before the people there was doubt as to the outcome, but those favouring the measure carried the day, and New South Wales entered the union.[a]

ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL AND HYDE PARK, SYDNEY

THE SETTLEMENT OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

When Van Diemen's Land, as the island of Tasmania was first called, was first occupied in 1803 it was intended to devote it to colonisation of the more dangerous criminals, particularly the Irish rebels of 1798. For almost a quarter of a century it was little but a convict settlement under the control of the governor of New South Wales, represented by a lieutenant-governor at Hobart Town. In 1810 the total population was only 1,300. Bushranging was rife, and there was no guarantee of safety to either life or property. In December, 1825, Van Diemen's Land, its population being then over 8,000, was separated from New South Wales and made a separate colony under the governorship of Sir George Arthur, who continued in control until 1836. He was an able man, and a strict and perhaps at times a rather autocratic disciplinarian. But strict discipline was exactly what the colony demanded and the administration of Governor Arthur marked the beginning of a new era for the island that was to prepare the way for the still better time to come when the convict transportation should cease. During this period too occurred the expeditions against the aborigines known as the Black War. This was an attempt to hem in by a cordon drawn across the island the remainder of the native tribes which had been giving trouble to the rapidly growing sheep raising communities. An inglorious campaign in which 3,500 regular and volunteer troops were employed resulted in the expenditure of £30,000 but nothing more. In 1837 conciliatory methods prevailed where force had failed and the remnants of the native population were removed *en masse* to Flinder's

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Island. Sir John Franklin of Arctic exploration fame, succeeded Sir George Arthur as governor in 1836 and free immigration soon commenced. For years the political history of Van Diemen's Land is confined almost exclusively to agitation against transportation. The system known as "assignment" was tried and failed. The introduction of "probation gangs" was infinitely worse. At length a league was formed with the other colonies and in 1853 this iniquitous system, so long a blot on the fair fame of Australia, was abolished. Even the old name of the island was changed to that of Tasmania in the effort to efface from memory the awful *régime* which the name of Van Diemen's Land must ever recall.[a]

THE CONVICT SYSTEM IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

It mattered little in earlier times whether the convict was located at Hobart Town, in the bleak and inhospitable regions of Macquarie Harbour, or later still at Port Arthur or on Maria Island — there was no material difference in the nature of the punishments inflicted on him, and it would be a stretch of the imagination to suppose that worse things have ever happened in Siberia. Weighted down with heavy chains, which made walking exceedingly difficult, the convict was required to toil in the woods or in the immediate neighbourhood of his prison, from day to day and month to month, without hope of his fetters ever being removed or the exactions upon his powers of physical endurance made less irksome or hard to bear. If he complained that he was too ill to continue with his gang, no relief was forthcoming. His physical weakness was called malingering, and his complainings only increased the brutality of his jailers and sent him to the triangle, where fifty lashes, and sometimes a hundred, upon his bared back and loins were applied as a preventive of any complaints in future. Flogging was resorted to sometimes for the most trivial breaches of prison discipline, and the cat was painfully in evidence upon many occasions when there was not the slightest justification for recourse to that method of punishment. Solitary confinement, for days and even weeks upon the most inadequate sustenance, was frequently the sequel to the barbarous lash, and if the convicts survived the trying ordeal, they emerged from it with a fixed determination to revenge themselves whenever they had a chance, by taking the lives of those whose cruelties had converted their hearts to stone and made them utterly reckless and desperate, careless of prolonged existence after the accomplishment of the deeds of vengeance they had resolved to perpetrate upon their inhuman persecutors. Many of them succumbed before they had the opportunity, and straight from the triangle to the dead-house was the last record of some who ceased to live before the full number of lashes could be inflicted upon them. It was an offence to some of the prison officials if a convict endured his flagellation unflinchingly, and then the cat was applied more ferociously to break his spirit and ensure submissiveness. But the cruellest part of the proceedings at these penal establishments was when a man was called upon to flog a fellow convict, and, if he refused to comply, straight away he was fastened to the triangle and as many lashes administered as suited the whim of the monster whose odious command had been disobeyed. Orders of this description, however, were sometimes given effect to by convicts of weaker spirit who dreaded the lash more than anything else, and if they displayed any merciful feelings by making their strokes lighter than it was considered they should be, they were instantly threatened with flagellation, and the force of their strokes was increased accordingly.

The discipline was so rigorous and the punishments so severe at these

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penal establishments, that instances occurred where convicts took each other's lives so that they themselves might suffer death, and suicide was by no means infrequent.

Incredible as it may seem, but only two well substantiated by positive testimony, incidents of this kind sometimes happened. Convicts, maddened to despair, brooded over the sufferings inflicted upon them, and seeing no possible means of escape, resolved to face death as the only release from tortures and agonies which were truly revolting. Utterly careless of their lives, three or four of these men who were subjected to treatment so diabolical would conspire amongst each other to put an end to sufferings which were beyond endurance. How was this to be accomplished? They decided the question in this way: they drew lots, and one of their number — the man who drew the shortest straw — was to be murdered by the others, so that they might be hanged for his murder. The man who drew the shortest straw was called the lucky one, and he was soon despatched out of his misery. There was no effort to deny how he had come by his death; self-accusation served the purpose of his murderers, and they were executed for a crime which they had arranged amongst themselves to commit in order that the scaffold might claim its voluntary victims. "Anywhere, anywhere out of the world," it mattered not how ignominiously, was a welcomed termination to their miserable and brutalised existence in the penal prisons of Van Diemen's Land. The instruments of torture at these places were various, and always too ready at hand: the iniquities of the Spanish Inquisition were perpetrated with impunity upon helpless victims, and the poor wretches courted death and met it voluntarily and unflinchingly, as though it had been a heaven-sent deliverance from their dreadful trials. It is with shame one has to admit that such things were not only possible under the convict system, but that they actually took place in the penal establishments of Van Diemen's Land and Australia until the exposure of these inhuman outrages led to their discontinuance. Had the British government and people of a past generation been sooner apprised of them, it is only just to their feelings of humanity to believe that drastic measures would have been taken at a much earlier period to punish those who were responsible for these atrocities, and to reform the transportation system.

George Street, Sydney

More convicts were sent to Van Diemen's Land than anywhere else;

the stations there were more romantically situated and isolated to an extent that removed them from public supervision, and permitted abuses to exist which might have been checked if Macquarie Harbour, for instance, had been nearer to the capital. Van Diemen's Land gained a greater notoriety than any other colony in connection with the system of transportation, and the desperate escapes which were made from its prisons invested the colony with a degree of interest and attention specially its own. The capital itself was a hotbed of all sorts of crime and iniquity in the days of Governor Sorell, one of the earliest governors, and for years afterwards. It was quite a common thing for officers and others to keep female convicts as their mistresses, and vice and immorality were the outcomes to be expected from a system which allowed free settlers and military men to make their own selection of "assigned prisoners" as servants. Free and bond appear to have been tarred with the same brush, if reliance can be placed on the early chroniclers of existing social conditions. The written pictures of life in Hobart Town indicate pretty clearly that the military portion of the population could do exactly what they pleased, and, as may be inferred, the morals of the place did not improve from this unbridled license. Drunkenness was very rampant, and illicit intercourse between bond and free was too general to be regarded as a subject for remonstrance or reproach. In those days murders and other personal outrages were of frequent occurrence, and floggings and hangings were spectacles that could be witnessed at intervals which were neither few nor far between. Occasionally, as many as six or eight condemned prisoners were launched into eternity upon the same morning; and, as far as floggings are concerned, the billets of the official flagellators were no sinecures. The victims were many, and the punishments unmercifully severe and sometimes fatal. In the prisons themselves, not only in Hobart Town, but at Macquarie Harbour, Port Arthur, and Maria Island, crimes were committed of a nature too revolting to be recounted in these pages. Any one desirous of perusing the unsavoury details need not go so far away as Sydney or Hobart to get nauseated with that kind of reading. All he has got to do is to refer to the evidence given before select committees of the house of lords and house of commons, and he will find that the convict system has never been too severely condemned, nor the brutalities and villainies practised under that system overdrawn for the purposes of sensationalism. The wonder is that these penal stations were not broken up long before the mandate went forth to abolish them.[c]

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The settlement of South Australia as a separate and distinct colony originated with a few gentlemen in London. Negotiations were opened with the imperial government in 1831 with a view to obtaining a charter giving certain concessions to the projectors. Possibly from the affair not being in proper hands in the first instance, the negotiations came to nought. They were resumed in 1834, when a meeting was held in Exeter Hall for discussing the principles on which the new colony was to be established. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, an advanced political economist for those days, had thought out a system of colonisation, which he maintained was the only true system possessing the elements of stability and success. His system was based on two principles: in all cases to sell the land for a fair and reasonable value, and to devote the proceeds to the introduction of labour from the mother country. He maintained that the worst thing that could happen

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to a new country was to give the land away in large blocks; and he found a striking illustration of this in the history of Western Australia. Grants of land of 20,000 or 50,000 acres had been made to favoured individuals, but they had turned out to be utterly worthless. The "fathers and founders" of the colony of South Australia resolved to start it on the principles laid down by Mr. Wakefield.

Now, the object of the originators of this colony of South Australia was to combine labour and capital. They who had money were to emigrate by means of their own resources, purchase land in limited blocks, as far as possible within given areas, and the money received for the land was to be used in bringing out labour. By this means it was believed there would be a healthy combination of capital and labour, and the population would be concentrated within certain surveyed districts, where the early settlers would be able to help one another.

At the outset it was resolved that the price of land should be 12*s*. an acre, to be increased after a fixed time to £1 per acre. Men of means would bring

POST OFFICE AND TOWN HALL, ADELAIDE

out their money, purchase land on which they would settle, and with the money paid for it immigrants would be introduced into the new settlements, whose labour would be available for working the land and making it productive. These preliminary points being settled, an application was made to the imperial parliament for an act, by an association of gentlemen calling themselves "The South Australian Association." In August of 1834 the act was passed. This act defined the limits of the new colony, gave power to persons approved by the privy council to frame laws, establish courts, appoint officers, chaplains, and clergymen of the Church of England or Scotland, and to levy duties and taxes. Three or four commissioners were to be appointed by the crown to carry the act into execution. The lands of the crown in the colony were to be surveyed and open for purchase by British subjects, or let on rent for three years — the purchase-money and rent to be employed in conducting the emigration of poor peasants from Great Britain or Ireland to the South Australian province or provinces.

One clause deserves to be specially mentioned, because to it the colony owes to a large extent the good order of its people and the security to life and property which have distinguished it from the very beginning. Clause

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22 provides "That no person or persons convicted in any court of justice in Great Britain or Ireland, or elsewhere, shall at any time, or under any circumstances, be transported as a convict to any place within the limits hereinbefore described."

In the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and more recently in Western Australia, the taint of convictism seriously deteriorated the pure stream of social and moral health of the community. The evils of this system of letting the penal scum and felonry of Great Britain into these new lands was known to the founders of South Australia, who were not ignorant of the early social life of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and they resolved that from the first hour of its history the new colony should be preserved from this fatal taint.[e]

The colony began its actual existence with the arrival at Holdfast Bay on December 28, 1836, of the first governor, Captain Hindmarsh and a company of settlers. Hindmarsh proved a poor administrator and in a little over a year was superseded by Colonel Gawler. The course of colonial progress in South Australia was similar to that in the other colonies. Speculation was followed by a period of distress and confusion. The prices of food products rose enormously: flour sold at £100 per ton. Colonel Gawler's policy of undertaking extensive public works to keep the unemployed busy was not approved by the colonial secretary and he was superceded by Captain, afterward Sir George Grey and at the same time the authority of the South Australian Company was abolished. Governor Grey's reforms were efficacious and ere long the colony was on a self supporting basis and growing rapidly. In the administration of Colonel Robe, who became governor in 1845, were made the important discoveries of copper at Kapunda and Burra Burra. Sir Henry Fox Young, who succeeded as governor in 1848, had to face the serious crisis growing out of the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851, the rush to the gold fields threatening for a time to depopulate the colony. But the increased prosperity of the succeeding years more than made up for the temporary set-back. In the year 1853 a new constitution establishing a responsible government on a representative basis was adopted, and although there were thirty-one changes of ministry in the succeeding twenty-two years it can be said to have worked satisfactorily.[a]

From its origin as the venture of private enterprise, South Australia has passed through orderly stages of evolution up to the zenith of democratic government. Such alterations as have been made in the constitution have been in the direction of a still further enlargement of the franchise. Payment of members proved to be the corollary of manhood suffrage. It was held that an unrestricted right of selection was unavailing if the area of selection was limited to the few who had been specially favoured by fortune. In 1887 a temporary act was passed for the payment of £200 a year to each member of both houses, and in 1890 the law was made permanent. Thus was rendered possible the direct representation of all classes. Soon afterwards the parliamentary labour party came into existence; this forms a considerable proportion of the membership of both houses, and includes in its ranks men of the highest intelligence, industry, and eloquence. In 1894 the principle of "one man vote" was extended to that of "one adult one vote" by the inclusion of women as voters on terms of absolute equality with men. Experience has demonstrated that, owing to the intrusion of the personal element, general elections have often failed to afford conclusive evidence of the state of the popular will. Attention has therefore been directed towards the referendum as a means of obtaining an unquestionable verdict on important public issues.

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Although no general statute had been formulated on the subject up to 1902, custom has definitely established the practice. Undoubtedly the practical application of the referendum in South Australia facilitated the adoption of this principle in the ratification and in the method of amendment of the commonwealth constitution. The right of the second chamber to suggest amendments to bills which it has not power to amend was borrowed by the commonwealth from the constitution of South Australia, as also was the idea of a simultaneous dissolution of both houses as a means of overcoming possible deadlocks between the chambers.

The existence of South Australia as a colony was co-terminous with the reign of Queen Victoria. The colony was established only a few months before the accession of that monarch, and South Australia ceased to be a colony by entering the commonwealth as a state within a few days of the close of the Victorian Age.[i]

VICTORIA

The early attempts to colonise the Victoria district were fruitless. Fears that the French contemplated a settlement in the region led the government to send Lieutenant Grimes to examine the country as early as 1802. He visited the site of the present city of Melbourne, but his report was unfavourable, as was that given by Colonel Collins who was dispatched thither in the succeeding year with instructions to found a settlement at Port Phillip and who returned without completing his mission. A number of similar failures are to be recorded during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The real founders of Victoria were undoubtedly the Hentys, sons of a Sussex banker who had gone out to Australia as members of the unfortunate Swan River Colony in 1829, and in 1834 established several sheep farms in the neighbourhood of the present Portland. In May, 1835, colonists from Van Diemen's Land established themselves at Geelong. In the August following, John P. Fawkner and his associates laid the foundation of Melbourne, which, after some hesitation, was recognised by the appointment of a magistrate by the Sydney government. In 1839 Governor Latrobe was appointed by the New South Wales government as its representative in what was then known as the Port Phillip district, holding office until he became the first governor of the colony of Victoria in 1851. The jealousy between the Sydney and Melbourne governments was intense and bitter for many years, and the former threw every obstacle in the way of the separation of Port Phillip. The justice of the demand was too apparent to be resisted however and in July, 1851, the Port Phillip district, renamed the colony of Victoria, began its independent existence. In 1851 the population of the colony aggregated 90,000. In the same year gold was discovered at Ballarat, and in 1852 the new settlers entering the colony numbered over 70,000. At the end of ten years (1861) the population was six times that of 1851. Local self-government was introduced in 1853, and responsible government established under a new constitution in 1855. In the same year discontent in the gold fields, due to an exorbitant license fee charged all miners culminated in an armed revolt. The difficulty was eventually overcome by the substitution of an export duty on gold for the licence fee.

The political history of Victoria was for some decades little more than the story of bitter struggles between the liberal, or democratic party, firmly ensconced in the lower branch of the legislature and the conservatives who controlled the council. The widest divergence has been upon the question of

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protection or free trade, the democratic assembly declaring for the former while the conservative council stood out firmly for the latter policy. So bitter was the struggle and so uncompromising were the partisans, that on several occasions all legislation came to an end and the whole fabric of society

GRAMMAR SCHOOL, MELBOURNE

was shaken to its foundations. In 1891 began an era in which the collectivist idea dominated the legislation to an unprecedented degree. The principle of "one man one vote" was established: old age pensions and "eight hour" laws enacted, and tribunals for fixing a minimum wage provided.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The earliest settlement in Western Australia was made in 1825 by Major Lockyer who was despatched thither with a company of convicts to head off a threatened French occupation. In three years the settlers returned to New South Wales. In 1827 Captain (Sir James) Sterling reported favourably on the availability of the Swan River region, and in 1829 he was sent out as lieutenant-governor of a new colony established under the auspices of an association of London promoters. But the colony did not prosper.[a] The fault was an ignorance of the first principles of colonisation. Vast tracts of land were sold or granted to individuals. The colony was to be exempted as a favour, from any importation of convicts. The settlers were to be allowed 200 acres of land for every labouring man, woman, or child above ten years of age, that they should import into the colony; and forty acres of land were given for every amount of £3 imported into the settlement in any shape. Thus land superabounded in proportion to capital, and the capital brought in, though so scanty in proportion to the land, abounded in proportion to the labour. The richest of the colonists could obtain no labourers; and they sat down upon their lands, surrounded by their rotting goods, their useless tools, and the frames of houses which there were no hands to erect — without shelter, and certain soon to be without food, if more labour could not be obtained. Instead of more, there was daily less, as the few labourers who were on the spot made use of their first exorbitant earnings to possess them-

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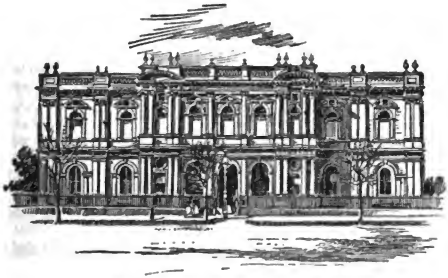
selves of enough of the cheap land to make them their own masters. They made up their minds that the secret of the success of other settlements, pitied for their liability to convict immigration, was in their convict labour; and the Swan River colonists petitioned the government at home to send them convicts to save them from destruction. Some of the settlers wandered away, as they could find opportunity, to other colonies, stripped of everything or carrying the mere wrecks of their expensive outfit.[g]

In 1849 the entire population was only 4,622. In the following year the prayer of the colonists that the colony be made a penal settlement was acceded to by the imperial government, and during the ensuing eighteen years over 10,000 convicts were transported. In 1868 at the unanimous request of the other Australian colonies th- transportation ceased. Until this was done the colony made no material progress. In 1870 under the energetic governorship of Sir Frederick Weld a new era in colonial progress was inaugurated. A systematic exploration of the interior was undertaken and surveys made for railroad and telegraph lines. The discovery of gold at Kimberley in 1882 and at Yilgarn in 1887 still further added to the progress of the colony. In October, 1890, the colony was granted a new constitution providing a responsible representative government. Sir John Forrest who had served the colony well as one of the pioneers in opening up the interior, and later as the principal champion of the self-government movement became its first premier, and guided the colony safely into the confederation. The progress made during the decade of his premiership is evidenced by the growth in population which increased from 45,290 in 1890 to 195,000 in 1900.

QUEENSLAND

The history of Queensland dates from the planting of a penal colony at Moreton Bay (Brisbane) in 1824. It proved almost impossible however to attract free settlers to the colony, and little by little the penal station fell into



PUBLIC LIBRARY, MELBOURNE, VICTORIA

disuse. In 1841 there were only 200 people in the settlement. By 1842 it was practically deserted. In that year it was declared open to free settlers only, and a slight immigration took place. In 1844 there was a considerable group of "squatter" stations about Moreton Bay and on the Darling Downs,

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and the future prosperity of the region as a stock raising community had begun. By 1849 there were in the colony 72,000 cattle and over a million sheep. By 1859 the population of the district had reached 25,000 and despite the protests of New South Wales it was constituted an independent colony under the name of Queensland. A constitution conferring all the rights and privileges of self-government was granted and Sir George Bowen became the first governor. The first premier, Mr. Robert George Wyndham Herbert, held office continuously until 1866, during which period the north and west interiors were rapidly opened to settlement. The collapse of a government loan in 1866 during the brief ministry of Mr. Arthur Macalister, precipitated a panic, and an easily quelled revolt among the workers on the railroads. The discovery of gold at Gympie in 1867 was followed by a big "rush" to the region and prosperity was restored. Sugar planting, begun in 1862, became one of the leading industries of the colony, but led to the introduction of coolie and Kanaka labourers. Their restriction and control has since become one of the burning questions of Queensland politics. The decade, 1890–1900, was chiefly notable for the rise of the labour party as a power in politics, and the disappearance of the "squatter" as a dominant factor.[a]

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION: CHINESE EXCLUSION

The history of Australia since 1873 is mainly comprised in its industrial progress, for, with the exception of the advent of the labour party and the federation government, there have been no occurrences of such political importance as to call for special mention. The four eastern states had the privilege of responsible government bestowed on them at various dates between 1855 and 1860. After the establishment of responsible government the main questions at issue were the secular as opposed to the religious system of public instruction, protection as opposed to a revenue tariff, vote by ballot, manhood suffrage, abolition of transportation and assignment of convicts, and free selection of lands before survey; these, and indeed all the great questions upon which the country was divided, were settled before the year 1873. With the disposal of these important problems, politics in Australia became a struggle for office between men whose political principles were very much alike, and the tenure of power enjoyed by the various governments did not depend upon the principles of administration so much as upon the personal fitness of the head of the ministry, and the acceptability of his ministry to the members of the more popular branch of the legislature. For the most part, therefore, the history of the colonies is a catalogue of their domestic events, such a thing as a foreign policy being quite unknown. The leading politicians of all the states have felt the cramping effects of mere domestic legislation, albeit on the proper direction of such legislation depends the well being of the people, and to this sense of the limitations of local politics was due, as much as to anything else, the movement towards federation.

Taking the states as a whole, agrarian legislation has been the most important subject that has engrossed the attention of their parliaments, and every state has been more or less engaged in tinkering with its land laws. The main object of all such legislation is to secure the residence of the owners on the land. The object of settlers, however, in a great many, perhaps in the majority of instances, is to dispose of their holdings as soon as possible after the requirements of the law have been complied with, and to avoid permanent settlement. This has greatly facilitated the formation of large

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estates devoted chiefly to grazing purposes, contrary to the policy of the legislature, which has everywhere sought to encourage tillage, or tillage joined to stock rearing, and to discourage large holdings. The importance of the land question is so great that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it is usual for every parliament of Australia to have before it a proposal to alter or amend its land laws. Since 1870 there have been four radical changes made in New South Wales. In Victoria the law has been altered five times, and in Queensland and South Australia six times.

Apart from the settlement of agrarian questions, recent Australian politics have concerned themselves with the prevention or regulation of the influx of coloured races, the prevention or settlement of labour disputes, and federation. The agitation against the influx of Chinese commenced very soon after the gold discoveries, the European miners objecting strongly to the presence of these aliens upon the diggings. The allegations made concerning the Chinese really amounted to a charge of undue industry. The Chinese were hard working and had the usual fortune attending those who work hard. They spent little on drink or with the storekeepers and were therefore by no means popular. The Chinese difficulty, so far as the mining population was concerned, was solved by the exhaustion of the extensive alluvial deposits. The nearness of China to Australia always appeared to the Australian democracy as a menace to the integrity of the white settlements; but the absence of any federal authority made common action difficult.

In 1888 an important conference on the Chinese question held in Sydney and attended by delegates from all the states, resolved that the number of Chinese privileged to land should be so limited as to prevent the people of that race from ever becoming an important element in the community. The New South Wales parliament ultimately passed a law which in some respects went much beyond the agreement arrived at. Under the New South Wales law masters of vessels were forbidden to bring to the colony more than one Chinese to every 300 tons, and a poll-tax of £100 is charged on every Chinese landing. In Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia no poll-tax was imposed, but masters of vessels may bring only one Chinese to every 500 tons burden. West Australian legislation was until recently similar to that of the three last-named states, but has now been superseded by the Coloured Immigrants Restriction Act. Tasmania allows one Chinese passenger to every 100 tons, and imposes a poll-tax of £10. These stringent regulations have had the effect of greatly restricting the influx of Chinese, but in spite of all precautions there is still some immigration. The only other alien race present in large numbers in Australia are the Polynesians in Queensland, where they number about 9000. Of late years there has been an influx of Hindus and other Eastern races. But a very large proportion of the Asiatics, whose entrance into the colonies it was desired to stop, were British subjects, and the imperial government refused to sanction any measure directly prohibiting in plain terms the movement of British subjects from one part of the empire to another. Eventually, the difficulty was overcome by the application of an educational test to the coloured races seeking admission to the states, whereby they are required to write out in some European language an application for permission to enter the colony in which they propose to reside. The agitation which this restrictive legislation caused was promoted and kept alive almost entirely by the trades unions, and was the first legislative triumph of the labour party, albeit that party was not at the time directly represented in parliament.

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THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The labour movement in Australia may be traced back to the early days when transportation was in vogue, and the free immigrant and the time-expired convict objected to the competition of the bond labourer. The great object of these early struggles being attained, labour directed its attention mainly to securing shorter hours. It was aided very materially by the dearth of workers consequent on the gold discoveries, when every man could command his own price. When the excitement consequent on the gold finds had subsided, there was a considerable reaction against the claims of labour, and this was greatly helped by the congested state of the labour market; but the principle of an eight-hours day made progress, and was conceded in several trades. In the early years of the seventies the colonies entered upon an era of well-being, and for about twelve years every man, willing to work and capable of exerting himself, readily found employment. The labour unions were able to secure in these years many concessions both as to hours and wages. In 1873 there was an important rise in wages, in the following years there were further advances. For five years thereafter these high wages ruled; but in 1886 there was a sharp fall, though wages still remained very good.

In 1888 there was an advance, and again in 1889. In 1890 matters were on the eve of a great change and wages fell, in most cases to a point 20 per cent. below the rates of 1885. In 1893 came the bank crisis and great restriction in trade. Almost the first effect of this restriction was a reduction in wages, which touched their lowest in 1895, and fell to a point below that of any year since 1850. Since then there has been a marked recovery, and wages stood in 1900 at about the same level as in 1873. During the whole period from 1873 onwards, prices, other than of labour, have been steadily tending downwards, so that the cost of living in 1900 was much below that of 1873. Taking everything into consideration the reduction was, perhaps, not less than 40 per cent., so that though the nominal or money wages in 1873 and 1900 were the same, the actual wages were much higher in the latter year. Much of the improvement in the lot of the wage earners has been due to the labour organizations, yet so late as 1881 these organizations were of so little account, politically, that when the law relating to trades unions was passed in New South Wales, the English law was followed, and it was simply enacted that the purposes of any trades union shall not be deemed unlawful (so as to render a member liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise) merely by reason that they are in restraint of trade. After the year 1884 labour troubles became very frequent, the New South Wales coal miners in particular being at war with the colliery owners during the greater part of the six years intervening between then and what is called the Great Strike. The strong downward tendency of prices made a reduction of wages imperative; but the labouring classes failed to recognize any such necessity, and strongly resented any reductions proposed by employers. It was hard indeed for a carter drawing coal to a gasworks to recognise the necessity which compelled a reduction in his wages because wool had fallen 20 per cent. Nor were other labourers, more nearly connected with the producing interests, satisfied with a reduction of wages because produce had fallen in price all round. Up to 1889 wages held their ground, although work had become more difficult to obtain, and some industries were being carried on without any profit.

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THE GREAT STRIKE OF 1890

It was at such an inopportune time that the most extensive combination of labour yet brought into action against capital formulated its demands. A strike of the Newcastle miners, after lasting twenty-nine weeks, came to an end in January, 1890, and throughout the rest of the year there was great unrest in labour circles. On September 6th the silver mines closed down, and a week later a conference of employers issued a manifesto which was met next day by a counter-manifesto of the Intercolonial Labour Conference, and almost immediately afterwards by the calling out of 40,000 men. The time chosen for the strike was the height of the wool season, when a cessation of work would be attended with the maximum of inconvenience. Sydney was the centre of the disturbance, and the city was in a state of industrial siege, feeling running to dangerous extremes. Riotous scenes occurred both in Sydney and on the coal fields, and a large number of special constables were sworn in by the government. Towards the end of October 20,000 shearers were called out, and many other trades, principally concerned with the handling or shipping of wool, joined the ranks of the strikers, with the result that the maritime and pastoral industries throughout the whole of Australia were most injuriously disturbed. The "Great Strike," as it was called, terminated early in November 1890, the employers gaining a decisive victory. The colonies were, however, to have other and bitter experiences of strikes before labour recognized that of all means for settling industrial disputes strikes are, on the whole, the most disastrous that it can adopt.

One result of the strike of 1890 was the planting of a colony of communistic Australians in South America. Another effect of the Great Strike was in a more practical direction. New South Wales was the first country which endeavored to settle its labour grievances through the ballot-box and to send a great party to parliament as the direct representation of labour, pledged to obtain through legislation what it was unable to obtain by strikes and physical force. Several attempts had been made by individuals belonging to the labour party to enter the New South Wales parliament, but it was not until 1891 that the occurrence of a general election gave the party the looked-for opportunity for concerted action. The results of the election came as a complete surprise to the majority of the community. The labour party captured 35 seats out of a house of 125 members; and as the old parties almost equally divided the remaining seats, and a fusion was impossible, the labour representatives dominated the situation. It was not long, however, before the party itself became divided on the fiscal question; and a protectionist government coming into power, about half the labour members gave it consistent support and enabled it to maintain office for about three years, the party as a political unit being thus destroyed. The events of these three years taught the labour leaders that a parliamentary party was of little practical influence unless it was able to cast on all important occasions a solid vote, and to meet the case a new method was devised. The party therefore determined that they would refuse to support any person standing in the labour interests who refused to pledge himself to vote on all occasions in such way as the majority of the party might decide to be expedient. This was called the "solidarity pledge," and, united under its sanction, what was left of the labour party contested the general election of 1894. The result was a defeat, their numbers being reduced from 35 to 19, but a signal triumph was won for solidarity. Very few of the members who refused to take the

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pledge were returned, and the adherents of the united party were able to accomplish more with their reduced number than under the old conditions.

The movement towards forming a parliamentary labour party was not confined to New South Wales; on the contrary, it was common to all the colonies except West Australia, and its greatest triumphs have been achieved in New Zealand and South Australia. Like the organisation in New South Wales, the labour party of South Australia owes its origin to the failure of the Great Strike of 1890. In that year the Trades and Labour Council of Adelaide summoned a conference of labour representatives, at which a proposal for the formation of a parliamentary party was drawn up and adopted. The political programme of the new party was comprehensive and popular, and almost immediately on its adoption three representatives of labour won seats in the second chamber (legislative council), and at the ensuing general election of 1893 the party secured 8 seats in the assembly out of a total of 54, and 6 out of 24 in the council, thereby gaining a controlling vote in both

BOURKE STREET, MELBOURNE

houses. In 1900 it controlled 12 votes in the popular house and 8 in the council. The members of the South Australian labour party differ in one important respect from those of New South Wales. They are all persons who have worked for their living at manual labour, and this qualification of being an actual worker is one that was strongly insisted upon at the formation of the party and strictly adhered to, although the temptation to break away from it and to accept as candidates persons of superior education and position has been very great. In Victoria the labour party has not been so conspicuous as in New South Wales and South Australia. The members of the Victorian assembly are not divided into such distinct parties as are the members of the popular houses of the other colonies, and the labour party has therefore not been able to determine the real balance of power. In Queensland the labour party numbered, in 1900, 21 out of 72 members in the elective branch of parliament, a larger proportion than in any other state; but only for a brief period [toward the close of 1899] have parties been so evenly divided as to give the labour party the balance of power.

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FEDERATION

The question of federation was not lost sight of by the framers of the original constitution which was bestowed upon New South Wales. In the report of the committee of the legislative council appointed in 1852 to prepare a constitution for that colony [an intercolonial assembly was suggested]. But it was not until the necessities of the colonies forced them to it that an attempt was made to do what the framers of the original constitution suggested. Federation at no time actually dropped out of sight, but it was not until thirty-five years later that any practical steps were taken towards its accomplishment. Meanwhile a sort of makeshift was devised, and the imperial parliament passed a measure permitting the formation of a federal council, to which any colony that felt inclined to join could send delegates. Of the seven colonies New South Wales and New Zealand stood aloof from the council, and from the beginning it was therefore shorn of a large share of the prestige that would have attached to a body speaking and acting on behalf of a united Australia. The council had also a fatal defect in its constitution. It was merely a deliberative body, having no executive functions and possessing no control of funds or other means to put its legislation in force. Its existence was well-nigh forgotten by the people of Australia until the occurrence of its biennial meetings, and even then but slight interest was taken in its proceedings. The council held eight meetings, at which many matters of intercolonial interest were discussed. In 1889 Sir Henry Parkes addressed the other premiers on the desirability of a federal union for purposes of defence. The immediate result was a conference at Parliament House, Melbourne, of representatives from each of the seven colonies. This conference adopted an address submitting certain resolutions which affirmed the desirability of an early union, under the crown, of the Australiasian colonies, and provided that steps should be taken for the appointment of delegates to a national Australasian convention, to consider and report upon an adequate scheme for a federal convention. In accordance with this understanding, the various Australasian parliaments appointed delegates to attend a national convention to be held in Sydney. On the 2nd of March, 1891, the convention held its first meeting. Sir Henry Parkes was elected president, and he moved a series of resolutions embodying the principles necessary to establish the structure of a federal government.

On the 31st of March Sir Samuel Griffith, as chairman of the committee on constitutional machinery, brought up a draft Constitution Bill, which was carefully considered by the convention in committee of the whole and adopted on the 9th of April, when the convention was formerly dissolved. The bill, however, fell absolutely dead. Not because it was not a good bill, but because the movement out of which it arose had not popular initiative, and therefore failed to reach the popular imagination. Even its authors recognized the apathy of the people, and parliamentary sanction to its provisions was not sought in any colony.

Although the bill of 1891 was not received by the people with any show of interest, the federation movement did not die out; on the contrary, it had many enthusiastic advocates, especially in the colony of Victoria. In 1894 an unofficial convention was held at Corowa, at which the cause of federation was strenuously advocated, but it was not until 1895 that the movement obtained new life, by reason of the proposals adopted at a meeting of premiers convened by Mr. G. H. Reid of New South Wales. At

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this meeting all the colonies except New Zealand were represented, and it was agreed that the parliament of each colony should be asked to pass a bill enabling the people to choose ten persons to represent the colony in a federal convention; the work of such convention being the framing of a federal constitution to be submitted to the people for approval by means of the referendum. During the year 1896 Enabling Acts were passed by New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and West Australia, and delegates were elected by popular vote in all the colonies named except West Australia, where the delegates were chosen by parliament. The convention met in Adelaide on the 22nd of March 1897, and, after drafting a bill for the consideration of the various parliaments, adjourned until the 2nd of September. On that date the delegates reassembled in Sydney, and debated the bill in the light of the suggestions made by the legislatures of the federating colonies. In the course of the proceedings it was announced that Queensland desired to come within the proposed union; and in view of this development, and in order to give further opportunity for the consideration of the bill, the convention again adjourned. The third and final session was opened in Melbourne on the 20th of January, 1898, but Queensland was still unrepresented; and, after further consideration, the Draft Bill was finally adopted on the 16th of March and remitted to the various colonies for submission to the people. In its main provisions the bill of 1898 followed generally that of 1891, yet with some very important alterations.

POST OFFICE, SYDNEY

The constitution was accepted by Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania by popular acclamation, but in New South Wales very great opposition was shown, the main points of objection being the financial provisions, equal representation in the senate, and the difficulty in the way of the larger states securing an amendment of the constitution in the event of a conflict with the smaller states. As far as the other colonies were concerned, it was evident that the bill was safe, and public attention throughout Australia was fixed on New South Wales, where a fierce political contest was raging, which it was recognised would decide the fate of the measure for the time being. The fear was as to whether the statutory number of 80,000 votes necessary for the acceptance of the bill would be reached. This fear proved to be well founded, for the result of the referendum in New South Wales showed 71,595 votes in favour of the bill and 66,228 against it, and it was accordingly

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lost. In Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia, on the other hand, the bill was accepted by triumphant majorities. West Australia did not put it to the vote, as the Enabling Act of that colony only provided for joining a federation of which New South Wales should form a part. The existence of such a strong opposition to the bill in the mother colony convinced even its most zealous advocates that some changes would have to be made in the constitution before it could be accepted by the people; consequently, although the general election in New South Wales, held six or seven weeks later, was fought on the federal issue, yet the opposing parties seemed to occupy somewhat the same ground, and the question narrowed itself down to one as to which party should be entrusted with the negotiations to be conducted on behalf of the colony, with a view to securing a modification of the objectionable features of the bill. The new parliament decided to adopt the procedure of again sending the premier, Mr. Reid, in conference, armed with a series of resolutions affirming its desire to bring about the completion of federal union, but asking the other colonies to agree to the reconsideration of the provisions which were most generally objected to in New South Wales. The other colonies interested were anxious to bring the matter to a speedy termination, and readily agreed. Accordingly a premiers' conference was held in Melbourne at the end of January, 1899, at which Queensland was for the first time represented. At this conference a compromise was effected; something was conceded to the claims of New South Wales, but the main principles of the bill remained intact. The bill as amended was submitted to the electors of each colony and again triumphantly carried in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. In New South Wales and Queensland there were still a large number of persons opposed to the measure, which was nevertheless carried in both colonies. New South Wales having decided in favour of federation, the way was clear for a decision on the part of West Australia. The Enabling Bill passed the various stages in the parliament of that colony, and the question was then submitted by way of referendum to the electors. The result of the voting (in five colonies in 1899, and in West Australia in 1900) was as follows:—

New South Wales, for 107,420 against 82,741; Victoria, for 152,653 against 9,804; Queensland, for 35,181 against 28,965; South Australia, for 65,990 against 17,053; West Australia (1900), for 44,704 against 19,691; Tasmania, for 13,437 against 791.

In accordance with this verdict, the Colonial Draft Bill was submitted to the imperial government for legislation as an imperial act.

Under an act of the British parliament, dated July 9th, 1900, passed under the auspices of Mr. Chamberlain, secretary of state for the colonies, a proclamation was issued, September 17th of the same year, declaring that, on and after the 1st of January, 1901, the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and West Australia should be united in a federal commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. The act which gave authority for the issue of this proclamation embodied and established (with such variations as had been accepted on behalf of the colonies) the constitution agreed to at the premiers' conference of 1899. It was cordially welcomed in the mother country, and finally became law amid signs of general approval. The difficulties arose with regard to the right of appeal to the queen in council. By clause 74 of the original bill this right was very seriously curtailed; Mr. Chamberlain wished to preserve it as in the case of Canada, while, in order to disarm colonial opposition, he suggested that the judicial committee of the privy council should be

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strengthened by the appointment of four colonial members with the rank of lords of appeal.[d] A compromise was, however, ultimately agreed upon by which in cases involving non-Australian interests the right of appeal should be fully maintained, while, in questions between the commonwealth and a single state, or between two states, leave to appeal might be given by the high court of Australia. The commonwealth was successfully inaugurated in 1901 with Lord Hopetoun, who had won golden opinions as governor of Victoria a few years before, as governor-general, and with Mr. Barton, who had taken the lead among the Australian delegates in making the constitution, as prime minister. Lord Hopetoun was succeeded in 1903 by Lord Tennyson, and he in turn in 1904 by Lord Northcote. Mr. Barton remained prime minister until 1903, when he resigned to become a judge of the high court. He was succeeded by Mr. Deakin. In April, 1904, a labour ministry under Mr. Watson came into power, but in August gave way to a liberal ministry under Mr. Reid. In the following July Mr. Deakin again became prime minister. The new system has not always given satisfaction, but it seems to work more smoothly as time goes on.[a]

Provisions of the Commonwealth Act

The provisions of the Commonwealth Act passed in 1900 were as follows: The six colonies entering the commonwealth were denominated original states, and new states might be admitted, or might be formed by separation from or union of two or more states or parts of states; and territories (as distinguished from states) might be taken over and governed under the legislative power of the commonwealth. The legislative power is vested in a federal parliament, consisting of the sovereign, a senate, and a house of representatives, the sovereign being represented by a governor-general. The senate was to consist of the same number of members (not less than six) for each state, the term of service being six years, but subject to an arrangement that half the number would retire every three years. The house of representatives was to consist of members chosen in the different states in numbers proportioned to their population, but never fewer than five. The first house of representatives was to contain seventy-five members. For elections to the senate the governors of states, and for general elections of the house of representatives the governor-general, would cause writs to be issued. The senate would choose its own president, and the house of representatives its speaker; each house would make its own rules of procedure; in each, one-third of the number of members would form a quorum; the members of each must take oath, or make affirmation of allegiance; and all alike would receive an allowance of £400 a year. The legislative powers of the parliament have a wide range, many matters being transferred to it from the colonial parliaments. The more important subjects with which it deals are trade, shipping, and railways; taxation, bounties, the borrowing of money on the credit of the commonwealth; the postal and telegraphic services; defence, census, and statistics; currency, coinage, banking, bankruptcy; weights and measures; copyright, patents, and trade marks; marriage and divorce; immigration and emigration; conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. Bills imposing taxation or appropriating revenue must not originate in the senate, and neither taxation bills nor bills appropriating revenue for the annual service of the government may be amended in the senate, but the senate may return such bills to the house of representatives with a request for their amendment. Appropriation laws must not deal with other matters.

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Votes for the appropriation of the revenue shall not pass unless recommended by the governor-general. The constitution requires the assent of the sovereign to all laws. The executive power is vested in the governor-general, assisted by an executive council appointed by himself. He has command of the army and navy, and appoints federal ministers and judges. The ministers are members of the executive council and must be, or within three months of their appointment must become, members of the parliament. The judicial powers are vested in a high court and other federal courts, and the federal judges hold office for life or during good behaviour. The high court has appellate jurisdiction in cases from other federal courts and from the supreme courts of the states, and it has original jurisdiction in matters arising under laws made by the federal parliament, in disputes between states, or residents in different states, and in matters affecting the representatives of foreign powers. Special provisions were made respecting appeals from the high court to the sovereign in council. The constitution set forth elaborate arrangements for the administration of finance and trade during the transition period following the transference of departments to the commonwealth.

The constitution, parliament, and laws of each state, subject to the federal constitution, retained their authority; state rights were carefully safeguarded, and an inter-state commission was given powers of adjudication and of administration of the laws relating to trade, transport, and other matters. Provision was made for necessary alteration of the constitution of the commonwealth, but so that no alteration could be effected unless the question had been directly submitted to, and the change accepted by, the electorate in the states. The seat of government was to be within New South Wales, not less than 100 miles distant from Sydney, and of an area not less than 100 square miles. Until other provision was made, the governor-general was to have a salary of £10,000, paid by the commonwealth.

The federal system has proved as satisfactory as could perhaps be reasonably expected. There has, however, been considerable friction at times between the central government and separate states. Late in 1905 New South Wales expressed dissatisfaction because the question of the capital had not been settled, and in 1907 the same state came in conflict with the commonwealth over the question of federal taxation of state imports. In 1906 West Australia threatened to secede because the central government had failed to order a survey for a transcontinental railway. The problem of national defence and the question of taking over debts contracted by the separate states prior to the union are among the important questions now attracting attention.[a]

New Zealand

The first European discoverer of New Zealand was the famous Dutch navigator, Tasman, who sailed about the islands in 1642, but it remained practically unknown until 1769, when Captain Cook made a careful examination of its coast. He visited the islands several times, and introduced pigs, fowls, and several European vegetables. From Cook's final voyage in 1777 to 1814 little is known of it, but during this period a few white men, mostly shipwrecked sailors and runaway convicts from Australia, settled along its coasts. In 1814 Rev. Samuel Marsden, colonial chaplain of New South Wales, established the first mission in the islands at the Bay of Islands. Other missions, both Catholic and Protestant, were soon formed, and in thirty years a great

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part of the native Maori population had at least nominally accepted Christianity.

The country had been officially declared a possession of Great Britain as early as 1787, but fifty years elapsed before a systematic attempt at colonisation was made. In 1837 the New Zealand Association was formed under the auspices of Lord Durham, and largely through the exertion of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, upon whose "system" South Australia was established. This association failed in obtaining a charter for colonising because of the hesitating policy of the ministry, but it awakened interest in the colonisation movement. A second organisation was formed by the resourceful Wakefield in 1839, known as the New Zealand Land Company, with Lord Durham as governor. Wakefield determined not to risk another failure, therefore, in the name of the new company the ship *Tory* was secretly despatched to the islands with a company of colonists under Col. Wm. Wakefield, a brother of the promoter. By him the settlement of Wellington was formed. The colony of New Zealand thus came into existence independent of crown authority. The hands of the government being forced it proceeded to attach the settlements in New Zealand to the colony of New South Wales with Captain William Hobson as resident lieutenant-governor. There was some conflict between the land company's settlers and Governor Hobson, but they ultimately recognised his authority. In February, 1840, an assembly of Maori chiefs at Waitangi acknowledged their submission to the British crown. In the following September, Governor Hobson hoisted the British flag over the newly founded town of Aukland, which in 1841 became the capital of the colony.

JAMES COOK
(1728-1779)

May 3, 1841, New Zealand was proclaimed a separate crown colony. The early history of the colony is a long and tedious tale of quarrels over land titles between the land company, later settlers, and Maori chiefs. Hostilities between the settlers and natives were inevitable. One of the most serious wars was that led by Hone Heke in 1845. Other and more serious revolts occurred in 1863 and 1864, the suppression of which was accomplished only by the aid of several regiments of British troops and the co-operation of warships. An imperial act granted the colony representative government in 1852. Gold was discovered in 1862 and the colony grew rapidly. A new immigration policy adopted in 1870 still further stimulated the growth. The population leaped from 267,000 in 1871 to 501,000 in 1881.[a]

HISTORY, 1882-1902

Between 1882 and 1902 five governors represented the crown in New Zealand. Of these Sir Arthur Gordon quitted the colony in June, 1882. His

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successor, Sir William Drummond Jervois, arrived in January, 1883, and held office until March, 1889. The earl of Onslow, who followed, landed in June, 1889, and resigned in February, 1892. The next governor, the earl of Glasgow, remained in the colony from June, 1892, to February, 1897, and was succeeded in August of the last-mentioned year by the earl of Ranfurly. The cabinets which administered the affairs of the colony during these years were those of Sir Frederick Whitaker, Sir Harry Atkinson (3), Sir Robert Stout (2), Mr. Ballance, and Mr. Seddon. Except in one disturbed month, August, 1884, when there were three changes of ministry in eighteen days, executives were more stable than in the colony's earlier years. The party headed by Mr. Ballance and Mr. Seddon held office without a break for more than eleven years, a result mainly due to the general support given to its agrarian and labour policy by the smaller farmers and the working classes.

The industrial history of New Zealand during these two decades may be divided into two unequal periods. Thirteen lean years — marked, some of them by great depression — were followed by seven years of prosperity. The colony, which in 1882 was under a cloud, has not often been busier and more self-confident than in 1902. A division into two periods also marks the political history of the same time; but here the dividing line is drawn in a different year. Up to December, 1890, the conservative forces which overthrew Sir George Grey in 1879, controlled parliament in effect, though not always in name; and for ten years progressive legislation was confined to a mild experiment in offering crown lands on perpetual lease, with a right of purchase (1882), and a still milder instalment of local option (1881). In September, 1889, however, Sir George Grey succeeded in getting parliament to abolish the last remnant of plural voting. Finance otherwise absorbed attention; the task of successive ministries was to make the colony's accounts balance, and search for some means of restoring prosperity. The years 1884, 1887, and 1888 were notable for heavy deficits in the treasury. Taxation, direct and indirect, had to be increased, and as a means of gaining support for this, in 1888 Sir Harry Atkinson gave the customs tariff a distinctly protectionist complexion. The commercial revival came but slowly. The heavy borrowing and feverish speculation of the seven years 1872–79 must in any case have been paid for by reaction. The failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1879 precipitated this, and the almost continuous fall in the price of wool and wheat, together with the dwindling of the output of alluvial gold, postponed recovery. The principal local bank — the Bank of New Zealand — was in an unsound condition, and until in 1895 it was taken under control and guaranteed by the colony, the fear of its collapse overshadowed the community. The financial and commercial improvement which began in 1895 was doubtless to some extent connected with this venturesome but apparently successful stroke of policy.

SOCIALISTIC NEW ZEALAND

During the years 1882–90 the leading political personage was Sir Harry Atkinson. In December, 1890, he was overthrown by the progressives under John Ballance. Atkinson's party never rallied from this defeat, and a striking change came over public life, though Ballance, until his death in April, 1893, continued the prudent financial policy of his predecessor. The change was emphasised by the active intervention in politics of the trade unions. These bodies, impelled by a socialistic movement felt throughout Australia and New Zealand, decided in 1889 and 1890 to exert their influence in returning work-

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men to parliament, and where this was impossible, to secure pledges from middle class candidates. This plan was first put into execution at the general election of 1890. The number of labour members thus elected to the general assembly was small, never more than six, and no independent labour party was formed. But the influence of labour in the progressive or, as it preferred to be called, liberal party, was considerable, and the legislative results noteworthy. These did not interfere with the general lines of Atkinson's strong and cautious finance, though the first of them was the abolition of his direct tax upon all property, personal as well as real, and the substitution therefor of a graduated tax upon unimproved land values, and an income-tax also graduated, though less elaborately. The income-tax is not levied on incomes drawn from land. In 1891 the tenure of members of the legislative council or nominated upper house, which had hitherto been for life, was altered to seven years. In 1892 a new form of land tenure was introduced, under which large areas of crown lands have since been leased for 999 years. In the same year a law was also passed authorising government to repurchase private land for closer settlement. At first the owner's consent to the sale was necessary, but in 1894 power was taken to buy land compulsorily. So energetically was the law administered by John Mackenzie, minister of lands from 1891 to1900, that in March, 1901, more than a million acres had been repurchased and subdivided, and over 6,000 souls were living thereon.

On Ballance's sudden death his place was taken by Richard Seddon, minister of mines in the Ballance cabinet, whose first task was to pass the Electoral Bill of his predecessor, which provided for granting the franchise to all adult women. This was adopted in September, 1893. In 1893 was also enacted the Alcoholic Liquor Control Act, greatly extending local option. In 1894 the Advances to Settlers Act authorised state loans on mortgage to farmers at 5 per cent., and about £2,500,000 has been lent in this way, causing a general decline in the rate of interest. The same year also saw the climax of a series of laws passed by the progressives affecting the relations of employers and workmen.

Meanwhile the keystone of the regulative system had been laid by the passing of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, under which disputes between employers and unions of workers are compulsorily settled by state tribunals; strikes and lock-outs are virtually prohibited in the case of organised work-people, and the conditions of employment in industries may be, and in many cases are, regulated by the awards of public boards and courts. The Arbitration Act, consolidated and extended in 1900, was soon in constant use. The Old Age Pensions Bill, which became law in November, 1898, by 1902 had become the means of conferring a free pension of £18 a year, or less, upon 12,300 men and women of 65 years of age and upwards whose private income was less than £1 a week. About 1,000 of these pensioners were Maori. The total cost to the colony was about £205,000 annually. In 1900 the English system of compensation to workmen for accidents suffered in their trade was adopted with some changes. In 1895 borrowing on a large scale was begun, and in seven years as many millions were added to the public debt. Before this the Ballance ministry had organised two new departments, those of labour and agriculture. The former supervises the labour laws, and endeavours to deal with unemployment; the latter has done much practical teaching and inspecting work, manages experimental farms, and is active in stamping out diseases of live stock, noxious weeds, and adulteration.[l]

Blessed with a climate resembling that of England, New Zealand has been

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properly regarded as the future Britain of the southern hemisphere. The progress which the colony has made has both encouraged and apparently justified the prediction. Yet there are few subjects on which ordinary people betray greater ignorance than on the position of New Zealand. Sir Charles Dilke[m] has pointed out that, though "the future of the Pacific shores is inevitably brilliant, it is not New Zealand, the centre of the water hemisphere, which will occupy the position that England has taken in the Atlantic, but some country such as Japan or Vancouver, jutting out into the ocean from Asia or America, as England juts out from Europe." New Zealand, separated from Australia by more than a thousand miles of stormy ocean, can never prove to Australia what England has proved to Europe. Her own advantages of soil and climate may raise her to greatness. She will not rise to greatness as the emporium of Australian trade.[i]

The election on December 6th, 1905, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Seddon ministry. In the following June Mr. Seddon died suddenly while returning from a visit to Australia. A ministry was formed by Sir Joseph Ward to follow Mr. Seddon's policy. In September, 1907, a royal proclamation was issued to the effect that the colony should henceforth be called the Dominion of New Zealand.[a]

The Maoris

The Maoris are one of the most important families of the brown Polynesian stock, being those who have developed its peculiar mental and physical characteristics to the highest degree. This is due in part to their having to maintain themselves in a far less favourable climate than their fellows of the tropical islands. They became skilful hunters and fishers, and good agriculturists; and the amount of skill and energy necessitated in these pursuits in building houses and canoes, in making clothing, and in forming the various weapons and implements which they required from stone, wood, or shell, furnished the needful stimulus for an active and healthy existence. War, too, as among all savage tribes, occupied them greatly, and the construction of forts and defences was added to the regular labours of every community.

LIGHT HOUSE ON THE COAST OF NEW SOUTH WALES

The earliest European settlers thus found the Maoris in a state of civilisation not often to be met with among a barbarous and savage people. They lived together in villages, in huts well constructed of wood and reeds, ornamented with ingenious and fanciful carvings, and painted with gay-coloured arabesques. They protected their villages with ditches and palisades, and surrounded them with extensive plantations. They manufactured flax from a native plant, and from it wove mats and clothing, which they dyed with various kinds of bark and roots, and ornamented with the bright feathers of birds; and they made cloaks of great value from the dressed skins of their dogs. Their faces and some parts of their bodies were elaborately and elegantly tattooed, more largely in the men than the women, and the heads of

the great chiefs were skillfully embalmed and preserved, either as trophies of the fight or in affectionate remembrance of the dead. Although they had no written language, they had numerous songs and proverbs, legends and traditions, transmitted orally from generation to generation. They knew every plant and bird and insect of the country they inhabited, and designated them by distinctive names; and they distinguished the various kinds of rock with a keen talent of observation. They had words in their language for the four seasons, and they divided the year into thirteen months, all of which had appropriate names, the year commencing with the first new moon after a particular star, called Puanga, began to be visible in the morning. They had names for all the chief stars, and also for many constellations, which were called after their resemblance to canoes, houses, garments, weapons, etc. They had measures derived from the human body, as the span, the stride, and the fathom. They had no regular barter, but whatever a friend asked for was given, on the understanding that the giver might in his turn have anything he took a fancy to; but all valuable property appears to have been held by the tribe, and could only be exchanged in this way with other family tribes. They had numerous games of skill or chance, many of them exactly similar to our own, as flying kites, skipping-ropes, cat's-cradle, gymnastic poles, wrestling, hide-and-seek, stilts; as well as dancing, diving, and many others. They had a firm belief in a future state, and an elaborate mythology and system of temples, priests, omens, and sacrifices. They were great orators, and a son of every chief had to learn the traditions, laws, and rites of his tribe, and to be an orator and a poet as well as a warrior, a hunter, and a seaman.

The dark side of their character was the practice of cannibalism, which prevailed extensively at the time when Europeans first visited them. But this vile practice seems always to have been associated with a superstitious belief in the transfer of the qualities of the victim to his devourer. This became one of the chief incentives to war, as to eat the bodies of the slain was supposed to impart courage and ferocity to those who partook of them, and likewise to make their triumph over their enemies complete.[k]

The rapid decrease of the Maori population for many years seemed to foretell its early extinction as a race, but during very recent years there appears to have been a slight increase in numbers. In 1840 estimates placed the native population at over 100,000, which had decreased to 65,000 in 1856 and to 45,740 in 1874. By 1896 the Maori population was only 39,800, but in 1901 it had risen again to 43,143.[a]

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CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE

THE Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Bartholomeu Dias, the Portuguese navigator, in 1487. He first landed at Algoa Bay, having, after exploring the west coast, been driven out to sea by a storm. Thus accidentally doubling the Cape, he saw it on his way back, and gave it the name of the Cape of Storms *(Cabo Tormentoso)*. The king of Portugal, however, gave it the more auspicious name it now bears, as its discovery afforded a hope of a new and easier way of reaching India, the great object of all the maritime expeditions of that age.

The great navigator Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape in 1497, and carried the Portuguese flag into the Indian seas. His countrymen, however, attracted by the riches of the East, made no permanent settlement at the Cape, although they frequently touched there on the voyage to India. But the Dutch, who, on the decline of the Portuguese power, established themselves in the East, early saw the importance of the place as a station where their vessels might take in water and provisions. They did not, however, colonise it till 1652, when the Dutch East India Company directed Jan van Riebeek, with a small party of colonists, to form a settlement there. The country was at that time inhabited by a people called Quæquæ, but to whom the Dutch seem to have given the name of Hottentots. The Riebeek settlers had at first great difficulties and hardships to endure, and their territory did not extend beyond a few miles round the site of the present Cape Town, where they first fixed their abode. They gradually, however, extended their limits, by driving the natives back or reducing them to serfdom. These colonists, although under Dutch authority, were not wholly of that nation, but consisted partly of persons of various nations, especially Germans and Flemings, with a few

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Poles and Portuguese. They were for the most part people of low station or indifferent character; there was, however, a small number of a higher class, from whom was selected a council to assist the governor. About the year 1686 the European population was increased by a number of the French refugees who left their country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Our limits forbid our attempting to trace the history of the Cape Colony during the lengthened period it remained under the Dutch government. We may, however, mention some of its prominent incidents, the effects of which are visible in the colony to this hour.

The Dutch, partly by so-called contracts, partly by force, gradually deprived the Hottentots of their country. They reduced to slavery a large part of that unfortunate people whom they did not destroy. They introduced a number of Malays and negroes as slaves. They established that narrow and tyrannical system of policy which they adopted in other colonies, prescribing to the farmers the nature of the crops they were to grow, demanding from them a large part of their produce, and harassing them with other exactions tending to discourage industry and enterprise. There is no doubt that to this mischievous policy is due the origin of those unsettled habits, that dislike to orderly government, and that desire to escape from its control, which characterise a considerable part of the so-called Dutch Boers of the present day — qualities utterly at variance with the character of the Dutch in their native country, which were strongly manifested at the Cape, long before they came under British rule and under those influences to which some exclusively attribute the insubordination of those men. The attempts of the Boers to escape from the Dutch power, and so form an independent government beyond the borders of the colony, especially in the district since called Graaf-Reinet, are strikingly similar to their proceedings at a later date under the British government. The Gumti river formed the boundary between the Hottentot and Kaffir races, and was early adopted by the Dutch as their eastern limit; but about the year 1740 they began to pass this river, and came into collision with the Kaffirs, and in 1780 they extended their frontier to the Great Fish river.

In 1795 the colonists, having imbibed the revolutionary principles then prevailing in Europe, attempted to throw off the yoke of the Dutch, upon which the British sent a fleet to support the authority of the prince of Orange, and took possession of the country in his name. As, however, it was evident that Holland would not be able to hold it, and that at a general peace it would be made over to England, it was ruled by British governors till the year 1802, when, at the Peace of Amiens, it was again restored to Holland. In 1806, on the renewal of the war, it was again taken by the British under Sir David Baird, and has since remained in their possession, having been finally ceded by the king of the Netherlands at the peace of 1815. At this time the limit of the colony was formed by the Great Fish river and the line of the mountains south of Bushman Land to the Buffals river and the Atlantic, the area being about one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and the population little over sixty thousand. A summary may be given of the chief events which have taken place since 1806.

KAFFIR WARS AND THE GREAT TREK

The first of these wars took place in 1811–1812, and the second in 1819, when the boundary of the colony was extended to the Keiskamma. The third occurred in 1835, under Sir Benjamin d'Urban, when the boundary was

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advanced to the Kei; but on the recall of that officer the country between the Kei and Keiskamma rivers was restored to the Kaffirs. The fourth Kaffir War took place in 1846, and after being conducted by governors Maitland and Pottinger, it was terminated by Sir Harry Smith in 1848. The fifth war broke out at the end of 1850, and after being carried on for some time by Governor Sir H. Smith, it was conducted in 1852 by Governor Cathcart, and brought to a conclusion only in March, 1853. During its progress an armed police had been organised for the protection of the frontier, and British Kaffraria was subsequently formed into a crown colony, reserved at first for occupation by Kaffirs.

In 1820, British emigrants, to the number of five thousand, arrived at Algoa Bay, and laid the foundation of the settlements on the eastern frontier which have since become the most thriving part of the colony, including the important towns of Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. In 1834 the great measure of slave-emancipation took effect in the Cape Colony. It has been of immense service in raising the character and condition of the Hottentots and other races before held in bondage, though many of the vices begotten by the state of slavery still adhere to them. This measure gave great offence to the Dutch Boers of the colony, and completed their already existing disaffection to the British rule.

In 1835-1836 a large number of these people resolved to free themselves from the British government by removing with their families beyond the limits of the colony. With this object they sold their farms, mostly at a great sacrifice, and crossed the Orange river into territories inhabited chiefly by tribes of the Kaffir race. After meeting with great hardships and varied success in their contests with the natives, a part of their number, under one Peter Retief, crossed the Drakenberge and took possession of the district of Natal, where they established a republican government, and maintained their ground against powerful nations of Zulu Kaffirs till 1842, when they were forced to yield to the authority of the British government, which took possession of Natal.

The Boers beyond the Orange river and west of the Drakenberge still, however, retained a sort of independence till 1848, when, in consequence of the lawless state of the country, and the solicitation of part of the inhabitants, the governor, Sir Harry Smith, declared the supremacy of the crown over the territory, which was thenceforth called the Orange River Sovereignty. Shortly after this, in consequence, it was alleged, of certain acts of the British government in Natal, Andrew Pretorius, an intelligent Boer of that district, crossed the Drakenberge mountains with his followers, and after being joined on the western side by large numbers of disaffected Boers, raised the standard of rebellion. Upon this the governor, Sir H. Smith, crossed the Orange river at the head of a detachment of troops, and encountered and defeated the rebels in a short but brilliant skirmish at Boem Plaats. After this Pretorius and the most disaffected part of the Boers retreated to beyond the Vaal river (the northern limit of the sovereignty), where they established a government of their own. They were subsequently, in 1852, absolved from their allegiance to the British crown by treaty with the governors and her majesty's commissioners for settling frontier affairs.

In 1853-1854, in consequence of the troubled state of the Orange River Sovereignty, and the difficulty of maintaining with becoming dignity the authority of her majesty there, it was resolved to abandon the country to the settlers, mostly Dutch Boers. This was carried into effect by a special commissioner, Sir George Clerk, sent from England for the purpose; and the

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country, under the name of the Orange Free State, was constituted a republic, with a president at its head, assisted or controlled by an assembly called the *volksraad* (people's council), elected by nearly universal suffrage.

THE CONVICT AGITATION

After the British government had felt itself compelled to discontinue the sending of convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the subject of transportation became one of great difficulty, the more so that an unusually large number of prisoners was then on its hands in consequence of the prosecutions arising out of the disturbed state of Ireland. Under these circumstances an order in council was passed in 1848, under authority of the Act of 5, George IV, authorising the secretary of state to send certain convicts to such colonies as he might think proper. A circular was sent by Earl Grey, then colonial secretary, to the governor of the Cape (among other colonial governors), requesting him to ascertain the feelings of the colonists regarding the reception of a certain class of convicts.

Unfortunately, owing to some misunderstanding, a vessel, the *Neptune*, was despatched to the Cape before the opinion of the colonists had been received, having on board 289 convicts, among whom were John Mitchell, the Irish rebel, and his colleagues. When the news reached the Cape that this vessel was on her way, the people of the colony became violently excited; and goaded to fury by the inflammatory articles in the local newspapers, and guided by a few demagogues, they established what was called the Anti-Convict Association, by which they bound themselves by a pledge to cease from all intercourse of every kind with persons in any way connected "with the landing, supplying, or employing of convicts." On the 19th of September, 1849, the *Neptune* arrived in Simon's Bay; and when the intelligence reached Cape Town, the people assembled in masses, and their behaviour was violent and outrageous in the extreme. The governor, after adopting several resolutions, and again abandoning them under the pressure of popular agitation, agreed not to land the convicts, but to keep them on board ship in Simon's Bay till he received orders to send them elsewhere. Even this concession did not satisfy any but a small number of more moderate men. The mass of the population, under the guidance or domination of a few agitators, continued to do all in their power to prevent the convicts and all the officers of the government from obtaining supplies. When the home government became aware of the state of affairs it immediately sent orders directing the *Neptune* to proceed to Van Diemen's Land, and the agitation ceased. This agitation did not, however, pass away without important results, since it led to another movement, the object of which was to obtain a free representative government for the colony. This concession, which had been previously promised by Lord Grey, was granted by her majesty's government, and, in 1853, a constitution was established of almost unexampled liberality.

In 1857 an almost incredible delusion arose in the Amaxosa tribe of British Kaffraria. It was predicted among them that, on condition of a complete sacrifice of their lives and property, a resurrection would take place on a certain day, in which all the dead warriors and great men of the nation would arise in new strength; and acting upon this faith nearly a third of the tribe or about fifty thousand, perished in a national suicide. The tracts thus depopulated were afterwards peopled by European settlers, among whom were many of the German legion which had served with the English army in

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the Crimea, and a body of upwards of two thousand industrious North German emigrants, who proved to be a valuable acquisition to the colony.

Public works in the colony marked an era in the opening, in November, 1863, of the railway from Cape Town to Wellington, begun in 1859, and, in 1860, of the great breakwater in Table Bay, long needed on that perilous coast. In 1865 the province of British Kaffraria was incorporated with the colony, under the title of the Electoral Divisions of King William's Town and East London. In the same year several important modifications of the constitution were adopted.

The discovery of diamonds in the districts north of the Orange river in 1867 drew the attention of the whole world to the colony, and gave new life and impetus to every branch of industry, leading to the annexation of the large territory of Griqualand west to the British crown. The Basutos, a division of the Bechuana Kaffirs, occupying the upper valleys of the Orange river, had subsisted under a semi-protectorate of the British government from 1848 to 1854; but having been left to their own resources on the abandonment of the Orange Sovereignty, they fell into a long exhaustive warfare with the Boers of the Free State. On the urgent petition of their chief Moshesh they were proclaimed British subjects in 1868, and their territory became part of the colony by act of government of 1871.[i]

The year 1870 marks the dawn of a new era in South Africa. From that date the development of modern South Africa may be said to have fairly started, and in spite of political complications, arising from time to time, the progress of Cape Colony down to the outbreak of the Transvaal War of 1899 was steadily forward. The discovery of diamonds on the Orange river in 1867, followed immediately afterwards by the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal river, led to the rapid occupation and development of a tract of country which had hitherto been but sparsely inhabited. In 1870 Dutoitspan and Bultfontein diamond mines were discovered, and in 1871 the still richer mines of Kimberley and De Beers. These four great deposits of mineral wealth are still richly productive, and although not technically within the confines of Cape Colony till 1880, to-day they constitute the greatest industrial asset which the colony possesses.

At the time of the beginning of the diamond industry, both Cape Colony and the Boer republics, as well as all the rest of the colonies of South Africa, were in a very depressed condition. Ostrich-farming was in its infancy, and agriculture but little developed. The Boers, except in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town, were a primitive people. Their wants were few, they lacked enterprise, and the trade of the colony was restricted. Even the British colonists at that time were far from rich. The diamond industry therefore offered considerable attractions, especially to colonists of British origin. It was also the means at length of demonstrating the fact that South Africa, barren and poor on the surface, was rich below the surface. It takes ten acres of Karroo to feed a sheep, but it was now seen that a few square yards of diamondiferous blue ground would feed a dozen families. By the end of 1871 a large population had already gathered at the diamond fields, and immigration continued steadily, bringing new-comers to the rich fields. Among those who emigrated to South Africa at that time was Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

So far back in the history of the colony as 1858, the then governor, Sir George Grey, had prepared for the home authorities a scheme for the federation of the various colonies and states of South Africa, but this proposition was not entertained at the time. In 1875, Lord Carnarvon, who was secretary of state for the colonies, and who had been successful in aiding to bring about

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the federation of Canada, turned his attention to a similar scheme for the confederation of South Africa. The new parliament at Cape Town, which had received its privileges of self government in 1872 appears to have resented the despatch in which he propounded his suggestions, and passed a resolution stating that any scheme in favour of confederation must in their opinion originate within South Africa itself. James Anthony Froude, the distinguished historian, was sent out by Lord Carnarvon to further his policy in South Africa. As a diplomatist and a representative of the British government, the general opinion in South Africa was that Froude was not a success, and he entirely failed to induce the colonists to adopt Lord Carnarvon's views. Lord Carnarvon, still bent on confederation, now appointed Sir Bartle Frere governor of Cape Colony and high commissioner of South Africa.

Frere had no sooner taken office as high commissioner, than he found himself confronted with serious native troubles in Zululand and on the Kaffir frontier of Cape Colony. In 1877 there occurred an outbreak on the part of the Galekas and the Gaikas. A considerable force of imperial and colonial troops was employed to put down this rising, and the war was subsequently known as the Ninth Kaffir War. This war was the last of a long series which the colonists waged on the eastern frontier ever since the colony came into existence. At its conclusion the Transkei, the territory of the Galeka tribe, under Kreli, was annexed by the British. In the meantime Lord Carnarvon had resigned his position in the British cabinet, and the scheme for confederation which he had been pushing forward was abandoned. As a matter of fact, at that time Cape Colony was too fully occupied with native troubles to take into consideration very seriously so great a question as confederation. A wave of feeling spread amongst the different Kaffir tribes on the colonial frontier, and after the Gaika-Galeka War there followed in 1879 a rising in Basutoland under Moirosi, whose cattle-raiding had for some time past caused considerable trouble. His stronghold was taken after very severe fighting by a colonial force, but, their defeat notwithstanding, the Basutos remained in a restless and aggressive condition for several years.

In 1880 the colonial authorities endeavoured to extend to Basutoland the Peace Preservation Act of 1878, under which a general disarmament of the Basutos was attempted. Further fighting followed on this proclamation, which was by no means successful, and although peace was declared in the country in 1883, the colonial authorities were very glad in 1884 to be relieved of the administration of a country which had already cost them £3,000,000. The imperial government then took over Basutoland as a crown colony, on the understanding that Cape Colony should contribute for administrative purposes £18,000 annually. In 1880, Sir Bartle Frere, who by his energetic and statesmanlike attitude on the relations with the native states, as well as on all other questions, had won the esteem and regard of loyal South African colonists, was recalled by Lord Kimberley, the liberal secretary of state for the colonies, and was succeeded by Sir Hercules Robinson. Griqualand West, which included the diamond fields, was now incorporated as a portion of Cape Colony.

THE AFRIKANDER BOND

The Boer War of 1881, with its disastrous termination, naturally reacted throughout South Africa; and as one of the most important results, in the year 1882 the first Afrikander Bond congress was held at Graaf-Reinet. The organisation of the Bond developed into one embracing the Transvaal, the

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Orange Free State, and Cape Colony. Each country had a provincial committee with district committees, and branches were distributed throughout the whole of South Africa. At a later date the Bond in the Cape Colony dissociated itself from its republican branches. The general lines of policy which this organisation endeavoured to promote may best be gathered from *De Patriot*, a paper published in the colony, and an avowed supporter of the organisation. "The Afrikander Bond," it said, "has for its object the establishment of a South African nationality by spreading a true love for what is really our fatherland. The British government keep on talking about a confederation under the British flag, but that will never be brought about. They can be quite certain of that. There is just one obstacle in the way of confederation, and that is the British flag. Let them remove that, and in less than a year the confederation would be established under the free Afrikander flag."

The fact is that, from 1881 onwards, two great rival ideas came into being, each strongly opposed to the other. One was that of imperialism — full civil rights for every civilised man, whatever his race might be, under the supremacy and protection of Great Britain. The other was nominally republican, but in fact exclusively oligarchical and Dutch. The policy of the extremists of this last party was summed up in the appeal which President Kruger made to the Free State in February, 1881, when he bade them "Come and help us. God is with us. It is his will to unite us as a people — to make a united South Africa free from British authority." The two actual founders of the Bond party were Mr. Borckenhagen, a German who was residing in Bloemfontein, and Mr. Reitz, afterwards state secretary of the Transvaal.

In 1882 an act was passed in the Cape legislative assembly, empowering members to speak in the Dutch language on the floor of the house, if they so desired. By this act an increase of influence was given to the Dutch leaders. The head of the Afrikander Bond at this time in Cape Colony, and the leader of Dutch opinion, was Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, a man of undoubted ability and astuteness. His influence over the Dutch members was supreme, and in addition to directing the policy of the Bond within the Cape Colony, he supported and defended the aggressive expansion policy of President Kruger and the Transvaal Boers. In 1884 Mr. Hofmeyr led the Bond in strongly supporting the Transvaal Boer raiders in Bechuanaland.

Fortunately, however, for the peace of Cape Colony at that time, Sir Charles Warren removed the invading Boers from Stellaland and no rebellion occurred. Nevertheless the Bond party was so strong in the house that they compelled the ministry under Sir Thomas Scanlen to resign in 1884. The logical and constitutional course for Mr. Hofmeyr to have followed in these circumstances would have been to accept office and himself form a government. This he refused to do. He preferred to put in a nominee of his own who should be entirely dependent on him. Mr. Upington, a clever Irish barrister, was the man he selected, and under him was formed in 1884 what will always be known in Cape history as the Warming-pan ministry. This action was denounced by many British colonists, who were sufficiently loyal, not only to Great Britain, but also to that constitution which had been conferred by Great Britain upon the Cape Colony, to desire to see the man who really wielded political power also enacting as the responsible head of the party. It was Mr. Hofmeyr's refusal to accept this responsibility, as well as the nature of his Bond policy, which won for him the political sobriquet of the "Mole."

Open and responsible exercise of a power conferred under the constitution of the country, Englishmen and English colonists would have accepted and

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even welcomed. But that subterranean method of Dutch policy which found its strongest expression in Pretoria, and which operated from Pretoria to Cape Town, could not but be resented by loyal colonists. From 1881 down to 1898, Mr. Hofmeyr practically determined how Dutch members should vote, and also what policy the Bond should adopt at every juncture in its history. The influence of this action on Cape politics was a demoralising one. Other well-known politicians at the Cape subsequently found it convenient to adapt their views a good deal too readily to those held by the Bond. In justice to Mr. Hofmeyr, however, it is only fair to say that after the Warren expedition in 1884, which was at least evidence that Great Britain did not intend to renounce her supremacy in South Africa altogether, he adopted a less hostile or anti-British attitude.

Recognising the difficulties of the position, Mr. Rhodes from the outset of his political career showed his desire to conciliate Dutch sentiment by considerate treatment and regard for Dutch prejudices. Mr. Rhodes was first returned as member of the house of assembly for Barkly West in 1880, and in spite of all vicissitudes this constituency remained loyal to him. He supported the bill permitting Dutch to be used in the house of assembly in 1882, and early in 1884 he first took office, as treasurer-general, under Sir Thomas Scanlen. Mr. Rhodes had only held this position for six weeks when Sir Thomas Scanlen resigned, and later in the same year he was persuaded by Sir Hercules Robinson to proceed to British Bechuanaland as special commissioner in succession to Mr. Mackenzie. In 1885 the territories of Cape Colony were further extended, and Tembuland, Bomvaniland, and Galekaland were formally added to the colony. In 1886 Sir Gordon Sprigg succeeded Sir Thomas Upington as prime minister.

The period from 1878 to 1885 in Cape Colony had been one of considerable unrest. In this short time there occurred a series of native disturbances which were followed by the Boer War of 1881, and the Bechuanaland disturbances of 1884. In spite, however, of these drawbacks, the development of the country proceeded. The diamond industry was flourishing. In the year 1888, a Customs Union Bill was passed by the Cape parliament, and this in itself constituted a considerable development of the idea of federation. Shortly after the passing of the bill the Orange Free State entered the union. An endeavour was also made then, and for many years afterwards, to get the Transvaal to join. But President Kruger, consistently pursuing his own policy, hoped through the Delagoa Bay railway to make the South African Republic entirely independent of Cape Colony.

Another event of considerable commercial importance to the Cape Colony, and indeed to South Africa, was the amalgamation of the diamond-mining companies, chiefly brought about by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Alfred Beit, and Mr. Barnato in 1889. One of the principal and most beneficent results of the discovery and development of the diamond mines was the great impetus which it gave to railway extension. Lines were opened up to Worcester and West Beaufort, to Grahamstown, Graaf-Reinet, and Queenstown. Kimberley was reached in 1885. In 1890 the line was extended northwards on the western frontier of the Transvaal as far as Vryburg in Bechuanaland. In 1889 the Free State entered into an arrangement with the Cape Colony whereby the main trunk railway was extended to Bloemfontein, the Free State receiving half the profits. Subsequently the Free State bought at cost price the portion of the railway in its own territory. In 1891 the Free State railway was still further extended to Viljoen's Drift on the Vaal river, and in 1892 it reached Pretoria and Johannesburg.

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THE RHODES ADMINISTRATION

In 1889 Sir Henry Loch was appointed high commissioner and governor of Cape Colony in succession to Sir Hercules Robinson. In 1890 Sir Gordon Sprigg, the premier of the colony, resigned, and a government was formed under Cecil Rhodes. Prior to the formation of this ministry, and while Sir Gordon Sprigg was still in office, Mr. Hofmeyr approached Mr. Rhodes and offered to put him in office as a Bond nominee. This offer Mr. Rhodes declined. When, however, he was invited to take office after the downfall of the Sprigg ministry, he asked the Bond leaders to meet him and discuss the situation. His policy of customs union and railway union between the various states, added to the personal esteem in which he was at this time held by many of the Dutchmen, enabled him to undertake and to carry on successfully the business of government.

The colonies of British Bechuanaland and Basutoland were now taken into the customs union existing between the Orange Free State and Cape Colony. Pondoland, another native territory, was added to the colony in 1894, and the year was marked by the passage of the Glen Grey Act, a departure in native policy for which Mr. Rhodes was chiefly responsible. It dealt with the natives residing in certain native reserves, and in addition to providing for their interests and holdings, the principle of the duty of some degree of labour devolving upon every able-bodied native enjoying these privileges was asserted and a small labour tax was levied. In the session of 1895 Mr. Rhodes was able to report to the Cape parliament that the act then applied to one hundred and sixty thousand natives.

During 1895 Sir Hercules Robinson was reappointed governor and high commissioner of South Africa in succession to Sir Henry Loch, and in the same year Mr. Chamberlain became her majesty's secretary of state for the colonies.

With the development of railways, and the extension of trade between Cape Colony and the Transvaal, there had grown up a closer relationship of political questions. Whilst premier of Cape Colony, by means of the customs union and in every other way, Mr. Rhodes endeavoured to bring about a friendly measure of at least commercial federation among the states and colonies of South Africa. He hoped to establish both a commercial and a railway union. To this policy President Kruger and his government offered every possible opposition.

In the year 1895 the Jameson raid occurred, and Mr. Rhodes' complicity in this movement compelled him to resign the premiership of Cape Colony in January, 1896. [Sir Gordon Sprigg thereupon became premier for the third time.] As Mr. Rhodes' complicity in the raid became known, there naturally arose a strong feeling of resentment and astonishment among his colleagues in the Cape ministry, who had been kept in complete ignorance of his connection with any such scheme. Mr. Hofmeyr and the Bond were loud in their denunciation of him. After his resignation, Mr. Rhodes was proceeding to the north, when he received a summons from the chartered company to go to London; but after interviews with the directors in London, he went back to Rhodesia, and was present in the country during the Matabele rebellion. While hostilities were still proceeding in Matabeleland, Mr. Rhodes went unarmed to a meeting of Matabele *indunas* (chiefs) in the heart of the Matoppo hills. The result was not a massacre of the great white chief, as was foretold at the time, and as has occurred on similar occasions in attempted

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negotiations with Bantu tribes, but a peace which terminated the rebellion. It was a master-stroke of diplomacy and courage.

In 1897 Sir Alfred Milner was appointed high commissioner of South Africa and governor of Cape Colony in succession to Sir Hercules Robinson, who was created a peer under the title of Baron Rosmead. In 1898 commercial federation in South Africa advanced another stage, Natal entering the customs union.

THE MINISTRY OF W. P. SCHREINER

In the following year the Cape parliamentary election occurred, and the result was the return to power of a Bond ministry under Mr. W. P. Schreiner. From this time until June, 1900, Mr. Schreiner remained in office as head of the Cape government. During the negotiations which preceded the war in 1899, feeling at the Cape ran very high, and Mr. Schreiner's attitude has been freely discussed. As head of a party, dependent for its position in power on the Bond's support, his position was undoubtedly a trying one. At the same time, as prime minister of a British colony, it was strongly felt by loyal colonists that he should at least have refrained from openly interfering between the Transvaal and the imperial government during the course of most difficult negotiations. But however excellent his intentions, his publicly expressed disapproval of the Chamberlain-Milner policy probably did more harm than his private influence with Mr. Kruger could possibly do good.

Early in June, 1899, the Cape Dutch politicians began to realise that President Kruger's attitude was not so reasonable as they had endeavoured to persuade themselves, and Mr. Hofmeyr, accompanied by Mr. Herholdt, the Cape minister of agriculture, visited Pretoria. If any emissary could accomplish anything in the way of persuading Mr. Kruger, it was assuredly Mr. Hofmeyr. Much was looked for from his mission by moderate men of all parties, and by none more so, it is fair to believe, than by Mr. Schreiner. But Mr. Hofmeyr's mission, like every other mission to Mr. Kruger to induce him to take a reasonable and equitable course, proved entirely fruitless. He returned to Cape Town disappointed, but probably not altogether surprised at the failure of his mission.

On July 11th, after seeing Mr. Hofmeyr on his return, Mr. Schreiner made a personal appeal to President Kruger to approach the imperial government in a friendly spirit. At this time an incident occurred which raised the feeling against Mr. Schreiner to a very high pitch. On July 7th five hundred rifles and one million rounds of ammunition were landed at Port Elizabeth, consigned to the Free State government, and forwarded to Bloemfontein. Mr. Schreiner's attention was called to this consignment at the time, but he refused to stop it, alleging as his reason that, inasmuch as Great Britain was at peace with the Free State, he had no right to interdict the passage of arms through the Cape Colony. The British colonist is as capable of a grim jest as the Transvaal Boer, and this action of Mr. Schreiner's won for him the nickname Ammunition Bill. At a later date he was accused of delay in forwarding artillery and rifles for the defence of Kimberley, Mafeking, and other towns of the colony. The reason he gave for delay was that he did not anticipate war; and that he did not wish to excite unwarrantable suspicions in the minds of the Free State. His conduct in both instances may have been technically correct, but it was much resented by loyal colonists.

On August 28th, Sir Gordon Sprigg in the Cape house of assembly moved the adjournment of the debate, to discuss the removal of arms to the Free

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State. Mr. Schreiner, in reply, used expressions which called down upon him the severest censure and indignation, both in the colony and in Great Britain. He stated that, should the storm burst, he would keep the colony aloof with regard both to its forces and its people. In the course of the speech he also read a telegram from President Steyn, in which the President repudiated all contemplated aggressive action on the part of the Free State as absurd. The speech created a great sensation in the British press. Actual experience taught Mr. Schreiner that President Kruger was beyond an appeal to reason, and that the protestations of President Steyn were insincere. War had no sooner commenced with the ultimatum of the Transvaal Republic on October 9th, 1899, than Mr. Schreiner found himself called upon to deal with the conduct of Cape rebels. The rebels joined the invading forces of President Steyn, whose false assurances Mr. Schreiner had offered to an indignant house of assembly only a few months before. Mr. Schreiner ultimately addressed, as prime minister, a sharp remonstrance to President Steyn for allowing his burghers to invade the colony. He also co-operated with Sir Alfred Milner, and used his influence to restrain the Bond.

CAPE COLONY DURING THE WAR

Proclamations by the Transvaal and Free State annexing portions of Cape Colony were actually issued on October 18th, and included British Bechuanaland and Griqualand West, with the diamond fields. On October 28th Mr. Schreiner signed a proclamation issued by Sir Alfred Milner as high commissioner, declaring the Boer annexations of territory within Cape Colony to be null and void. The battles of Belmont, Graspan, and Modder river were all fought by Lord Methuen in November, on colonial soil, in his endeavour to force a passage through to the relief of Kimberley. The heavy British losses at Modderfontein on November 29th were followed by a reverse in Cape Colony at Stormberg, where an expedition under General Gatacre from Queenstown marched into a Boer ambush and was defeated. On the following day Lord Methuen suffered a severe check and heavy losses at Magersfontein. The effect of these engagements at the very outset of the war, occurring as they did within Cape Colony, was to offer every inducement to a number of the frontier colonial Boers to join their kinsmen of the republics. The Boers are prolific, and their families large. Many younger sons from the colony, with nothing to lose, left their homes with horse and rifle to join the republican forces.

Meanwhile the loyal Cape colonists were chafing at the tardy manner in which they were enrolled by the imperial authorities. It was not until after the arrival of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener at Cape Town on January 10th, 1900, that these invaluable and many of them experienced men were freely invited to come forward. So strongly did Lord Roberts feel on the subject, that he at once made Colonel Brabant, a well-known and respected colonial veteran and member of the house of assembly, a brigadier-general, and started recruiting loyal colonists in earnest. On February 15th Kimberley was relieved by General French, and the Boer general, Cronje, evacuated Magersfontein, and retreated towards Bloemfontein. Mr. Cecil Rhodes was shut up in Kimberley during the whole of the siege, and his presence there undoubtedly offered an additional incentive to the Boers to endeavour to capture the town, but his unique position and influence with the De Beers workmen enabled him to render yeoman service, and infused enthusiasm and courage into the inhabitants. Mafeking, where the beleaguered garrison

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maintained their gallant defence under Colonel Baden-Powell till May 17th, was relieved by a force, chiefly colonial, sent up from Kimberley. With this incident the Cape rebellion ended.

In June, 1900, Mr. Schreiner, whose recent support of Sir Alfred Milner had incensed many of his Bond followers, resigned in consequence of the refusal of some of his colleagues to support the Disfranchisement Bill which he was prepared, in accordance with the views of the home government, to introduce for the punishment of Cape rebels. The bill certainly did not err on the side of severity, but disfranchisement for their supporters in large numbers was more distasteful to the Bond extremists than any stringency towards individuals. Sir Gordon Sprigg, who after a political crisis of considerable delicacy succeeded Mr. Schreiner, and for the fourth time became prime minister, was able to pass the bill with the co-operation of Mr. Schreiner and his section. Towards the end of the year 1900 the war entered on a new phase, and took the form of guerilla skirmishes with scattered forces of marauding Boers. In December some of these bands entered the Cape Colony and endeavoured to induce colonial Boers to join them. In this endeavour they met at first with little or no success; but as the year 1901 progressed and the Boers still managed to keep the various districts in a ferment, it was deemed necessary by the authorities to proclaim martial law over the whole colony, and this was done on the 9th of October, 1901. On January 4th, 1901, Sir Alfred Milner was gazetted governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, being shortly afterwards created a peer as Lord Milner; and Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, governor of Natal, was appointed governor of the Cape Colony.[j]

In February, 1904, after being defeated in the elections, Sir Gordon Sprigg's ministry resigned; it was succeeded by a "progressive" ministry under Dr. Jameson, of Jameson raid fame. In the following year the prisoners who had been connected with the rebellion were released, and in August, 1906, the assembly passed an amnesty bill removing all disabilities arising out of participation in the war.[a]

THE ORANGE RIVER SETTLEMENT

At the commencement of the last century the Orange river country was inhabited by sections of aboriginal tribes — Bushmen, Korannas, and Bechuanas; and soon afterwards a number of Griquas from the northwest of the Cape Colony came in among them. A chronic state of warfare prevailed between these races. In 1824 nomad farmers from the colony, seeking pastures for their flocks, crossed the Orange river and settled in the territory. These were followed in 1835-1836 by large bodies of Dutch Boer emigrants who left the colony in order to be beyond British control. They formed a rude government for themselves, and in attempting to exercise authority came into collision with the Griquas, who claimed protection from the colony, with which they were allied by treaty. The British governor, Sir P. Maitland, intervened in 1845, assisting the Griquas with troops, and defeating the Boers at Zwart Kop; and, to prevent further collisions, a resident was appointed. In 1848 Governor Sir H. Smith visited the territory, and came to the conclusion that peace could not be maintained among the mixed elements forming the population without the establishment of a regular government. He therefore issued a proclamation, afterwards confirmed by the crown, annexing the territory to the empire under the name of the Orange River British Sovereignty. Thereupon some of the Boers, under their leader Andries Pretorius, took up arms and expelled the British magistrates; but a military force was brought against

them by Sir H. Smith in person, and, after a short but sharp encounter at Boomplaats, the Boers were defeated, and the crown authority re-established and maintained from that time until towards the close of 1853. During this period many Europeans and colonists of European descent took up their abode in the sovereignty. But disturbances again occurred, arising from long-standing disputes between the native tribes; and, in order to chastise the most powerful of them — the Basutos — for certain acts of outrage, Governor Cathcart in 1852 moved a large military expedition against their chief, Moshesh and the battle of the Berea was fought, after which the chief, on behalf of the tribe, gave in his submission. After this expedition the British government resolved to withdraw from the territory.[c]

THE REPUBLIC ORGANISED

In 1853 a convention was entered into between representatives of the Free State and the British government for transferring the government of the Orange River Sovereignty to representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it. By means of this transfer the imperial government established the future independence of the country, and further stated that the British government had no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the north of the Orange river, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Adam Kok. It was also stipulated that the Orange river government should, as hitherto, permit no slavery or trade in slaves in their territory north of the Orange river. At the time of this transfer some Boers, leading residents of the Free State, protested against the abandonment, but the duke of Newcastle, who was then British colonial secretary, stated that, in his opinion, imperial authority had already been extended too far in South Africa.

The new state of things had only been one year in existence when the Free State government found themselves victims to an intrigue of Messrs. Pretorius and Kruger, within the Transvaal, to bring about, by force if necessary, a confederation between the two countries. In the first instance, peaceful overtures were made, but the Free Staters declined to accept the proposal. Thereupon Pretorius, aided by Paul Kruger, organised and conducted a raid into the Free State territory, in the hope of overawing the Free State government, and compelling it to fall in with the views of the minority of the Free Staters, who were co-operating with Pretorius. On learning of the invasion Boshof, president of the Free State, proclaimed martial law throughout the country, and called out his burghers. The majority of the burghers rallied to his support, and in a very short time a formidable force was got together to oppose the invaders. On the 25th of May, 1854, the two opposing forces faced one another on the banks of the Rhenoster. President Boshof not only managed to get together a considerable force within the Free State, but he received an offer of support from General Schoeman, the Transvaal leader in the Zoutpansberg district. Pretorius and Kruger, when they learned what had occurred, realised that they would have to sustain attack from both north and south, and abandoned their enterprise. Before leaving, a treaty was signed, which amounted to an apology on the part of Pretorius.

In 1858 the volksraad of the Free State were so tired of the responsibilities of independence, that they passed a resolution in favour of a confederation in some shape or form with the Cape Colony. This proposition received the strong support of Sir George Grey, at that time governor of Cape Colony, but his view did not commend itself to the home authorities, and was not adopted.

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BORDER DISPUTES

From the date of their first settlement in the Orange river territories, the Boers were continually at feud with their Basuto neighbours on the eastern border. In 1866 they organised a powerful expedition, and attacked Moshesh. The expedition was successful, Moshesh was defeated, and a treaty was arrived at, by which he gave up possession of a portion of Basutoland, and acknowledged himself the subject of the Free State. This treaty did not, however, by any means terminate the strife; a period of feud continued, in the course of which Moshesh and his followers were reduced to very dire straits. They appealed to Great Britain for assistance, and in 1869 a treaty was agreed to between the high commissioner and the Orange Free State, defining the borders between the Orange Free State and Basutoland. All the fertile tract of country lying to the north of the Orange river and west of the Caledon, originally a part of Basutoland, was ceded to the Free State.

The Basutoland difficulties were no sooner arranged than the Free Staters found themselves confronted with a serious difficulty on their western border. In the years 1870–1871 a large number of diggers had settled on the diamond fields, which were situated on the boundary between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State. At the time both the Free State and Waterboer claimed the district, and the Free State established a temporary government over the diamond fields, but the administration of this body was satisfactory neither to the Free State nor to the diggers. At this juncture Waterboer offered to place the territory under the administration of Queen Victoria. The offer was accepted, and on October 27th, 1870, the district was proclaimed, under the name of Griqualand West, British territory. President Brand contended at the time that Waterboer's title was a bad one. The matter involved much correspondence and no little irritation between the British government and the Free State until 1876.

It was then finally disposed of by Lord Carnarvon, who granted to the Free State £90,000 in compensation for any possible harm or wrong which the Free State might have sustained from the annexation. In making this concession, it is right to state that Lord Carnarvon, having gone into the question, declined to acknowledge any validity in the Free State claim to the territory in question. One thing at least is certain with regard to the diamond fields — they were the means of restoring the credit and prosperity of the Free State. In the opinion, moreover, of Doctor Theal, who has written the history of the Boer republics and has been a consistent supporter of the Boers, the annexation of Griqualand West was probably in the best interests of the Free State. Fortunately at the time the Free State had an enlightened and liberal-minded ruler in President Brand, who avoided collisions and encouraged amicable relations with the British authorities.

In spite of the troubles on her borders, the Free State, under Brand's beneficent and tactful guidance, made progress in various directions. Villages sprang up, roads were constructed, and a postal service was established. Tea-planting was encouraged by the government. At the same time the Free State Boers, like their Transvaal neighbours, had drifted into financial straits. A paper currency had been instituted, and the notes — currently known as "bluebacks" — soon dropped to less than half their normal value. Commerce was largely carried on by barter, and many cases of bankruptcy occurred in the state. But as British annexation in 1877 saved the Transvaal from bankruptcy, so did the influx of British and other immigrants to the diamond fields, in the early seventies, restore public credit and individual

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prosperity to the Boers of the Free State. The diamond fields offered a ready market for stock and other agricultural produce. Money flowed into the pockets of the farmers. Public credit was restored. "Bluebacks" recovered par value, and were duly called in and redeemed by the government. At a later date valuable diamond mines were discovered within the Free State, of which the one at Jagersfontein is the richest. Capital from Kimberley and London were soon provided with which to work them. The relations between the diggers and the Free State Boers, after the question of the boundary was once settled, remained perfectly amicable down to the outbreak of the Boer war in 1899.

In 1880, when a rising of the Boers in the Transvaal against Sir Owen Lanyon was threatening, President Brand showed every desire to avert the conflict. He suggested to the authorities at Cape Town that Sir Henry de Villiers, chief justice of Cape Colony, should be sent into the Transvaal to endeavour to gauge the true state of affairs in that country. This suggestion was not acted upon, but when, in 1881, the Boers in the Transvaal broke out into open rebellion and war followed, Brand declined to take any part in the struggle. At a later date he urged that peace should be brought about, and expressed his friendly sentiments towards the British government. In spite of the neutral attitude taken by Brand during this period, there can be no question that a certain number of the Free State Boers, living in the northern part of the Free State, went to the Transvaal and joined their brethren then in arms against the British government. In 1888 Sir John Brand died. He had been president of the country since 1863, and in him the Boers, not only in the Free State but in the whole of South Africa, lost one of the most enlightened and most upright rulers and leaders they have ever had. Throughout his long official career he remained on cordial terms of friendship with Great Britain.

THE NEW RÉGIME

In 1889 an agreement was come to between the Free State and the Cape Colony government, whereby the latter were empowered to extend, at their own cost, their railway system to Bloemfontein. The Free State retained the right to purchase this extension at cost, a right which they exercised within the course of a few years. In the same year Mr. Reitz was elected president of the Free State. His accession to the presidency marked the commencement of a new and disastrous line of policy in the public affairs of the country. Mr. Reitz had no sooner got into office than a meeting was arranged with President Kruger, at which various terms of the agreement dealing with the railways, terms of a treaty of amity and commerce, and what was called a political treaty, were discussed and decided upon. The political treaty referred in general terms to a federal union between the two states, and bound each of them to help the other, whenever the independence of either should be assailed or threatened from without, unless the state so called upon for assistance should be able to show the injustice of the cause of quarrel in which the other state had engaged. In 1889 the Free State, having accepted the assistance of the Cape government in constructing its railway, entered into a customs union convention with them. In 1895 the Free State volksraad passed a resolution, in which they declared their readiness to entertain a proposition from the Transvaal in favour of some form of federal union. In the same year President Reitz retired from the presidency of the Free State on the ground of ill-health, and was succeeded by Judge Steyn. In 1896

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a further offensive and defensive alliance between the two republics was entered into, under which the Free State took up arms on the outbreak of hostilities with the Transvaal in 1899.

In 1897 President Kruger, being bent on still further cementing the union with the Free State, himself visited Bloemfontein. It was on this occasion that President Kruger, referring to the London convention, spoke of Queen Victoria as a *kwaaje Frau*, an expression which caused a good deal of offence in England at the time, but which, to any one familiar with the homely phraseology of the Boers, obviously was not meant by President Kruger as insulting. In order to understand the attitude which the Free State took at this time in relation to the Transvaal, it is necessary to review the history of Mr. Reitz from an earlier date. Previous to his becoming president of the Free State he had acted as its chief justice, and still earlier in life had practised as an advocate in Cape Colony. In 1881 Mr. Reitz had, with his successor President Steyn, come under the influence of a clever German named Borckenhagen, the editor of the *Bloemfontein Express*. These three men were principally responsible for the formation of the Afrikander Bond. From 1881 onwards there is no doubt that they cherished the one idea of an independent South Africa, in which a monopoly of independence was to be held by the Boers.

Brand during his lifetime had been far too sagacious to be led away by this pseudo-nationalist dream. He did his utmost to discountenance the Bond when it was started by Mr. Reitz and Mr. Borckenhagen, inasmuch as he saw full well that it was calculated to cause mischief in the future. At the same time his policy was guided by a sincere patriotism, which looked to the true prosperity of the Free State as well as to that of the whole of South Africa. It was only after his death that the fatal development of an exclusively Dutch policy arose in the Free State. From his death may be dated the disastrous line of policy which led to the extinction of the state as a republic. The one prominent member of the volksraad who inherited the traditions and enlightened views of President Brand with regard to the future of the Free State was Mr. G. J. Fraser, the son of a Presbyterian minister, who had acted as a minister in the Dutch Reformed church since the middle of the century.

The economic progress of the Free State, which began with the discovery of the diamond fields, has been redoubled since the construction of the railway through its territory to Johannesburg, thus fully justifying the forward commercial policy adopted in the teeth of Transvaal opposition. In illustration of this we have only to cite the fact that, in 1898–1899, out of a total revenue of about £650,000, more than half represented the earnings of the railway.

THE FREE STATE AND PRESIDENT KRUGER

On entering Bloemfontein in 1900 the British obtained possession of certain state papers which contained records of negotiations between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The evidence contained in these state records so clearly marks the difference between the policy of Mr. Kruger and the pacific, commercial policy of President Brand and his followers, that the documents call for careful consideration. From these papers it was found that, in 1887, two secret conferences had taken place between the republics. At the first of these conferences, held in Pretoria, there were present President Kruger, with his state secretary and state attorney, Messrs. Bok and Leyds and a commission of the Transvaal volksraad. On the other side the deputa-

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tion from the Free State volksraad was composed of Messrs. Fraser, Klynveld, and Myburgh.

The result of this conference was a secret session of the Transvaal volksraad and the proposition of a secret treaty with the Free State, by which each state should bind itself not to build railways to its frontier without the consent of the other, the eastern and northern frontiers of the Transvaal being excepted. The railway from Pretoria to Bloemfontein was to be proceeded with; neither party was to enter the customs union without the consent of the other. The Transvaal was to pay £20,000 annually to the Free State for loss incurred for not having the railway to Cape Colony. Such a treaty as the one proposed would simply have enslaved the Free State to the Transvaal. It was rejected by the Free State volksraad in due course, but President Kruger determined on a still more active measure, and proceeded to interview President Brand at Bloemfontein. A series of meetings took place in October of the same year (1887). President Brand opened the proceedings by proposing a treaty of friendship and free trade between the two republics. President Kruger, however, soon brushed these propositions aside, and responded by stating that, in consideration of the common enemy and the dangers which threatened the republic, an offensive and defensive alliance must be preliminary to any closer union. Brand refused to allow the Free State to be committed to a suicidal treaty, or dragged into any wild policy, which the Transvaal might deem it expedient to adopt. The result of the whole conference was that Kruger returned to Pretoria completely baffled, and for a time the Free State was saved from being a party to the fatal policy into which others subsequently drew it. Independent power of action was retained by Brand for the Free State in both the railway and customs union questions.

THE BREAK WITH GREAT BRITAIN

After Sir John Brand's death, as already stated, Mr. Reitz became president, and consistently followed out that policy which, as one of the founders of the Bond, he had endeavoured to inaugurate throughout Dutch South Africa. A series of agreements and measures in the volksraad gradually subordinated those true Free State interests which Brand had always protected to the mistaken ambition and narrow views of the Transvaal. Mr. Fraser in vain tried to stem the tide of Krugerism within the Free State, but the extent to which it had travelled after Brand's death was evidenced by the election for president in February, 1896, when Mr. Steyn was elected against Mr. Fraser by forty-one votes to nineteen. That this election should have taken place immediately after the Jameson raid probably increased President Steyn's majority. At the same time the history of the state after Brand's death renders it probable that Mr. Fraser's defeat was only a question of degree. Mr. Fraser continued, down to the outbreak of the war of 1899, consistently to denounce the policy on which the Free State had embarked, warning his countrymen continually that this policy could have but one end — the loss of their independence. Underlying the state policy there was undoubtedly the belief, if not with President Steyn himself, at least with his followers, that the two republics combined would be more than a match for the power of Great Britain should hostilities eventually occur.

In December, 1897, the Free State revised its constitution in reference to the franchise law, and the process of naturalisation was reduced from five to three years. The oath of allegiance to the state was alone required, and no

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renunciation of nationality was insisted upon. In 1898 the Free State also acquiesced in the fresh convention arranged with regard to the customs unions between the Cape Colony, Basutoland, and the Bechuanaland protectorate. These measures suggest that already a slight reaction against the extreme policy of President Kruger had set in. But events were moving rapidly in the Transvaal, and matters had proceeded too far for the Free State to turn back. In 1899 President Steyn suggested the conference at Bloemfontein between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, but this act, if it expressed at all a genuine desire for reconciliation, was too late. President Kruger had got the Free State ensnared in his meshes. The Free Staters were bound practically hand and foot, under the offensive and defensive alliance, in case hostilities arose with Great Britain, either to denounce the policy to which they had so unwisely been secretly party, or to throw in their lot with the Transvaal. War occurred, and they accepted the inevitable consequence. In September, 1899, Sir Alfred Milner sent a despatch to President Steyn, informing him that the exigencies of the situation demanded that he should take some steps to protect his line of communications, and that he was stationing a force near the Orange Free State frontier. Sir Alfred Milner at the same time expressed the hope that the difference between the British government and the Transvaal might still be adjusted, but if this hope were disappointed, he should look to the Free State to preserve strict neutrality, in which case the integrity of their territory would in all circumstances be respected. In similar circumstances Sir John Brand had remained neutral in 1881, but he was unfettered by any treaty with the Transvaal. For President Steyn and the Free State of 1899, in the light of the negotiations we have recorded, neutrality was impossible. Before war had actually broken out the Free State began to expel British subjects, and the very first act of war was committed by Free State Boers, who, on the 11th of October, seized a train upon the border belonging to Natal.[b]

THE TRANSVAAL

The historic life of the Transvaal begins with the Great Trek, or general exodus of the Cape Colony Boers, who, being dissatisfied, especially with the liberal policy of the British government towards the natives, removed northwards in large numbers between the years 1833 and 1837. By 1836 some thousands had already crossed the Vaal, that is, had reached the "Trans-Vaal" country, which at that time was mostly under the sway of the powerful refugee Zulu chief Moselekatse, whose principal kraal was at Mosega in the present Marico district on the west frontier. To avenge the massacre of some emigrant bands, the Boers under Maritz and Potgieter attacked and utterly defeated Moselekatse at this place in 1837. Next year the Zulu chief withdrew beyond the Limpopo, where he founded the present Matabele state between that river and the Zambesi, thus leaving the region between the Vaal and Limpopo virtually in the hands of the trekkers. But their position was rendered insecure on the east side by the military despotism of the fierce Zulu chief Dingaan, who, after the murder of his brother Chaka, had asserted his authority over the whole of Zululand and most of the present Natal. The situation was rendered almost desperate by the complete route and wholesale massacre (1838) of the right division of the emigrant Boers, who had ventured to cross the Buffalo under Peter Retief, and who were defeated by Dingaan, first at Umkongloof (Aceldama), then at Weenen

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(Weeping), and again soon after under Uys, Maritz, and Potgieter, when as many as eight hundred fell before the irresistible onslaught of the disciplined Zulu warriors.

At this critical juncture the trekkers were saved from utter extermination by Andries Pretorius of Graaf-Reinet, by whom Dingaan met with a first check before the close of 1838, followed in January, 1840, by a still more crushing defeat. Dingaan having been soon after murdered, the friendly Panda was set up in his place, and Natal proclaimed a Boer republic. But the British occupation of that territory in 1843 induced the Boers to retire in two bands across the Drakensberg, the southern division settling in the present Orange Free State, the northern again passing into the Transvaal. But, owing to internal dissensions, and the perpetual bickerings of the two most prominent personalities, Pretorius and Potgieter, all attempts at establishing an organised system of government throughout the Transvaal ended in failure, till Pretorius induced the British government to sign the Sand River Convention (January 17th, 1852), which virtually established the political independence of that region. The death both of Pretorius and Potgieter in 1853 prepared the way for a period of internal peace under Pretorius' eldest son Marthinus Wessels Pretorius, first president of the Dutch African Republic, whose title was afterwards altered (1858) to that of the South African Republic. But a fatal element of weakness lay in the persistent refusal of the Boers to treat the natives on a footing of equality, or even with common justice. The murder of Hermann Potgieter and family (1854), avenged by Pretorius at Makapan's Cave, was followed (1856) by the Apprentice Law, establishing a system of disguised slavery, which was further strengthened by the sanction (1858) of the *Grond wet*, or Fundamental Law, declaring that the "people will admit of no equality of persons of colour with the white inhabitants either in state or church." Owing to this policy opposition was constantly shown both to the English traders, disposed to deal fairly with all, and to the missionaries, preachers of universal equality, as illustrated by the plunder of Livingstone's house by the commando sent against the native chief Secheli in 1852.[d]

Apart from the trek Boers' attitude towards the natives, their history in the Transvaal until 1877 shows that they carried with them to their new home a spirit hostile not merely, as has been represented by many writers, to British rule, but to civilised rule in any shape or form. They and their fathers had, while still resident in the frontier districts of the colony, rebelled first of all against the government of the Dutch East India Company, and at a later date against the British government, because they resented in both cases any interference with their relations either to the natives or to one another. Governments within the Transvaal appointed by themselves, as a review of their history will show, fared no better, but even worse than those from the rule of which the Boers had withdrawn.

In 1856 a series of public meetings among the Boers, summoned by Commandant-General Matthias Wessels Pretorius, was held at different districts in the Transvaal for the purpose of discussing and deciding whether the time had not arrived for abolishing the system of petty district governments which had hitherto existed. The result was that a representative assembly of delegates was elected, empowered to draft a constitution. In December this assembly met at Potchefstroom, and for three weeks was engaged in modelling the constitution of the country. The new constitution made provision for a volksraad to which members were to be elected by the people for a period of two years, and in which the legislative function was vested. The administrative authority was to be vested in a president, aided by an execu-

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tive council. It was stipulated that members both of assembly and council should be members of the Dutch Reformed church.

In reviewing an incident so important in the history of the Transvaal as the appointment of the Potchefstroom assembly, it is of interest to note the gist of the complaint among the Boers which led to this revolution in the government of the country as it had previously existed. In his *History of South Africa*, Theal says, "The community of Lydenburg" (the oldest district government) "was accused of attempting to domineer over the whole country, without any other right to pre-eminence than that of being composed of the earliest inhabitants, a right which it had forfeited by its opposition to the general weal." In later years this complaint was precisely that of the Uitlanders at Johannesburg. In order to endeavour to conciliate one of these district governments at Zoutpansberg, the new-born assembly at Potchefstroom appointed Mr. Schoeman, a commandant of the Zoutpansberg district, commandant-general. This offer was, however, declined by Schoeman, and both Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg indignantly repudiated the new assembly and its constitution. The executive council, which had been appointed by the Potchefstroom assembly with Pretorius as president, now took up a bolder attitude: they deposed Schoeman from all authority, declared Zoutpansberg in a state of blockade, and denounced Boers of the two northern districts as rebels.

In order further to strengthen their position, Pretorius and his party also endeavoured to bring about a union with the Free State. With this intention they sent emissaries to the Free State government to make overtures on the subject. These overtures were rejected. Nothing daunted, Pretorius determined to win by force what he had failed to obtain by persuasion. There was a certain number of Free State Boers prepared to accede to the proposals of Pretorius, and relying on their aid, Pretorius entered into an intrigue to overthrow the president of the Free State, Boshof, and his government. Pretorius placed himself at the head of a commando and crossed the Vaal, being joined by a certain number of Free State burghers. On learning of the invasion, President Boshof immediately took energetic measures to defend his country. He proclaimed martial law, called out his burghers, and marched towards Kroonstad to meet the invaders. At the same time Boshof received an offer from the outraged and deposed General Schoeman of Zoutpansberg to gather a force and come to his assistance.

The forces of Pretorius and Boshof at length faced each other on opposite banks of the Rhenoster river. Threatened from the north as well as the south, Pretorius now recognised that he was engaged in a dangerous enterprise. He had as his lieutenant on this occasion no less a personage than Mr. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, and to Mr. Kruger was entrusted the task of bearing a flag of truce to the Free Staters, with an expression of hope that a peaceful settlement might be arrived at. A treaty, containing an apology from Pretorius, was agreed upon, and the invading force withdrew. By the year 1860, the foregoing events notwithstanding, Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg had become incorporated with the republic. Schoeman had accepted the post of commandant-general, and Pretoria was made the seat of government and capital of the country. The state was now apparently united, and the government founded on the will of the people. The Separatist church of Holland in the year 1858 sent out a young expositor of its doctrines, named Postma. This minister settled at Rustenburg and founded the first branch of the Dopper sect, a sect which has since become famous in the Transvaal, as well as in the Free State and even Cape Colony. The tenets

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of the Separatist Reformed (or Dopper) church do not call for close analysis here. It will be sufficient to say that they approached somewhat those held by the Scottish covenanters. They raised strong objection to the singing of hymns, other than paraphrases of Scripture, as part of the church service. Of this sect Paul Kruger, who resided near Rustenburg, became an adherent.

In 1860 a curious sequel to the invasion of the Free State by Pretorius occurred. Pretorius, while still president of the Transvaal, was elected president of the Free State. He thereupon obtained six months' leave of absence and repaired to Bloemfontein, in the hope of peacefully bringing about a union between the two republics. He had no sooner left the Transvaal than the old Lydenburg party, headed by Potgieter, landdrost of Lydenburg, protested that the union would be much more beneficial to the Free State than to the people of Lydenburg, and followed this up with the contention that it was illegal for any one to be president of the South African Republic and the Free State at the same time. Pretorius, apparently in disgust at the whole situation, resigned. Mr. J. H. Grobelaar, who had been appointed president during the temporary absence of Pretorius, was requested to remain in office. The immediate followers of Pretorius now became extremely incensed at the action of the Lydenburg party, and a mass meeting was held at Potchefstroom, where it was resolved that: (1) the volksraad no longer enjoyed its confidence; (2) that Pretorius should remain president of the South African Republic, and have a year's leave of absence to bring about union with the Free State; (3) that Schoeman should act as president during the absence of Pretorius; (4) that before the return of Pretorius to resume his duties a new volksraad should be elected.

The events of the year 1860, as well as of all the years that followed down to British annexation in 1877, show that licence rather than liberty, a narrow spirit of faction rather than patriotism, were the dominant instincts of the Boer. Had the fusion of the two little republics which Pretorius sought to bring about, and from which apparently the Free State was not averse, actually been accomplished in 1860, it is more than probable that a republican state on liberal lines, with some prospect of permanence and stability, might have been formed. But a narrow, distrustful, grasping policy on the part of whatever faction might be dominant at the time invariably prevented the state from acquiring stability and security at any stage of its history. On no less than three occasions, unique opportunities were afforded for consolidating and establishing this republic. The first of these occasions we have dealt with. The second occurred in 1887, and the third in 1895. Of these opportunities no advantage was taken.

The complications that ensued on the action of the Pretorius party subsequent to his resignation were interminable and complicated. Some of the new party were arraigned for treason and fined; and for several months there were once more two acting presidents and two rival governments within the Transvaal. At length Commandant Paul Kruger called out the burghers of his district and entered into the strife. In 1864, after a series of intestine quarrels, a conference was held lasting six days, followed by a new election for president, and once more Pretorius was called upon to fill that office. Kruger was appointed commandant-general.

Civil strife for a time was now at an end, but the injuries inflicted on the state were deep and lasting. The public funds were exhausted; taxes, always an abomination to the Transvaal Boer, were not only in arrear, but impossible to collect; and the natives on the borders of the country and in the mountains of the north, taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, had thrown off

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all allegiance to the state. The prestige of the country was practically gone, not only with the world outside, but, what was of still more moment, with her neighbour the Free State, which felt that a federation with the Transvaal, which the Free State once had sought but which it now definitely foreswore, was an evil avoided and not an advantage lost. A charge frequently laid at the door of the Boers, at that time and since, was that of enslaving the black races. It is true that laws prohibiting slavery were in existence, but the Boer who periodically took up arms against his own appointed government was not likely to be, nor was he, restrained by laws. Natives were openly transferred from one Boer to another, and the fact that they were described as apprentices by the farmers did not in the least alter the status of the native, who to all intents and purposes became the property of his master.

In 1865 an empty exchequer called for drastic measures, and the volksraad determined to endeavour to meet their liabilities and provide for further contingencies by the issue of notes. Paper money was thus introduced, and in a very short time fell to a considerable discount. In this same year the farmers of the Zoutpansberg district were driven into laagers by a native rising which for some considerable time they were unable to suppress. Schoemansdal, a village at the foot of the Zoutpansberg, was the most important settlement of the district, and the most advanced outpost in European occupation at that time in South Africa. At length a small relief party proceeded to the district, but they had no sooner arrived than dissensions arose between them and some of the more turbulent spirits of the Zoutpansberg. Ultimately Schoemansdal and a considerable portion of the district were abandoned, and Schoemansdal finally was burned to ashes by a party of natives.

Meanwhile the public credit and finances of the Transvaal went from bad to worse. The paper notes already issued had been constituted by the law legal tender for all debts, but in 1868 their power of actual purchase was only 30 per cent. compared with that of gold, and by 1870 it had fallen as low as 25 per cent. Civil servants, who were paid in this depreciated scrip, naturally suffered considerable distress. The revenue for 1869 was stated as £31,511; the expenditure at £30,836. The discovery of gold at Tati led President Pretorius in 1868 to issue a proclamation extending his territories on the west and north so as to embrace the gold field, and on the east so as to advance considerably over the Portuguese boundary. This proclamation was followed by protests on the part of her majesty's high commissioner, Sir Philip Wodehouse, as well as on the part of the consul-general for Portugal in South Africa. The boundary on the east was settled by a treaty with Portugal in 1870; that on the west was dealt with in 1871.

The Sand River Convention of 1852 had not clearly defined the western border of the state, and the discovery of gold at Tati to the northwest, together with the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal in 1867, doubtless offered Pretorius every inducement to extend his boundary. Although to-day the great diamond mines are south of the Vaal river, it so happened that the early discoveries of diamonds were made chiefly on the northern bank of the Vaal near the site of the town now known as Barkly West. This territory was claimed by the South African Republic, by some of the Batlaping tribe, and also by Mr. David Arnot, on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer, the chief of the Griquas, a race of bastards sprung from the illicit intercourse between Boers and native women, who had been settled north of the Orange since 1834. In order to settle the boundary question, an arbitration court was appointed, consisting of a Transvaal landdrost, Mr. O'Reilly, on behalf of the South

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African Republic, and Mr. John Campbell on behalf of the other claimants, with Lieutenant-Governor Keate of Natal as final referee. The two judges disagreed, and the final decision, afterwards known as the Keate award, was given by the referee. The decision was in favour of Waterboer, and conceded to him the boundary line to the north and northeast which his agent Arnot had claimed for him. Following on this decision, Waterboer offered his territory to Queen Victoria. The offer was accepted, and the territory became British under the title of Griqualand West. The Keate award practically brought Bechuanaland into existence as a separate state, and thus kept the great trade route to the north open to British enterprise.

The award caused a strong feeling of resentment among the Boers, and led to the resignation of President Pretorius and his executive. The Boers now cast about to find a man who should have the necessary ability, as they said, to negotiate on equal terms with the British authorities should any future question of dispute arise. With this view they approached Sir John Henry Brand, president of the Free State, and asked him to allow them to nominate him for the presidency of the South African Republic. To this Brand would not consent. The Boers then invited the reverend Thomas Francois Burgers, a member of a well-known Cape Colony family and a minister of the Dutch Reformed church, to allow himself to be nominated. Burgers accepted the offer, and in 1872 was duly elected president. In 1871 gold reefs were discovered in the Zoutpansberg district near Marabastad, and already a few gold-seekers from Europe and Cape Colony began to prospect the northern portions of the Transvaal. The miners and prospectors did not, however, exceed a few hundred in number for several years, and it was not until 1882 that they began to make themselves felt as a political and an important commercial factor in the development and future of the country.

The appointment of Burgers to the presidency in 1872 was a new departure, Hitherto the Boers had always chosen one of their own number as president, but in Burgers they had selected a man from outside for the express purpose of securing an educated and capable leader. In a measure Burgers may be said to have fulfilled their choice. He was able, active, and enlightened, but he was unfortunately a visionary rather than a man of affairs or sound judgment. Instead of reducing chaos to order and concentrating his attention, as Brand had done so wisely in the Free State, on establishing security and promoting industry in the country, he took up with all its entanglements, the old misguided policy of intrigues with native chiefs beyond the border and the dream of indefinite expansion.

On his return to the Transvaal in 1876, after a trip to Europe in a futile endeavour to raise a loan of £300,000 for the construction of a railway to Delagoa Bay, Burgers found that the condition of affairs in the state was worse than ever. The acting president, Joubert, had, in his absence been granted leave by the volksraad to carry out various measures opposed to the public welfare, native lands had been indiscriminately allotted to adventurers, and a war with Secocoeni, a native chief on the eastern borders of the country, was imminent. A commando was called out, which the president himself led. The expedition was an ignominious failure, and many burghers did not hesitate to assign their non-success to the fact that Burgers' views on religious questions were not sound. Burgers then proceeded to levy taxes, which were never paid; to enroll troops, which never marched; and to continue the head of a government which had neither resources, credit, nor power of administration. In 1877 the Transvaal one-pound notes were valued at one shilling cash. Add to this condition of things the fact that the Zulus were threatening

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the Transvaal on its western border, and the picture of utter collapse which existed in the state is complete. In 1877 the condition of the Transvaal appeared so menacing to the peace of South Africa that Sir Theophilus Shepstone was despatched to the country by the high commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly, to confer with President Burgers as to its future government.

By this time Burgers had had his eyes opened to the true state of things. He was no longer blinded by the foolish optimism of a visionary who had woven fine-spun theories of what an ideal republic might be. He had lived among the Boers and attempted to lead their government. He had found their idea of liberty to be anarchy, their native policy to be slavery, and their republic to be a sham. His was a bitter awakening, and the bitterness of it found expression in some remarkable words addressed to the volksraad: "I would rather," said Burgers in March, 1877, "be a policeman under a strong government than the president of such a state. It is you — you members of the raad and the Boers — who have lost the country, who have sold your independence for a drink. You have ill-treated the natives, you have shot them down, you have sold them into slavery, and now you have to pay the penalty. To-day a bill for £1,000 was laid before me for signature, but I would sooner have cut off my right hand than sign that paper, for I have not the slightest ground to expect that when that bill becomes due there will be a penny to pay it with."

BRITISH ANNEXATION (1877 A.D.)

After spending some months at Pretoria, Shepstone satisfied himself that annexation was the only possible salvation for the Transvaal. The treasury was empty, the Boers refused to pay their taxes, and there was no power to enforce them. A public debt of £215,000 existed, and government contractors were left unpaid. Out of a male population of less than nine thousand, three thousand had already signed a petition for annexation. Sir Theophilus Shepstone therefore, in April, 1877, issued a proclamation annexing the country. The proclamation stated: "It is the wish of her most gracious majesty that it [the state] shall enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of its people." The wisdom of the step taken by Shepstone has been called in question. No one who acquaints himself with the simple facts of the position will deny that Shepstone's task was an extremely difficult one, and that he acted with care and moderation. The best evidence in favour of the step is to be found in the publicly expressed views of the state's own president, Burgers, already quoted. Moreover, the menace of attack on the Zulu side was a pressing and serious one. Even before annexation had occurred, Shepstone felt the danger so acutely that he sent a message to Cettiwayo, the Zulu chief, warning him that British annexation was about to be proclaimed and that invasion of the Transvaal would not be tolerated. To this warning Cettiwayo, who, encouraged by the defeat of the Boers at Secocoeni's hands, had already gathered his warriors together, replied: "I thank my father Somtseu [Shepstone] for his message. I am glad that he has sent it, because the Dutch have tired me out, and I intended to fight with them and to drive them over the Vaal."

A still further reason for Shepstone's annexation, given by Sir Bartle Frere, was that Burgers had already sought alliance with continental powers, and Shepstone had no reason to doubt that if Great Britain refused to interfere, Germany would intervene. The only military force at Shepstone's

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command at the time of annexation was twenty-five policemen, and it is quite certain that, apart from the attitude of President Burgers, which cannot be said to have been one of active opposition, a large number, probably a majority of the Boers, accepted the annexation with complacency. Burgers himself left the Transvaal a disappointed, heart-broken man, and a deathbed statement published some time after his decease throws a lurid light on the intrigues which arose both before and after annexation. He shows how, for purely personal ends, Kruger allied himself with the British faction who were agitating for annexation, and in order to undermine him and endeavour to gain the presidency actually urged the Boers to pay no taxes. However this may be, Burgers was crushed, but as a consequence the British government and not Paul Kruger was, for a time at least, master of the Transvaal. In view of his attitude before annexation, it was not surprising that Kruger should be one of the first men to agitate against it afterwards. The work of destruction had gone too far. The plot had miscarried. And so Kruger and Jorissen were the first to approach Lord Carnarvon with an appeal for revocation of the proclamation. To this request Lord Carnarvon's reply was that the act of annexation was an irrevocable one. Unfortunately, the train of events in England favoured the intrigues of the party who were bent on getting the annexation cancelled. In 1878 Lord Carnarvon resigned, and there were other evidences of dissension in the British cabinet.

Kruger, who since the annexation had held a salaried appointment under the British government, became one of a deputation to England. On this occasion Sir T. Shepstone not unnaturally determined to dispense with his further services as a government servant. In the beginning of 1879 Shepstone was recalled and Colonel Owen Lanyon, an entire stranger to the Boers and their language, was appointed his successor as administrator in the Transvaal. In the meantime, the Zulu forces which threatened the Transvaal had been turned against the British, and the disaster of Isandhlwana occurred. Rumours of British defeat soon reached the Transvaal, and encouraged the disaffected party to become still bolder in their agitation against British rule.

In April, Sir Bartle Frere visited Pretoria and conferred with the Boers. He assured them that they might look forward to complete self government under the crown, and at the same time urged them to sink political differences and join hands with the British against their common enemy, the Zulus. The Boers, however, continued to agitate for complete independence, and with the honourable exception of Piet Uys, a gallant Boer leader, and a small band of followers, who assisted Colonel Evelyn Wood at Hlobani, the Boers held entirely aloof from the conflict with the Zulus, a campaign which cost Great Britain many lives and £5,000,000 before the Zulu power was finally broken. In June Sir Garnet Wolseley went to South Africa as commander of the forces against the Zulus, and as high commissioner "for a time," in place of Sir Bartle Frere, of the Transvaal and Natal. After the settlement of the Zulu question, Sir Garnet Wolseley proceeded to Pretoria and immediately organised an expedition against the old Transvaal enemy Secocoeni, who throughout the Zulu campaign had been acting under the advice of Cettiwayo. Secocoeni's stronghold was captured and his forces disbanded.

It will be seen from this review of the events following annexation that the first work accomplished, over and above establishing a solvent and responsible government in the country, was the demolition by the British of the two native foes who for so long had harassed the Boers. In speaking, after the conclusion of the native wars, on the question of the revocation of the Act of Annexation, Sir Garnet Wolseley assured the Boers at a public gathering that

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so long as the sun shone the British flag would fly at Pretoria. In May, 1880, he returned to England. Meanwhile events in Great Britain had once more taken a turn which gave encouragement to the disaffected Boers. Already in November, 1879, Gladstone had conducted his Midlothian campaign. In his speeches he denounced in the strongest terms the annexation which had been carried out by the Beaconsfield government. Referring to Cyprus and the Transvaal, he went so far as to say, "If those acquisitions were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they were obtained by means dishonourable to the character of our country." Expressions such as these were translated into Dutch and distributed among the Boers by some of their leaders, and it is impossible not to admit that they exercised a good deal of influence in fanning the agitation for retrocession already going on in the Transvaal. So keenly were the Midlothian speeches appreciated by the Boers that the Boer committee wrote a letter of thanks to Mr. Gladstone, and expressed the hope that, should a change in the government of Great Britain occur, "the injustice done to the Transvaal might find redress."

In April, 1880, this change in the British government did occur. Gladstone became prime minister, and shortly afterwards Frere was recalled. Could events be more auspicious for the party seeking retrocession? If words in the mouth of an ex-minister at election time meant anything, retrocession could only be a matter of time. The loyalists, not only in the Transvaal, but throughout South Africa, were disheartened and disgusted. The retrocession party in the Transvaal redoubled their efforts and their appeals. They were not destined to meet with such immediate success as the British premier's speeches, delivered during the heat of an election, very naturally led them to anticipate. On being directly appealed to by Kruger and Joubert, Mr. Gladstone replied that the liberty which they sought might be "most easily and promptly conceded to the Transvaal as a member of a South African confederation." This was not at all what was wanted, and the agitation continued. Meanwhile in the Transvaal itself, concurrently with the change of prime minister and high commissioner, the administrator, Colonel Lanyon, began vigorously to enforce taxation among the Boers. Men who would not pay taxes to their own appointed governments, and who were daily expecting to be allowed to return to that condition of anarchy which they had come to regard as the normal order of things, were not likely to respond willingly to the tax-gatherer's demands. That many of them refused payment in the circumstances which existed was natural.

THE FIRST BOER WAR (1880-1881 A.D.)

In November matters were brought to a head by some wagons being seized for the non-payment of taxes, and promptly retaken from the sheriff by a party of Boers. Lanyon began to recognise that the position was becoming grave, and wired to Sir George Colley, the high commissioner of Southeast Africa, for military aid. This, however, was not immediately available, and the Boers in public meeting at Paardekraal resolved once more to proclaim the South African Republic, and in the meantime to appoint a triumvirate, consisting of Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, who were to act as a provisional government. Within three days of the Paardekraal meeting a letter was sent to the administrator demanding the keys of the government offices within forty-eight hours. Hostilities forthwith began, and then followed a series of the most disastrous skirmishes, the most contradictory and most vacillating changes of policy which have ever embarrassed a military force or discredited

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a government. No outbreak or rebellion ever occurred under more anomalous conditions. While the administrator and high commissioner were endeavouring to carry out with very inadequate resources the declared policy of the British government and their own instructions, continual pressure was being put on the British prime minister, not only from the insurgent Boers but from his own followers, to carry out the policy he had avowed while out of office, and to grant the retrocession of the country. But it was not until Great Britain was suffering from the humiliation of defeat that the premier was convinced that the time for granting that retrocession had arrived. The first shots fired were outside Potchefstroom, which was then occupied by a small British garrison, who, aided by the loyal inhabitants of the town, successfully sustained a siege of the place until after the close of the war. On December 29th, a small body of some 240 men, chiefly belonging to the 94th regiment, while marching from Lydenburg to Pretoria, were surprised and cut up by the Boer forces. Half the men were killed and wounded, the other half, including some officers, were taken prisoners. Of the prisoners, captains Elliott and Lambert were subsequently treacherously shot by the Boers while crossing a stream after they had been released on parole. In the meantime Pretoria, Rustenburg, Lydenburg, and other small towns had been placed in a position of defence under the directions of Colonel Bellairs, who remained in command at Pretoria, the garrison consisting of a small number of troops and the loyal inhabitants. Sir George Colley, with about fourteen hundred men, marched towards the Transvaal frontier, but before reaching it he found, on January 24th, 1881, that the Boers had already invaded Natal and occupied Laing's Nek. He pitched his camp at Ingogo.[e]

Disaster followed disaster in rapid succession. On January 28th, with a battalion of the 58th infantry and a company of mounted infantry, he made a rash and desperate attempt to dislodge the forces of two thousand Boers who had firmly intrenched themselves on the heights of Laing's Nek. The result was disastrous and the British retired with a loss of 190 officers and men. On February 8th, while conducting a reconnoitring party of three hundred on the Newcastle road on Ingogo heights, Colley was surprised by a superior Boer force and only after the severest sort of fighting, in which he lost half his men, was he able to cut his way back to the main body of his troops.[a]

On February 27th came the crowning disaster of Majuba hill. Majuba is a flat topped mountain towering some two thousand feet over the western side of Laing's Nek. Colley conceived the idea of ascending it and thus turning the flank of the Boer position. With five hundred and fifty-four men selected, from various regiments, the ascent was made on the night of the 26th. In the morning the Boers saw the force on Majuba and for a moment thought of abandoning their position. On second thought they determined to make a bold attempt to drive Colley off the hill. Less than two hundred volunteers under General Nicholas Smit carried out the feat of actually storming the top of Majuba. Creeping up under cover of the steep hill-side they gradually worked their way up, shooting every man that exposed himself on the summit. No attempt had been made to occupy the lower slopes which commanded the approach, and the bayonet charge which might have saved the day at the last moment was never carried out. The British troops broke and rushed headlong down the hill. Sir G. Colley and ninety-one men were killed, one hundred and thirty-four wounded, and a number of prisoners taken. Of the Boers one man was killed outright and another died afterwards of his wounds.[l]

Ten days previous to the disaster at Majuba, Sir Evelyn Wood had arrived at Newcastle with reinforcements. On Colley's death he assumed command,

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and on March 6th concluded an armistice with Joubert at Laing's Nek. Lord Kimberley then telegraphed offering an amnesty to the Boers. Gladstone announced in parliament that an opportunity for a settlement of affairs in the Transvaal had arisen. On March 6th the terms of peace were arranged between the Boers and Sir Evelyn Wood. The most important of these terms were that the Transvaal should have complete self government under British suzerainty, and that a British resident should be stationed at Pretoria. The treaty of peace practically conceded all that the Boers demanded, and was never regarded as anything else than surrender either by the Boers or the loyalists in South Africa. It had hardly been concluded when Sir Frederick Roberts arrived at the Cape with ten thousand troops, and after spending forty-eight hours there returned to England.

In the meantime, while the English general was making a treaty under the instructions of British ministers on the frontier, the beleaguered garrisons of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and other smaller towns were stoutly and gallantly holding their own. The news of the surrender reached Pretoria through Boer sources, and when first received there was laughed at by the garrison and inhabitants as a Boer joke. When the bitter truth was at length realised, the British flag was dragged through the dust of Pretoria streets by outraged Englishmen. At Potchefstroom the garrison under Colonel Winsloe were hard pressed. During the siege a third of their number had been killed and wounded. The Boer commander, Cronje, was duly informed of the armistice by his leaders, but in spite of this knowledge continued the siege for ten days afterwards, until Winsloe and his little band were compelled to surrender. In May the terms of settlement already agreed upon were drawn up at Pretoria in the form of a convention and signed. The preamble to the Pretoria Convention of 1881 contained in brief but explicit terms the grant of self government to the Boers, subject to British suzerainty. In later years, when the Boers desired to regard the whole of this convention (and not merely the articles) as cancelled by the London Convention of 1884, and with it the suzerainty which was only mentioned in the preamble, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that if the preamble to this instrument were considered cancelled, so also would the grant of self government be cancelled. The Pretoria Convention contained thirty-three articles. The most important of these reserved to her majesty "the control of the external relations of the said state, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with foreign powers," and the right to march troops through the Transvaal. The boundaries of the state were defined, and to them the Transvaal was strictly to adhere.

The retrocession of the Transvaal was a terrible blow to the loyalists. The Boers on the other hand, found themselves in better plight than they had ever been before. Their native foes Cettiwayo and Secocoeni had been crushed by British forces; their liabilities were consolidated into a debt to Great Britain, to be repaid at convenience and leisure — as a matter of fact, not even interest was paid for some time. If ever a small state was well treated by a large one, the Transvaal was so in the retrocession of 1881. Unfortunately, this magnanimity was forthcoming after defeat. It appeared as though a virtue had been made of a necessity, and the Boers never could regard it in any other light.

The new volksraad had scarcely been returned, and Kruger elected president, before a system of government concessions to private individuals was started. These concessions, in so far as they prejudiced the commerce and general interests of the inhabitants, consisted chiefly in the granting of monop-

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olies. Among the first monopolies which were granted in 1882 was one for the manufacture of spirituous liquor. The system continued steadily down to 1899, by which time railways, dynamite, spirits, iron, sugar, wool, bricks, jam, paper, and a number of other things, were all of them articles of monopoly. In 1882 also began that alteration of the franchise law which subsequently developed into positive exclusion of all but the original Boer burghers of the country from the franchise. In 1881, on the retrocession, full franchise rights could be obtained after two years' residence; in 1882 the period of residence was increased to five years. Meanwhile the land-hunger of the Boers became stimulated rather than checked by the regaining of the independence of their country. On the western border intrigues were already going on with petty tribal chiefs, and the Boers drove out a portion of the Ba-Rolongs from their lands, setting up the so-called republics of Stellaland and Goshen. This act called forth a protest from Lord Derby, the minister chiefly responsible for the Pretoria Convention, stating that he could not recognise the right of Boer freebooters to set up governments of their own on the Transvaal borders. This protest, however, had no effect upon the freebooters, who issued one proclamation after another until in November, 1883, they united the two new republics under the title of the United States of Stellaland. Simultaneously with this "irresponsible" movement for expansion, President Kruger, having found the policy of putting pressure upon Great Britain so successful, proceeded to London to interview Lord Derby and endeavour to induce him to dispense with the suzerainty, and to withdraw other clauses in the Pretoria Convention on foreign relations and natives, which were objectionable from the Boer point of view. Moreover, Kruger significantly requested that the term South African Republic should be substituted for Transvaal State.

The result was the London Convention of 1884. In this document a fresh set of articles was substituted for those of the Pretoria Convention of 1881. In the articles of the new convention the boundaries were once more defined, and to them the Transvaal was bound "strictly to adhere." In what followed it must always be remembered that Lord Derby began by emphatically rejecting the first Boer draft of a treaty on the ground that no treaty was possible except between equal sovereign states. Moreover, it is undeniable that Lord Derby acted as though he was anxious to appear to be giving the Boers what they wanted. He would not formally abolish the suzerainty, but he was willing not to mention it; and though, as before stated, in substituting new articles for those of the Pretoria Convention he left the preamble untouched, he avoided anything which could commit the Boer delegates to a formal recognition of that fact. On the other hand, he was most indignant when in the house of lords he was accused by Lord Cairns of impairing British interests and relinquishing the queen's suzerainty. He declared that he had preserved the thing in its substance, if he had not actually used the word; and this view of the matter was always officially maintained in the colonial office (which, significantly enough, dealt with Transvaal affairs) whatever the political party in power. Unfortunately, the timid way in which it was done made as ineffaceable an impression on Kruger even as the surrender after Majuba. Article 4 stated: "The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the republic, until the same has been approved by her majesty the queen." The other article to which the greatest interest was subsequently attached was Article 14: "All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South

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African Republic (1) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (2) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (3) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (4) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said republic."

As the freebooters continued their operations in Bechuanaland, Sir Hercules Robinson despatched the Reverend J. Mackenzie to adjust matters and if necessary "to order the ejectment of the persons now trespassing at Rooi Grond." Mr. Mackenzie met with but partial success, and Mr. Rhodes was sent to succeed him, but the latter equally failed to bring about a settlement. Meanwhile President Kruger "provisionally" proclaimed and ordained, "in the interests of humanity," that the territory in dispute should be under the protection of the South African Republic. Public protests were made in Cape Town and throughout the colony against this last act of aggression, and in October, 1884, Sir Charles Warren was despatched by the British government to "pacificate" and "hold the country" pending further instructions. Thereupon President Kruger withdrew his proclamation. Sir Charles Warren subsequently broke up the freebooters' two states, and occupied the country without a shot being fired. The expedition cost Great Britain a million and a half, but the attempt at further extension westwards was foiled.

At the eastern border a similar policy was followed by the Boers, and in this instance with more success. Following up the downfall of the Zulu power after the British conquest in 1879, several parties of Boers began intriguing with the petty chiefs, and in January, 1883, in the presence of ten thousand Zulus, they proclaimed Dinizulu, the son of Cettiwayo, to be king of Zululand. As a "reward" for their services to the Zulus, the Boers then took over from them a tract of country in which they established a new republic. Encouraged by success, the Boer claims were extended until at the end of 1885 they claimed about three fourths of the whole Zulu territory. In 1886 the new republic, with limits considerably narrowed, was recognised by Great Britain, and the territory became incorporated with the Transvaal in 1888. Their eastern boundary, in the teeth of the spirit of the conventions and with but scant observance of the latter, was by this means eventually considerably extended. A similar policy eventually brought Swaziland almost entirely under their dominion.

Meanwhile, events occurring within the state augured ill for the future of the country. In 1884 a concession to a number of Hollander and German capitalists of all rights to make railways in the state led to the formation of the Netherlands Railway Company. This company, which was not actually floated till 1887, was destined to exercise a disastrous influence upon the fortunes of the state. Gold digging, which had commenced with the discovery in 1869 of the Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg gold fields, had hitherto enjoyed in the Transvaal but a precarious existence. In 1883 the discovery of Moodie's Reef near the Kaap valley led to a considerable influx of diggers and prospectors. In 1886 the Rand gold fields, which had just been discovered, were proclaimed and Johannesburg was founded. From that time the gold industry made steady progress until the Rand gold mines proved the richest and most productive gold field in the world. As the industry prospered, so did the European population increase. The revenue of the state went up by leaps and bounds. In 1882 it was £177,407; in 1889, £1,577,445; in 1896,

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£3,912,095. At the end of 1886 Johannesburg consisted of a few stores and some few thousand inhabitants. In October, 1896, the sanitary board census estimated the population as 107,078, of whom 50,907 were Europeans. The wealth which was pouring into the Boer state coffers exceeded the wildest dreams of President Kruger and his followers. Land went up in value, and the Boers eventually parted with a third of the whole land area of the country to Uitlander purchasers. Yet in spite of the wealth which the industry of the Uitlanders was bringing both to the state and to individuals, a policy of rigid political exclusion and restriction was adopted towards them.

An attempt was made in 1888, after the conference held between Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Natal, to induce the Transvaal to enter the customs union. Kruger would have none of it. His design at this time was ultimately to bring the whole of the external trade of the state, which was growing yearly as the gold industry developed, through Delagoa Bay and over the Netherlands Railway. In 1888 Sir John Brand, president of the Free State, died. He was succeeded in 1889 by Mr. Reitz. President Kruger now induced the Free State to agree to a treaty whereby each state bound itself to help the other whenever the independence of either should be threatened or assailed, unless the cause of quarrel was, in the eyes of the state called in to assist, an unjust one. This was the thin end of the wedge, which in Brand's time President Kruger had never been able to insert into the affairs of the Free State.

KRUGER AND THE UITLANDER GRIEVANCES

President Kruger now turned his attention to finding a seaport, and was only prevented from doing so by the British annexation of Tongaland, which barred his progress in that direction. In 1890 a feeling of considerable irritation had grown up among the Uitlanders at the various monopolies, but particularly at the dynamite monopoly, which pressed solely and with peculiar severity upon gold miners. Requests for some consideration in the matter of the franchise, and also for a more liberal commercial policy in the matter of railways, dynamite, and customs dues, began to be made. In response Kruger resorted to the most sweeping alteration in the franchise law. He enacted that the period of qualification for the full franchise should now be raised to ten years instead of five. He at the same time instituted what was called a second chamber, the franchise qualifications for which were certainly less, but which was not endowed with any real power. During this year Kruger visited Johannesburg, and what was known as "the flag incident" occurred. He had by this time rendered himself somewhat unpopular, and in the evening the Transvaal flag, which flew over the landdrost's house, was pulled down. This incensed Kruger so much that for many years he continued to quote it as a reason why no consideration could be granted to the Uitlanders.

In 1892 the Uitlanders began to feel that if they were to obtain any redress for their grievances some combined constitutional action was called for, and the first reform movement began. The Transvaal National Union was formed. This consisted at the outset chiefly of mercantile and professional men and artisans. The mining men, especially the heads of the larger houses, did not care at this juncture to run the risk of political agitation. The objects of this body were avowed from the outset. They desired equal rights for all citizens in the state, the abolition of monopolies and abuses, together with the maintenance of the state's independence. In the furthering of this policy

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the Uitlander leader, Mr. John Tudhope, an ex-minister in the Cape government, was supported by Mr. Charles Leonard and his brother Mr. James Leonard, who at one time had distinguished himself as attorney-general of Cape Colony.

Both the Leonards, as well as many of their followers, were South Africans by birth. They, in common with the great bulk of the Uitlanders, recognised that the state had acquired its independence, and had every right to have that independence respected. They neither sought nor desired to see it abolished. But they asserted that a narrow and retrogressive policy, such as Kruger was following, was the very thing to endanger that independence. The soundness of these views and the legitimacy of Uitlander aspirations were recognised by a few of the most enlightened men among the Boer officials at Pretoria. Some prominent burghers even spoke at Uitlander meetings in favour of the Uitlander requests. At a later date Chief Justice Kotze when on circuit warned the Boers that in its retrogressive action the Boer government was undermining the *grond wet* or constitution of the state. It soon became evident that one course, and only one, lay open to President Kruger if he desired to avert a catastrophe. It was to meet in a friendly spirit those men who had by their industry converted a poor pastoral country into a rich industrial one, who represented more than half the inhabitants, who paid more than three fourths of the revenue, and who were anxious to join him as citizens, with the rights of citizenship. He chose a course diametrically opposite. In an interview accorded to seven delegates from the National Union, who visited him in 1892, with regard to reforms, he told Mr. Charles Leonard to "go back and tell your people that I shall never give them anything. I shall never change my policy. And now let the storm burst."

In 1894 there occurred an incident which not only incensed the Uitlanders to fury, but called for British intervention. A number of British subjects resident in the Transvaal, in spite of their having no political status, were commandeered for compulsory service to suppress a native rising. This led to a protest, and eventually a visit to Pretoria, from Sir Henry Loch. President Kruger at length agreed to extend "most favoured nation" privileges to British subjects in reference to compulsory military service, and five British subjects who had been sent as prisoners to the front were released. Following this incident came a further alteration in the franchise law, making the franchise practically impossible to obtain. The Delagoa Bay Railway now being completed, Kruger determined to take steps to bring the Rand traffic over it. The Netherlands Railway began by putting a prohibitive tariff on goods from the Vaal river. Not to be coerced in this manner, the Rand merchants proceeded to bring their goods on from the Vaal by wagon. Kruger then closed the drifts (or fords) on the river by which the wagons crossed. He only reopened them after the receipt of what was tantamount to an ultimatum on the subject from Great Britain.

At this time the Uitlanders formed a majority of the population, owned half the land and nine tenths of the property, and they were at least entitled to a hearing. When in August, 1895, they forwarded one of their many petitions praying for redress of their grievances and an extension of the franchise, their petition with over thirty-five thousand signatures was rejected with jeers and insult. In September a combined meeting of the chambers of mines and commerce was held at Johannesburg, and a letter on various matters of the greatest importance to the mining industry and community at Johannesburg was addressed to the Boer executive. It was never vouchsafed an answer. Men of any spirit among the Uitlanders were exasperated beyond

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measure. Their position was humiliating. What the next step should be was freely discussed. It was easy to propound the question, impossible to answer it. Some urged an appeal to the imperial government; but others, especially men of colonial birth and experience, objected that they would be leaning on a broken reed. That men who had still the memory of Majuba in their hearts should have felt misgiving is not to be wondered at.

THE JAMESON RAID AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (1895 A.D.)

At this juncture came overtures to the leading Uitlanders from Cecil Rhodes and Doctor Jameson, leading to the Jameson raid. To one or two men this scheme, subsequently known as the Jameson plan, had been revealed earlier in the year, but to the majority even of the small group of leaders it was not known till October or November, 1895. The proposition came in a tempting hour. Mr. Rhodes and Doctor Jameson, after considerable deliberation, came to the conclusion that they might advantageously intervene between Kruger and the Uitlanders. They induced Mr. Alfred Beit, who was an old personal friend of Mr. Rhodes, and also largely interested in the Rand gold mines, to adopt this view and to lend his co-operation. They then submitted their scheme to some of the Uitlander leaders. Between them it was arranged that Doctor Jameson should gather a force of eight hundred men on the Transvaal border; that the Uitlanders should continue their agitation; and that, should no satisfactory concession be obtained from President Kruger, a combined movement of armed forces should be made against the Transvaal government. The arsenal at Pretoria was to be seized; the Uitlanders in Johannesburg were to rise and hold the town. Jameson was to make a rapid march to Johannesburg. The various movements were to be started simultaneously. Meanwhile, in order to give President Kruger a final chance of making concessions with a good grace, and for the purpose of stating the Uitlander case to the world, Charles Leonard, as chairman of the National Union, issued a historic manifesto, which concluded as follows:

"We have now only two questions to consider: (1) What do we want? (2) How shall we get it? I have stated plainly what our grievances are, and I shall answer with equal directness the question, What do we want? We want: (1) the establishment of this republic as a true republic; (2) a *grond wet* or constitution which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people and framed on lines laid down by them — a constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alterations; (3) an equitable franchise law, and fair representation; (4) equality of the Dutch and English languages; (5) responsibility to the heads of the great departments of the legislature; (6) removal of religious disabilities; (7) independence of the courts of justice, with adequate and secured remuneration of the judges; (8) liberal and comprehensive education; (9) efficient civil service, with adequate provision for pay and pension; (10) free trade in South African products. That is what we want. There now remains the question which is to be put before you at the meeting of the 6th of January, *viz.*, How shall we get it? To this question I shall expect from you an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment."

The Jameson conspiracy fared no worse and no better than the great majority of conspiracies in history. It failed in its immediate object. Doctor Jameson did not obtain more than five hundred men. Johannesburg had the greatest difficulty in smuggling in and distributing the rifles with which the insurgents were to be armed. The scheme to seize the Pretoria fort had to

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be abandoned, as at the time fixed Pretoria was thronged with Boers. Finally, to make confusion worse confounded, Doctor Jameson, becoming impatient of delay, in spite of receiving direct messages from the leaders at Johannesburg telling him on no account to move, marched into the Transvaal on the day which had been provisionally decided on.

The policy of delay in the execution of the plot which the Uitlander leaders found themselves compelled to adopt was determined by a variety of causes. Apart from the difficulty of obtaining arms, a serious question arose at the eleventh hour which filled some of the Uitlanders with mistrust. The reform leaders in the Transvaal, down to and including the Johannesburg rising, had always recognised as a cardinal principle the due observance and maintenance of the independence of the state. From Cape Town it was now hinted that the movement in which Doctor Jameson was to co-operate should, in Mr. Rhodes' view, be carried out under the British flag. A meeting of Uitlander leaders was hastily summoned on December 25th. Two messengers were that night despatched to interview Cecil Rhodes, who then gave the assurance that he approved of the republican flag. Meanwhile, on December 29, Doctor Jameson had started, and the news of his having done so reached Johannesburg from outside sources. A number of leading citizens were at once formed into a reform committee. In the absence of Charles Leonard, who had been sent as one of the delegates to Cape Town to interview Cecil Rhodes, Lionel Phillips, a partner in Messrs. Eckstein and Company, the largest mining firm on the Rand, was elected chairman. Mr. Phillips had been for three years in succession chairman of the chamber of mines, and he had persistently for several years endeavoured to induce President Kruger to take a reasonable view of the requirements of the industry. He was a man of marked ability and energy, and enjoyed the confidence of the great majority of the Uitlanders.

Under the supervision of the reform committee, such arms as had been smuggled in were now distributed, and Colonel Frank Rhodes, a brother of Cecil, was given charge of the armed men. The canteens were closed in the towns and along the mines. A large body of police was enrolled, and order was maintained throughout the town. On January 2nd, 1896, Doctor Jameson, who found himself at Doornkop in a position surrounded by Boers, surrendered. Doctor Jameson and his men were conveyed to Pretoria as prisoners, and subsequently handed over to the high commissioner. The whole of the reform committee (with the exception of a few who fled the country) were arrested on a charge of high treason and imprisoned in Pretoria; they were then brought up for preliminary examination in the Raadzaal, and committed for trial. In April, at the trial, the four leaders — Lionel Phillips, Colonel Frank Rhodes, J. H. Hammond, and George Farrar, who in conjunction with Charles Leonard had made the arrangements with Doctor Jameson — were sentenced to death, the sentence being after some months' imprisonment commuted to a fine of £25,000 each. The rest of the committee were each sentenced to two years' imprisonment, £2,000 fine, or another year's imprisonment, and three years' banishment. The sentence, after a month's incarceration, was also commuted. The fine was exacted, and the prisoners, with the exception of Woolls Sampson and Karri Davis, were liberated on undertaking to abstain from politics for three years in lieu of banishment. Messrs. Sampson and Davis, refusing to appeal to the executive for a reconsideration of their sentence, were retained for over a year.

Sir Hercules Robinson was unfortunately in feeble health at the time, and having reached Pretoria on the 4th of January, he had to conduct negotiations under great physical disadvantage. He had no sooner learned of the raid in

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Cape Town than he issued a proclamation through Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British resident at Pretoria, warning all British subjects in Johannesburg or elsewhere from aiding and abetting Jameson. This was freely distributed among the public of Johannesburg. While in Pretoria the high commissioner in the first instance addressed himself to inducing Johannesburg to lay down its arms. He telegraphed to the reform committee that President Kruger had insisted "that Johannesburg must lay down arms unconditionally as a precedent to any discussions and consideration of grievances." On the following day, January 7th, Sir Hercules telegraphed again through the British agent, who was then at Johannesburg, saying: "If the Uitlanders do not comply with my request they will forfeit all claims to sympathy from her majesty's government and from British subjects throughout the world, as the lives of Jameson and the prisoners are now practically in their hands." The two thousand odd rifles which had been distributed among the Uitlanders were then given up. With regard to the inducements to this step urged upon the reform committee by the high commissioner, it is only necessary to say with reference to the first that the grievances never were considered, and with reference to the second it subsequently appeared that one of the conditions of the surrender of Doctor Jameson's force at Doornkop was that the lives of the men should be spared. It was after the Johannesburg disarmament that President Kruger had sixty-four members of the reform committee arrested, announcing at the same time that his motto would be "Forget and forgive." Sir Hercules Robinson, in response to a message from the British government urging him to use firm language in reference to reasonable concessions, replied that he considered the moment inopportune, and on January 15th he left for Cape Town.

In the three years which intervened between the Jameson raid and the outbreak of the war in 1899 Kruger's administration continued to be what it had been before the war; that is to say, it was not merely bad, but it got progressively worse. His conduct immediately after Johannesburg had given up its arms, and while the reform committee were in prison, was distinctly disingenuous. Instead of discussing grievances, as before the Johannesburg disarmament he had led the high commissioner to believe was his intention, he proceeded to request the withdrawal of the London Convention, because, among other things, "it is injurious to the dignity of an independent republic." When President Kruger found that no concession was to be wrung from the British government, he proceeded, instead of considering grievances, to add considerably to their number. The Aliens' Expulsion and Aliens' Immigration laws, as well as the new Press Law, were passed in the latter part of 1896.

In 1897 a decision of Chief-Justice Kotze was overruled by an act of the volksraad. This led to a strong protest from the judges of the high court, and eventually led to the dismissal of the chief-justice, who had held that office for over twenty years, and during the whole of that time had been a loyal and patriotic friend to his country. While in office Mr. Kotze had protested that no honourable man could continue to sit as judge under such conditions. After dismissal he spoke out still more plainly at a public dinner in Johannesburg, and openly charged President Kruger with the tyranny of a despot. An industrial commission appointed during this year by President Kruger fared no better than the high court had done. The commission was deputed to inquire into and report on certain of the grievances adversely affecting the gold industry. Its constitution for this purpose was anomalous, as it consisted almost entirely of Transvaal officials whose knowledge of the requirements of the industry was scanty. In spite of this fact, however, the com-

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mission reported in favour of reform in various directions. They urged due enforcement of the liquor law, more police protection, the abolition of the dynamite concession, and that foodstuffs should be duty free.

THE UITLANDER PETITION

These recommendations made by President Kruger's own nominees were practically ignored. In January, 1899, the British colonial secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, pointed out in a despatch to President Kruger that the dynamite monopoly constituted a breach of the London Convention. In order to help the Transvaal government out of its difficulty, and to make one more effort towards conciliation, the financial houses of Johannesburg offered to lend the Transvaal government £600,000 wherewith to buy out the dynamite company, and so terminate the scandal and bring some relief to the industry. The offer was not accepted. In May the Uitlanders, hopeless of ever obtaining redress from President Kruger, weary of sending petitions to the raad only to be jeered at, determined to invoke intervention if nothing else could avail, and forwarded a petition to Queen Victoria. This petition, the outcome of the second Uitlander movement for reform, was signed by twenty-one thousand British subjects, and stated the Uitlander position at considerable length. The following extract conveys its general tenor:

> The condition of your majesty's subjects in this state has become well-nigh intolerable. The acknowledged and admitted grievances, of which your majesty's subjects complained prior to 1895, not only are not redressed, but exist to-day in an aggravated form. They are still deprived of all political rights, they are denied any voice in the government of the country, they are taxed far above the requirements of the country, the revenue of which is misapplied and devoted to objects which keep alive a continuous and well-founded feeling of irritation, without in any way advancing the general interest of the state. Maladministration and peculation of public moneys go hand in hand, without any vigorous measures being adopted to put a stop to the scandal. The education of Uitlander children is made subject to impossible conditions. The police afford no adequate protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants of Johannesburg; they are rather a source of danger to the peace and safety of the Uitlander population.

In response to this appeal, which the imperial government felt themselves bound to deal with, Mr. Chamberlain proposed a conference; and this was arranged between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, who met at Bloemfontein on May 31st, 1899. It no sooner opened than it was evident that Kruger had come to obtain not to grant concessions. He offered, it is true, a seven years' franchise law in place of the five years' franchise which Sir Alfred Milner asked for. But apart from the relief suggested being entirely inadequate, it was only to be given on certain conditions, one of which was that all future disputes which might arise between the Transvaal and the imperial government should be referred to a court of arbitration, of which the president should be a foreigner. No arrangement was possible on such terms. Meanwhile feeling was running high at Johannesburg and throughout South Africa. Meetings were held in all the large towns, at which resolutions were passed declaring that no solution of the Transvaal question would be acceptable which did not provide for equal political rights for all white men. Sir Alfred Milner (who compared the position of the Uitlanders to that of "helots") urged the Home government to insist upon a minimum of reform, and primarily the five years' franchise; and Mr. Chamberlain, backed by the cabinet, adopted the policy of the high commissioner.[e]

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A CHARACTERISATION OF KRUGER

The character of President Kruger naturally called forth varied expressions of opinion. It may be permissible to quote, as bearing upon his action at this period of his career, the balanced judgment of the *Times* on the occasion of his death in July, 1904:

"He was neither a hero nor a saint. In intellect and in sentiment he remained to the end a typical peasant farmer. Not only did he fail to form statesmanlike conceptions himself, but he constantly displayed an entire inability to appreciate such conceptions when they were submitted to him by others. Like the Bourbons he learned nothing and forgot nothing, and for the same reason. He could not rise above the prejudices to which he was born. His horizon was limited throughout life, notwithstanding his wide experience of men and affairs, by the narrow ideas of the class from which he sprang. But he had not a few of the virtues as well as the faults of his class, and they are virtues which, in foeman as in friend, ever command the sterling admiration of the British race. 'England loves a man,' and Mr. Kruger was every inch a man. His arrogance, his courage, and above all his dogged resolution to have his own way, appealed very strongly to certain fibres in our hearts. We admired his patriotism so warmly that some of us occasionally forgot how closely the domination of the Pretoria oligarchy, which was the true object of his patriotic devotion, was itself connected with his own personal and material interests. Even his ostentatious intrusion of religious considerations into secular matters was regarded with indulgence, because there was a widespread impression that he had recourse to such arguments in all good faith. Had the president been only a little more upright in his dealings, and a little less disingenuous in his speech, our opinion of him would have stood very high indeed. But he had all the petty cunning and the deceitfulness of the peasant, not less conspicuously than the peasant's sturdy self-confidence and stubborn courage. It was this trait in his character which made a real arrangement with him hopeless. We found little fault with him for being a hard bargainer; but when we discovered that we could not trust him to keep a bargain, a collision became inevitable. His unreceptive mind was closed both to the teaching of facts and to the advice tendered to him by Europeans who could not be suspected of any sympathy with English ambitions. He would not, and indeed probably could not, see that the Uitlanders had rights. He hated progress, and there was progress at his gates. He would have liked to get rid of it, except in so far as it brought untold wealth to the Boer oligarchy, but as he could not get rid of it, he resolved to keep it down."

Mr. J. A. Hobson,[m] the well-known English economic author and journalist, writing on the eve of the war, said: "Of Mr. Kruger's actual power it is hard to judge, but I am convinced of this—there is no strong man in or out of the rand who could really stand up against the president, or could rally a powerful party against him in a national emergency." He expresses it as his conviction that the majority would have acquiesced in almost any decision, and have endorsed almost any concessions he might have made.[a]

THE CRISIS OF 1899

A state of extreme diplomatic tension lasted all the summer. It was not then realised either by the public or the government how seriously and with

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what considerable justification the Boers believed in their ability, if necessary, to sweep the English "into the sea." President Kruger had every expectation of large reinforcements from the Dutch in the two British colonies; he believed that, whatever happened, Europe would not allow Boer independence to be destroyed; and he had assured himself of the adhesion of the Orange Free State, though it was not till the very last moment that President Steyn formally notified Sir Alfred Milner of this fact. In England, on the other hand, it was thought by most people that if a firm enough attitude were adopted Mr. Kruger would "climb down." Negotiations could only bring the conflict a little nearer, delay it a little longer, or supply an opportunity to either side to justify its action in the eyes of the world.

The persistent attempt of the South African Republic to assert its full independence, culminating in a formal denial of British suzerainty, made it additionally incumbent on Great Britain to carry its point as to the Uitlander grievances, while, from Kruger's point of view, the admission of the Uitlanders to real political rights meant the doom of his oligarchical régime, and appeared in the light of a direct menace to Boer supremacy. The franchise, again, was an internal affair, in which the convention gave Great Britain no right to interfere, while if Great Britain relied on certain definite breaches of the convention, satisfaction for which was sought in the first place in such a guarantee of amendment as the Uitlander franchise would involve, the Boer answer was an offer of arbitration, a course which Great Britain could not accept without admitting the South African Republic to the position of an equal.

After July the tactics of the Boer executive were simply directed towards putting off a crisis till the beginning of October, when the grass would be growing on the veldt, and meanwhile towards doing all they could in their despatches to put the blame on Great Britain. At last they drafted on September 27th, an ultimatum to the British government. But although ready drafted, many circumstances conspired to delay its presentation. Meanwhile, the British war office began to wake up, and early in September the cabinet sanctioned the despatch to Natal from India of a mixed force, five thousand six hundred strong, while two battalions were ordered to South Africa from the Mediterranean. Sir George White was nominated to the chief command of the forces in Natal, and sailed on September 16th, while active preparations were set on foot in England to prepare against the necessity of despatching an army corps to Cape Town, in which case the chief command was to be vested in Sir Redvers Buller. Fortunately for Great Britain, although the draft of the ultimatum was lying in the state secretary's office in Pretoria, the Boers, unprepared in departmental arrangements which are necessary in large military operations, were unable to take the field with the promptitude that the situation demanded. They consequently forfeited many of the advantages of the initiative. Thus it happened that, while the ultimatum remained undelivered in Pretoria, the British government were able, if not to render their line of resistance secure, at least to prop it with sufficient reinforcements to enable it to defeat the crowning object of the Boer invasion of Natal—the capture of Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

The military strength of the two republics was practically an unknown quantity. It was certain that, since the troublous times of 1896, the Transvaal had greatly increased its armaments, but at their best, except by a very few, the Boers were looked upon by English military experts as a disorganised rabble, which, while containing many individual first-class marksmen, would be incapable of maintaining a prolonged resistance against a disciplined army. As was to be subsequently shown, the hostilities were not confined to oppo-

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sition from the fighting strength of the two little republics alone; the British had to face Dutch opposition in their own colonies, and it was only the apathy and caution of the South African Dutch, taken as a whole, which saved the empire from disaster. The total fighting strength of the Boer republics was probably never more than sixty thousand men, and of these it is doubtful if at any period of the war there were more than thirty-six thousand in the field at the same time.

But the fact that it was to a large extent a struggle with a nation in arms doubled the numbers of the force that the Transvaal executive was able to draw upon, while to this may be added the not insignificant total of ten thousand Uitlanders and foreigners, and fifteen thousand Kaffirs, employed in menial duties attendant upon military operations. Of this force only a microscopic proportion was permanent and disciplined. At the outbreak of war the disciplined forces in the Transvaal were the South African Republic police, about one hundred and forty strong, with twenty officers; the Swaziland police, four hundred strong; and the Staats artillery, which, when the reservists were called up in mobilisation for war, numbered about eight hundred men. The permanent forces of the Orange Free State simply consisted of an artillery corps, at the most four hundred strong. For the rest, the bulk of the Dutch levies were organised on the burgher system — that is, each district was furnished with a commandant, who had under him field-cornets and assistant field-cornets, who administered the fighting capacity of the district. Each field-cornet, who, with the commandant, was a paid official of the state, was responsible for the arms, equipment, and attendance of his commando — the commando[1] being the tactical as well as the administrative unit; any number of commandoes might be grouped under one commandant. The supreme military control was vested in the commandant-general.

THE ULTIMATUM

The plan of campaign which found favour with the Boers, when they determined to put their differences with Great Britain to the test by the ordeal of the sword, was to attack all the principal British towns adjacent to their own borders; at the same time to despatch a field army of the necessary dimensions to invade and reduce Natal, where the largest British garrison existed. It is not too much to suppose that the executive in Pretoria had calculated that the occupation of Durban would inspire the entire Dutch nation with a spirit of unanimity which would eventually wrest South Africa from the British. On paper the scheme had everything to recommend it, as the expedient most likely to bring about the desired end. But the departmental

[[1] General De Wet[k] in his *Three Years' War* thus explains the commando law as it existed in the Orange Free State in 1899: "It stipulated that every burgher between the ages of sixteen and sixty must be prepared to fight for his country at any moment; and that, if required for active service, he must provide himself with a riding-horse, saddle, and bridle, with a rifle and thirty cartridges, or if he were unable to obtain a rifle, he must bring with him thirty bullets, thirty caps, and half a pound of powder; in addition he must be provisioned for eight days. That there should have been an alternative to the rifle was due to the fact that the law was made at a time when only a few burghers possessed breech-loading rifles, *achterlaaiers*, as we call them. With reference to the provisions the law did not specify their quality or quantity, but there was an unwritten but strictly observed rule amongst the burghers that they should consist of meat cut in strips, salted, peppered, and dried, or also of sausages and 'Boer biscuits' — small loaves manufactured of flour, with fermented raisins instead of yeast, and twice baked. With regard to quantity, each burgher had to make his own estimate of the amount he would require for eight days."]

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executive could not push off the Natal invading force as early as had been anticipated, and it was not until October 9th that the ultimatum was presented to Mr. Cunyngham Green, the British agent at Pretoria. This ultimatum showed clearly that the Boer government had determined long before to put their differences to the final test of arms, and that the later negotiations had but served to cover the warlike preparations which were in hand. The scheduled demands were as follows:

"(1) That all points of mutual difference shall be regulated by the friendly course of arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by the government with her majesty's government. (2) That the troops on the borders of this republic shall be instantly withdrawn. (3) That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since the 1st of June, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time, to be agreed upon with this government, and with a mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British government shall be made by the republic during further negotiations within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the governments, and this government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this republic from the borders. (4) That her majesty's troops now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa."

To these demands the Transvaal government required an answer within forty-eight hours. There could be only one reply, and on Wednesday, October 11th, 1899, at five o'clock P. M., a state of war existed between the British government and the two Boer republics. On the following day the Boer attack on an armoured train at Kraaipan, on the western frontier of the Transvaal, witnessed the first hostile shot of a bloody war, destined to plunge South Africa into strife for two years and a half.

STAGES OF THE WAR

For the purposes of history the South African campaign may be conveniently divided into five distinct periods. The first of these would be the successful Boer invasion of British territory, terminating with the relief of Ladysmith on February 28th; the second, the period of Boer-organised resistance, which may be said to have finished with Lord Roberts' formal annexation of the Transvaal on October 25th, 1900, and the flight of ex-President Kruger to Holland. The next period, the most unsatisfactory of the whole war, may be characterised as a period of transition; it marks the opening of earnest guerilla resistance on the part of the enemy, and uncertain casting about on the part of the British for a definite system with which to grapple with an unforeseen development. This phase may rightly be said to have continued until the abortive Middelburg negotiations were broken off on March 16th, 1901. The next stage was that which saw the slow building up of the blockhouse system and the institution of small punitive columns, and may be considered to have extended until the close of 1901. The fifth and last period — which, after all other expedients had failed, finally brought the residue of uncaptured and unsurrendered burghers to submission — was the final development of the blockhouse system, wedded to the institution of systematic "driving" of given areas, which operations were in force until May 31st, 1902, the date upon which a peace was ratified at Pretoria between Lord Kitchener and the representative Boer leaders.

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THE WAR IN NATAL

The first of these periods saw the severest fighting of the campaign. It opened with the investment of Mafeking by a Transvaal force under A. P. Cronje, the envelopment of Kimberley by Free State commandoes under General Wessels, and on November 1st the complete isolation of the bulk of the Natal field force, in Ladysmith, by the main federal army under the Commandant-General Piet Joubert. The Natal field force, however, did not submit to investment without a struggle; and before the enemy finally cut the communication with the south, portions of Sir George White's force had fought four considerable actions with the invading army. The first two of these were of the nature of British successes. On October 20th the detached brigade at Talana drove back the Boer left under Lucas Meyer. But this superiority was bought at a price which nullified many of the results of victory. General Sir W. Penn Symons, the British officer in command, was mortally wounded, and after losing half its mounted men as prisoners and two hundred and twenty-six officers and men killed and wounded, the brigade only escaped being enveloped by beating a masterly retreat upon Ladysmith, where it arrived in a very exhausted state on October 26th. In the meantime Sir George White had taken the aggressive, and hearing on October 20th that an advance guard under General Kock had occupied Elandslaagte, and placed itself athwart the direct communications of General Symons' force, he detached a force of all arms under Major-General French, and defeated Kock after a sanguinary engagement on October 21st (British losses, two hundred and fifty-eight all ranks killed and wounded). Three days later Sir George White fought a second engagement against the enemy advancing from the north at Tintwa Inyoni, in order to cover the retirement of the Dundee force. It was an inconsequent action, which cost the Natal field force one hundred and eighteen casualties, the majority of which occurred in the Gloucestershire regiment. By October 29th Joubert's army had practically enveloped Ladysmith, and Sir George White determined to strike a blow in force which should be decisive in effect. The result of this decision was the battle of Lombard's Kop, outside Ladysmith, in which the whole of Sir George White's available garrison was engaged. The engagement was disastrous to the British, who had undertaken far too comprehensive an attack, and the Natal field force was obliged to fall back upon Ladysmith, with the loss of fifteen hundred men in casualties, including the headquarters of the Gloucestershire and Royal Irish fusiliers, which surrendered to the Free Staters and Johannesburg zarps at Nicholson's Nek. From that day the rôle of the Natal field force was changed from that of a hostile field army into the defence of a standard on a hill, and two days later it was completely isolated, but not before General French had succeeded in escaping south by train, and the naval authorities had been induced by Sir George White's urgent appeals to send into the town a naval brigade with a few guns of sufficient range and calibre to cope with the heavy position artillery which Joubert was now able to bring into action against the town.

GENERAL BULLER'S ARRIVAL

General Sir Redvers Buller, who had been given the supreme command in South Africa as soon as it was perceived that war was the only solution to the South African trouble — his force being an army corps in three divisions, the divisional generals being Lord Methuen, Sir W. Gatacre, and Sir W. Clery —

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arrived in Cape Town, ahead of his troops, on the day following the final bid of Sir George White's army. The situation which presented itself was delicate in the extreme. In Natal practically the whole of the available defence force was swallowed up by the steady success of the invasion; on the western frontier two important British towns were isolated and besieged; and federal commandoes were on the point of invading Cape Colony, which, as far as its Dutch population was concerned, seemed in peril of rebellion. The army corps, which had been mobolised for war, was about to arrive in South Africa; but it was evident that the exigencies of the situation, and the widely divided areas of invasion, would for the time being place in abeyance the original plan which had been formulated for an invasion of the Orange Free State from Cape Colony on three parallel lines.

The first duty was to effect the relief of the British forces which had been rendered immobile, and to do this Sir Redvers Buller had no choice but to disintegrate the army corps. Hildyard's and Barton's brigades were sent to Natal, Sir William Gatacre, with a brigade instead of a division, was despatched to Queenstown, Cape Colony; while Lord Methuen, with a division, was sent off at breathless pace to relieve Kimberley. As November wore on, the situation did not improve. Cape Colony was invaded in earnest; while in Natal a flying column of Boers, pushing down from the Tugela, not only captured an armoured train, but for a short time isolated Hildyard's forces concentrating at Estcourt. The situation in Natal seemed so serious that on November 22nd Sir Redvers Buller suddenly disappeared from Cape Town, to arrive in Natal three days later.

LORD METHUEN'S ADVANCE

In the meantime Lord Methuen, with characteristic energy, had commenced his march to the relief of Kimberley. He encountered the Boers first at Belmont on the 23rd, in much inferior numbers to the British, to be sure, but strongly intrenched behind a ridge of rugged, crag-topped kopjes. Against this position in the early morning the British advanced to the attack. "They were in a fierce humour," writes Conan Doyle,[a] "for they had not breakfasted, and military history from Agincourt to Talavera shows that want of food makes a dangerous spirit in British troops. A Northumberland fusilier exploded into words that expressed the gruffness of his comrades. As a too energetic staff officer pranced before their line he roared in his rough North-country tongue, 'Damn thee! Get thee to hell, and let me fire!' In the face of a withering fire the troops advanced, carrying kopje after kopje at the point of the bayonet. The victory was an expensive one for Lord Methuen, for the Boers easily withdrew and the British had no cavalry with which to follow up their advantage.

"The next opposition to the British advance was met with at Enslin two days later, when, as at Belmont, the Boers had posted themselves behind a line of formidable kopjes. The story of Belmont was repeated. The key to the position was a large hill in the centre which was gallantly carried by the naval brigade but with terrific loss of life — reaching a total of almost fifty per cent. of the force engaged. Beyond the fact that the way had been cleared for another stage toward Kimberley, it is hard to see the advantage the British won from this second expensive victory."

By the night of the 27th Lord Methuen's columns had almost reached the Modder river. They were started in motion early the next morning with the promise that they could have their breakfast as soon as they reached the river

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THE CAVALRY CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF ELANDSLAAGTE

(From the painting by H. Fleury)

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— a grim joke, as has been remarked, to those who lived to appreciate it. De la Rey, the Boer commander, had meanwhile been enforced by Cronje, who disposed his troops, contrary to the accepted practice in the defence of rivers, on both banks of the Modder. Unaware of the enemy's presence, the British eagerly advanced toward the green river banks where they expected to enjoy the breakfast that had been promised them. The resulting surprise has been thus graphically pictured by Conan Doyle[n]:

"They swept onwards into the fatal fire zone — and then, and only then, there blazed out upon them four miles of rifles, cannon, and machine guns, and they realised, from general to private, that they had walked unwittingly into the fiercest battle yet fought in the war. Before the position was understood the guards were within seven hundred yards of the Boer trenches, and the other troops about nine hundred, on the side of a very gentle slope which made it most difficult to find any cover. In front of them lay a serene landscape, the river, the houses, the hotel, no movement of men, no smoke — everything peaceful and deserted save for an occasional quick flash and sparkle of flame. But the noise was horrible and appalling. Men whose nerves had been steeled to the crash of the big guns, or the monotonous roar of Maxims and the rattle of Mauser fire, found a new terror in the malignant 'ploop-plooping' of the automatic quick-firer. The Maxim of the Scots Guards was caught in the steel-blizzard from this thing — each shell no bigger than a large walnut, but flying in strings of a score — and men and gun were destroyed in an instant. As to the rifle bullets, the air was humming and throbbing with them, and the sand was mottled like a pond in a shower. To advance was impossible, to retire was hateful. The men fell upon their faces and cuddled close to the earth, too happy if some friendly ant-heap gave them a precarious shelter. And always, tier above tier, the lines of rifle fire rippled and palpitated in front of them. The infantry fired also, and fired, and fired — but what was there to fire at? An occasional eye and hand over the edge of a trench or behind a stone is no mark at seven hundred yards. It would be instructive to know how many British bullets found a billet that day."

Cavalry and infantry were alike useless in the face of such a resistance, and the battle resolved itself soon into an artillery duel. The British, reinforced by the timely arrival of the 62nd Field Battery, which had come thirty-two miles over unknown roads in the night time in the space of eight hours, at length began to silence the Boer guns. Later in the afternoon a part of the 9th brigade succeeded in crossing the river higher up, and as troop after troop dashed through the water and gained the other bank, the Boers realised that the British had turned their right flank, and that the tide of battle had set in against them. Critics of the battle are severe on Lord Methuen for his attempts earlier in the day to cross the river in the face of the deadly Boer fire, but his personal gallantry was highly commendable. When the Boers at length abandoned their resistance and withdrew from their rifle pits under cover of darkness, the British loss had reached five hundred killed and wounded, among the latter being their commander.[a]

Lord Methuen now found that his force had exhausted its forward momentum, and that other than heroic tactics would have to be employed to raise the siege of Kimberley.

The extent of the operations and the gravity of the situation now began to be felt in England, every available man was called up from the reserves, and the war office made what at the time appeared to be adequate provision for the waste which it was seen would occur in a war under modern conditions. On November 30th the mobilisation of a sixth division was ordered, offers of

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colonial aid were accepted, and every facility provided for local recruiting in the South African ports. All through the early weeks of December confidence was considerably restored. Buller was arranging for the relief of Ladysmith, which had already shown its spirit by two successful sorties to the besiegers' batteries. In every theatre the British strength was consolidating. But the full significance of British incapacity to cope with the situation presented by these two small nations in arms had not yet been appreciated. The confidence restored by the lull during the early part of December was destined to be roughly shattered.*f*

STORMBERG AND MAGERSFONTEIN

General Gatacre, commanding in the northern parts of Cape Colony had advanced to within thirty miles of Stormberg, where the Boers had occupied a strong position. Determining to break if he could the Boers' hold on the Cape Dutch, he advanced against Stormberg on December 9th, with a force of about three thousand men. By a forced night march he reached the place about dawn on the following morning, and before he realised his proximity to the enemy, his tired force was beset in front and on both flanks by a galling fire from the hidden Boers. Instead of attempting to extricate themselves the British threw themselves forward in a confused, disorganised mass on their opponents. The British artillery was useless against the riflemen scattered among the sheltering crags. Finally, when to retreat was as dangerous as to advance, an attempt was made to withdraw. A part of the infantry in the front column were surrounded and captured. All military formation was at an end, and the troops, thoroughly demoralised, struggled back as best they might.

The loss in killed and wounded was not great, but upward of seven hundred prisoners were left in the Boers' hands. The disastrous result was due primarily to the undue strain Gatacre had put upon his troops, and the shock of the surprise; but, making all allowances, the failure, according to competent critics, was greater than it should have been. The British fell back the next day to Steikstroom, but the Boers, victors at Stormberg, largely disorganised Cape Dutch, were in no position to follow up their success.

On the night of the day following Gatacre's fatal rout at Stormberg, Lord Methuen, who had continued his advance from the Modder river, met an even more disastrous repulse in his attempt to storm the rocky heights at Magersfontein. Cronje had been reinforced until he had eight thousand men at his disposal and his position was the strongest he had yet occupied. The British, as usual apparently forgetful of the awful lessons they should have learned, advanced through the darkness in a drizzling rain, the Highland brigade in the lead. As at Stormberg they were assailed by a deadly fire before they realised their nearness to the enemy. Again we quote from Conan Doyle's spirited story of the fight:

"The storm of lead burst upon the head and right flank of the column, which broke to pieces under the murderous volley. Wauchope (the Highland commander) was shot, struggled up, and fell once more forever. Men went down in swathes, and a howl of rage and agony, heard afar over the veldt, swelled upon the frantic and struggling crowd. By the hundred they dropped — some dead, some wounded, some knocked down by the rush and sway of the broken ranks. A few dashed forward and were found at the very edges of the trench." To stand their ground in the face of such a fire was impossible and the remnants of the brigade fell backward upon the main column.

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By sunrise Lord Methuen had succeeded in reforming his broken lines, and the battle resolved itself into another Modder river. An attempt to turn the British right flank was gallantly defeated by the Coldstream Guards but with the close of day Lord Methuen made up his mind that a further attempt to carry the heights was useless and dejectedly withdrew to his former camp at Modder river. The day's fighting had cost the British upward of a thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing, the losses of the Highland brigade alone reaching seven hundred. "Never," says one writer "had Scotland had a more grievous day than this of Magersfontein. It may be doubted if any single battle has ever put so many families of high and low into mourning from the Tweed to the Caithness shore."[a]

But even the defeat at Magersfontein, the British thought, could be suffered with equanimity, since Buller was about to bring his own force into play, and Buller, it was confidently supposed, would not fail. He had collected at Chievely in Natal a brigade of mounted men, four brigades of infantry (generals Lyttelton, Hart, Barton, and Hildyard), and two brigade divisions of artillery, and he carried with him the trust alike of the army and the nation.[f]

COLENSO

Sir George White had been thrust back into Ladysmith on October 30th. On November 2nd telegraphic communication had been interrupted. On the day following the railway line was cut. Buller had arrived in Natal on November 25th, and by December 15th was ready to advance upon the enemy who under their vigilant young commander, Louis Botha, lay strongly intrenched along the Tugela. The task before the British was a severe one, but neither general nor private soldier seems to have had the least misgivings as to its success.

Buller's plan called for a simple frontal attack. The troops were to be thrown across the river at two points, the main column at Colenso bridge, the Irish brigade three miles below at Bridle Drift. It was the story of Modder river and Stormberg and Magersfontein over again. The Irish troops in quarter column, unable to find the ford, were exposed to a withering fire while hunting for a place to cross, and lost all regimental formation. They bravely held their position for five hours, exposed to the Boer fire in front, and to the misdirected shells of British guns in the rear. At length relief came in the order to retire, but not until between five and six hundred of them had fallen. "It is superfluous," says a critic, "to point out that the same old omissions were responsible for the same old results. Why were the men in quarter columns when advancing against an unseen foe? Why had no scouts gone forward to be certain of the position of the foe? Where were the skirmishers who should have preceded such an advance?"

In the mean time Hildyard's English brigade had advanced upon Colenso and, with the loss of some two hundred men, had succeeded in reaching the station. Their more open formation alone kept their losses from being as heavy as those suffered by the Irish. While this was going on the two field batteries which were to cover the British advance had recklessly been wheeled forward and unlimbered in an exposed position within a thousand yards of the Boer line where officers, gunners, and troops were practically exterminated by the Boer fire. A brilliant and heroic attempt to save the guns was only partially successful, and the greater part of them fell into the Boers' hands. An attack of Dundonald's mounted colonials on the extreme left was likewise

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repulsed, whereupon Buller gave up his attempt and withdrew his shattered forces from the fatal field. The British loss approximated eleven hundred men and ten guns.[a]

The full nature of the failure was not realised by the British public, nor the spirit in which the general had received the finding of fortune. How he had lost heart, and actually suggested the surrender of Ladysmith, was only known to them later, but the cabinet knew, and in the face of the serious situation thus created the cabinet took strong action. They appointed Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., to the supreme command in South Africa, with Lord Kitchener as his chief of the staff. A wave of military enthusiasm shook the empire, and as the final requisition for mobilising a seventh division practically drained the mother country of trained men, a scheme for the employment of amateur soldiers was formulated, resulting in the "imperial yeomanry and volunteer" movement, which proved one of the most striking features of the South African campaign. Pending the arrival of Lord Roberts and reinforcements, the situation in South Africa remained at a deadlock: the three besieged towns — Mafeking, Kimberley, Ladysmith — still held their own, but no headway was made by the relief columns; all they could do was to stand on the defensive. The only bright spot, as far as the British were concerned, was to be found in northern Cape Colony, where General French, with two cavalry brigades and a scratch force, was able, by a magnificent display of strategy, to keep at arm's length a superior force of the enemy, over a front of thirty miles in the vicinity of Colesberg. General French's achievements during this phase of the war were the more noteworthy since he had pitted against him the military skill of both De la Rey and De Wet, two of the three men of military genius produced by the war on the Boer side. On January 6th the Boers in Natal made a desperate attempt to reduce Ladysmith by storm. The garrison, already weakened by privation and sickness, made a stubborn resistance, and after one of the most sanguinary engagements of the war, at Cæsar's Camp and Wagon Hill, the garrison repulsed the attack with severe loss to the enemy, itself having five hundred casualties, including Lord Ava, the eldest son of the marquis of Dufferin.

When Lord Roberts arrived in Cape Town on January 10th, 1900, three garrison towns were still invested, and the relieving forces were still maintaining their rôle of passive resistance. The commander-in-chief's first duty was to create out of the tangle of units in Cape Colony a field army capable of advancing into the enemy's country *via* the Orange Free State.[j]

SPION KOP

Nearly a month had elasped since Buller's disastrous frontal attack on Colenso. Meantime he had reorganised his army and had been reinforced by Sir Charles Warren's division. His force then amounted to nineteen thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, and he had sixty guns. He still held the confidence of his troops who were eager to be led forward to the relief of their comrades in Ladysmith. Therefore on January 10, 1900, he moved out to attempt a flank attack on the Boers along the Tugela. On the 17th, by an excellently planned and well carried out movement, he created a diversion by a feigned attempt to cross the river at Potgeiter's Drift, fifteen miles west of Colenso, while at the same time he actually crossed with the greater part of his army five miles further west. Save for the fact that they were across the river however the British advantage was not great for they were further from

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Ladysmith than they had been, and right in their path loomed up a lofty plateau with the high peak of Spion Kop forming one corner of it. Upon this plateau Botha had ranged his forces behind hastily constructed earth works. Against this position Buller advanced. For five days the British line cautiously and slowly pushed itself forward to the foot of the plateau, fighting as it advanced. On the night of January 22nd a force of British under General Woodgate and Colonel Thorneycroft stealing up through the darkness occupied Spion Kop which they found all but unoccupied.[a]

Morning broke, and with it the attack. The enemy, realising the vital importance of the position, concentrated every man and gun at his disposal for its recapture. A fierce and furious shell fire was opened forthwith on the summit, causing immediate and continual loss. General Woodgate was severely wounded.

Sir Redvers Buller then took the extreme step of appointing Major Thorneycroft — already only a local lieutenant-colonel — local brigadier-general commanding on the summit of Spion Kop. The Imperial light infantry, the Middlesex regiment, and a little later the Somersets, were ordered to reinforce the defence.

The Boers followed, and accompanied their shells by a vigorous rifle attack on the hill, and about half-past eight the position became most critical. The troops were driven almost entirely off the main plateau and the Boers succeeded in reoccupying some of their trenches. A frightful disaster was narrowly averted. About twenty men in one of the captured trenches abandoned their resistance, threw up their hands, and called out that they would surrender. Colonel Thorneycroft, whose great stature made him everywhere conspicuous, and who was from dawn till dusk in the first firing line, rushed to the spot. The Boers advancing to take the prisoners were scarcely thirty yards away. Thorneycraft shouted to the Boer leader: "You may go to hell. I command on this hill and allow no surrender. Go on with your firing." Which latter they did with terrible effect, killing many. The survivors, with the rest of the firing line, fled two hundred yards, were rallied by their indomitable commander, and, being reinforced by two brave companies of the Middlesex regiment, charged back, recovering all lost ground, and the position was maintained until nightfall. No words in these days of extravagant expression can do justice to the glorious endurance which the English regiments displayed throughout the long dragging hours of hell fire. Between three and four o'clock the shells were falling on the hill from both sides, at the rate of seven a minute, and the strange discharges of the Maxim shell guns — the "pom-poms" — lacerated the hillsides with dotted chains of smoke and dust. A thick and continual stream of wounded flowed rearwards. A village of ambulance wagons grew up at the foot of the mountain. The dead and injured, smashed and broken by the shells, littered the summit till it was a bloody, reeking shambles. Thirst tormented the soldiers, for though water was at hand, the fight was too close and furious to give even a moment's breathing space. But nothing could weaken the stubborn vigour of the defence. Though the British artillery, unable to find or reach the enemy's guns, could only tear up the ground in impotent fury; though the shell fire and rifle fire never ceased for an instant — the magnificent infantry maintained the defence, and night closed in with the British still in possession of the hill.[c]

But Thorneycroft, dreading to expose his men to another such day of death, gave the order to evacuate the hill, and in the morning Botha reoccupied the bloody peak. Buller, having lost in all over two thousand men since

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he had crossed the Tugela, determined to try for an easier line of advance elsewhere, and fell back with his defeated army to the other side of the river.[a]

RELIEF OF KIMBERLEY AND BATTLE OF PAARDEBERG

By February 1st Lord Roberts had begun to feel his way, and on February 3rd he ordered a demonstration against the right of the Boer position at Spytfontein to Koodoosberg to cover the withdrawal of General French and the cavalry from before Colesberg, and the concentration of his army at Modder river. In spite of another set-back in Natal to Sir Redvers Buller, who had essayed a third attempt to relieve Ladysmith on February 5th and failed to make good the purchase which he secured across the Tugela, Lord Roberts matured his plans, and, arriving at Modder river on February 9th, he set his operations in motion two days later by detaching French to the relief of Kimberley.

On the 15th of February, French at the head of his cavalry galloped into Kimberley, spreading dismay through the ranks of the burghers under Cronje, who vacated the Spytfontein positions on the night of the 15th, and retreated along the line of the Modder, crossing the front of the infantry division which was pushing up into the gap made by the cavalry advance. Lord Kitchener, who was with the infantry, at once sent the mounted infantry in pursuit and changed the direction of the infantry, sending word to French to bring his cavalry across to Koodoosrand drift. French, with that unfailing energy which is the true attribute of a cavalry leader, conformed to Kitchener's urgent appeal, and on the 17th seized the hills above Paardeberg just in front of Cronje's advance-guard. Thus checked, the pursuing infantry crashed into him on the 18th. Kitchener, who as chief of the staff issued orders, attempted to reduce Cronje, now in the river bed, by a *coup de main*, which, though costing over one thousand casualties, compressed Cronje into the confined area from which he was only to leave as a prisoner of war with four thousand of his men on February 27th, the anniversary of Majuba.

RELIEF OF LADYSMITH AND CAPTURE OF BLOEMFONTEIN

Lord Roberts' bold plunge into the Free State had automatically relieved the pressure in front of Buller, who after desperate fighting was able to turn the left flank of Botha's position at Colenso, and after ten days' fighting to relieve Ladysmith on the 28th of February. Ladysmith had fared worst of all the beleaguered garrisons, and its twenty-two thousand inhabitants were almost at their last gasp when relief came. The casualties from shell fire had only been sixty-six, but those from sickness were many times as heavy as those by the chances of war. The relief had not been without a strain: Buller's operations had cost at Colenso twelve hundred men, at Spion Kop seventeen hundred men, at Vaalkranz four hundred, and now in the last long-drawn effort sixteen hundred more — over five thousand in all. But the tide of war had changed. The Natal invaders fell back to the mountains which enclose the north of the colony; Olivier and Schoeman retired from Cape Colony before Gatacre and Clements; and the presidents of the republics, realising that the British Empire was capable of more resistance than they had calculated upon, put forward feelers aiming at the restoration of the *status quo* before the war. These proposals were rejected by Lord Salisbury: there could be no end now but a complete destruction of the Boer power.

The surrender of Cronje and the relief of Ladysmith for the time being

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paralysed the Boer resistance. Two half-hearted attempts were made on March 7th and 10th, at Poplar Grove and Driefontein, to stem Lord Roberts' advance upon Bloemfontein, President Kruger himself arriving on the scene to give confidence to his burghers; but the demoralisation was so great that neither the military genius of the few nor the personal influence of the president could bolster up an adequate resistance, and on March 13th, 1900, Lord Roberts' army marched into the Free State capital. This great move of the field-marshal's, accomplished in spite of the loss of a convoy which cut down his reserve supplies by two thirds, and only possible by reducing the ration of the fighting man to a minimum and by undertaking the almost unprecedented risks of changing the line of communication three times, was followed by a period of reaction. It was not until March 29th that the new railway communication recommenced to feed the army. In the meantime rebellion had broken out in the Prieska district of Cape Colony, which was promptly quelled by Lord Kitchener. The halt at Bloemfontein was marked by the publication of proclamations, offering protection to the burghers, which, however, the invaders had not yet the power to fulfill.

The enforced halt was unfortunate; it not only resulted in a bad outbreak of enteric, but it gave the Boers time to recuperate, and by the beginning of April they again took the initiative. The death of their commandant-general, Piet Joubert, on March 28th, seemed to mark a change in the fortunes of the republican army. Commandant De Wet, who had first come into prominence as the capturer of Lord Roberts' convoy at Waterval, now added to his laurels by ambushing Broadwood's mounted brigade at Sannah's Post, just outside Bloemfontein, on March 31st, while four days later he reduced a detachment of Irish Rifles at Redersburg, and then went south and invested Colonel Dalgety and a mixed force at Wepener, which was relieved after ten days by General Hunter's division, brought round to Aliwal North from Natal.

MAFEKING AND PRETORIA

These successes were not able to retard Lord Roberts' progress. It took the field-marshal six weeks to reconstruct his plan of operations, and on May 1st the grand army moved northwards upon the Transvaal capital. The main advance was taken with one cavalry and three infantry divisions (the cavalry commanded by French, and the infantry divisions by generals Tucker, Pole-Carew, and Ian Hamilton). Rundle's division took the right of the advance; Methuen and Hunter, moving from Kimberley, formed the left. Kelly Kenny, Colvile, and Chermside held the communications based on Bloemfontein. A flying column detached from Hunter, under Mahon, in conjunction with Plumer from the north, relieved Mafeking (where Baden-Powell aroused world-wide enthusiasm by his resistance) on May 17th, the same day that the Natal field force under Buller moved up into the Biggarsberg and occupied Dundee. On May 10th Lord Roberts had crossed the Zand river; on May 12th he entered Kroonstad. After a halt of eight days at Kroonstad, the grand army again moved forward and marched triumphantly, meeting but small resistance, without a halt into Johannesburg, which was occupied on May 31st, the Orange Free State having been formally annexed by proclamation three days earlier. On May 30th President Kruger fled his capital with the state archives, taking up his residence at Waterval Boven on the Komati Poort line. But while the gold mines were now in the possession of the British, attacks were made on their line of communications by De Wet, who from this period organised a guerilla resistance which he maintained until

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the end of the war. On June 5th Lord Roberts' army occupied the capital of the Transvaal practically without resistance, setting free about three thousand British prisoners of war detained there.

It had been anticipated that the occupation of both the capitals would have brought the hostilities to a close, but this was not the case, and though after June 5th regular resistance was at an end, the occupation was met with two years of almost unparalleled and unprecedented partisan warfare. On June 8th Sir Redvers Buller forced his way over Alleman's Nek, and on the following day occupied Laing's Nek, while the field-marshal fought a more or less decisive action against Botha, De la Rey, and Kemp at Diamond Hill, twenty miles east of Pretoria. The pressure on the main communications was now so serious that a force was thrown back into the Orange River Colony under Hunter, which in co-operation with Rundle's division accomplished the surrender of Prinsloo with three thousand Free Staters in the Brandwater basin (July 29th). A week before this satisfactory result the field-marshal had initiated a movement from Pretoria to sweep down to Komati Poort on the Portuguese frontier, in which Buller, advancing from the south, was to co-operate.

On August 26th–27th the combined forces engaged and defeated Botha at Dalmanutha and Bergendal, with the result that the enemy dispersed into the bush-veld north of the Middelburg railway. On August 30th the remainder of the British prisoners were released at Nooitgedacht. On September 6th Buller occupied Lydenburg in the bush-veld, and five days later the aged president of the republic, fleeing his country, took refuge in Lorenzo Marques. On September 13th Barberton was occupied, and on the 25th the Guards brigade occupied Komati Poort. In October the military operations were confined to attempts to reduce guerilla commandoes which had taken the field. Mr. Kruger, deserting his countrymen, left for Europe in a Dutch man-of-war, and General Buller sailed for Europe. On the 25th of this month Lord Roberts formally annexed the Transvaal as an integral portion of the British Empire.

GUERILLA WARFARE; KITCHENER'S CONCENTRATION POLICY

In November there seemed to be evidences that the back of the trouble was broken, and the field-marshal, who had been appointed commander-in-chief at home, left South Africa, handing over the command of the army of occupation to Lord Kitchener. Then followed a long period of groping for a means to cope with the development of guerilla tactics, which for the next six months were at their zenith. The railway communications were constantly damaged, isolated posts and convoys captured, and the armed guerilla bands always seemed able to avoid contact with the regular columns sent in pursuit. Before the close of 1900 they scored several signal successes. De Wet captured Dewetsdorp, Kemp defeated Clements in the Hekpoort valley, and disaffection broke out in Cape Colony to an alarming degree, while, as forerunners of the promised invasion, scattered bodies of Free Staters crossed south of the Orange river to swell the rebellion. Against this the British scored one success, namely, the severe handling of De Wet's commando at Bothaville, when the gallant Le Gallais lost his life. The year closed badly, as the commandoes, under the direct influence of Louis Botha, attacked the whole of the railway posts on the Middelburg railway and captured Helvetia, with its 4.7 gun, though two attempts at invasion of Cape Colony in force had been frustrated by the watchfulness of Charles Knox's columns. Lord Kitch-

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ener called for more men, and on December 22nd the war office announced that thirty thousand more mounted men would be despatched to the seat of war.

With the opening of 1901 Lord Kitchener tried new schemes. He withdrew all his detached garrisons except in the most important centres, and set himself to make his railway communications perfectly secure. He determined to make the area of operations a waste, and instituted the concentration camps, into which he intended to bring the whole of the non-combatant inhabitants of the two republics. He despatched French with a large force to clear the southeastern districts of the Transvaal; and for the rest maintained a force to watch De Wet, and organised a defence force in Cape Colony, while using the residue of his mounted men to sweep the country of stock, forage, and inhabitants. Although there were no great disasters, the new policy was not prolific in success. The enemy invariably dispersed before superior forces; and the removal of the women and children from the farms did not have the effect of disheartening the burghers as had been anticipated — it rather mended their vitality by relieving them of responsibility for their families' welfare. On February 10th, De Wet, with five guns and three thousand men, carried out his promised invasion of Cape Colony. This invasion was a fiasco; by judicious use of the railway Kitchener concentrated sufficient troops in the colony to cope with the attempt, and, after being hunted from pillar to post for eighteen days, De Wet escaped back into the Orange River Colony with the loss of all his guns, munitions of war, and half his force. On March 3rd De la Rey, the lion of the western Transvaal, essayed an attack upon Lichtenburg, in which he was heavily repulsed. Signs of weakness were now apparent, and as a result Louis Botha, acting with the authority of Schalk Burger, the representative of President Kruger, opened negotiations with Kitchener. A meeting took place at Middelburg, Transvaal, on February 28th. These negotiations, however, broke down, mainly over the treatment to be awarded to Cape rebels.

THE BLOCKHOUSE SYSTEM

The hostilities now entered upon a new phase. The establishment of a line of defensive posts between Bloemfontein and Ladybrand had given Kitchener an idea, and he resolved upon the scheme of partition of the theatre of war by chains of blockhouses. In the meantime, while these posts were under construction, the harrying of the guerillas by mobile columns was continued. In March Babington captured three guns and six Maxims from De la Rey near Ventersdorp. In April Plumer occupied Pietersburg, the last remaining seat of government open to the enemy. Rawlinson captured a laager and guns at Klerksdorp. In May matters had so far improved that municipal government was given to Johannesburg, and a certain number of mines were allowed to recommence operations. De la Rey was defeated by Dixon at Vlakfontein, after a desperate encounter. June brought little of moment, though the Boers scored two minor successes, Kritzinger capturing the village of Jamestown in Cape Colony, and Hindon reducing the camp of the Victorian M.I. at Wilmansrust. In July there were further evidences of weakness on the part of the Boers, and Botha applied for permission to communicate with ex-President Kruger. This was allowed, but, as Mr. Kruger advised a continuance of the struggle, the slow course of the war continued. In the meantime, the concentration camps were becoming filled to overflowing, and a steady stream of captures and surrenders was reducing the hostile power of the republics. On July 13th President Steyn only escaped capture

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by Broadwood at Reitz by a few minutes; and on July 20th the aged wife of the ex-president died in Pretoria. August was an important month, as in it Kitchener promulgated a proclamation, formally threatening the Boer leaders who should not surrender with permanent banishment from South Africa: this proclamation, though supported by the home government, unfortunately had very little effect. Kitchener also received letters from the Boer leaders, showing that they were still determined to keep the field.

September showed some slight improvement in the situation in Cape Colony, when General (later Sir John) French was in supreme command. On the 5th, Scobell captured Lotter, who was subsequently executed for murder; though this was rather balanced a few days later by Smut's attack on the 17th Lancers. Botha made a desperate effort to reinvade Natal, but his plans were rendered abortive by his failure to reduce the posts of Mount Prospect and Fort Itala, which he attacked on September 26th. De la Rey was also defeated in the west, in an attack upon Colonel Kekewich's camp at Moedville. Desultory fighting continued till the close of the year, the balance of success being with the British, though on October 30th Colonel Benson's column had been defeated by Botha at Brakenlaagte, in the south-eastern Transvaal. Affairs again took an unsatisfactory turn in Cape Colony, and on October 8th the whole colony was placed under martial law.

[This period of the war was full of such incidents as General De Wet thus simply describes.]

"When we had crossed the river," he says, "I received a report from my scouts that there were about twenty of the enemy in a strong *schanze* on a kopje, which was about half an hour's march further up stream. I gave orders that a veldtcornet and twenty-five men, among whom was one of my staff, Willem Pretorius, should go and capture the *schanze*. The veldtcornet preferred not to approach beyond a certain distance, and consequently Willem Pretorius and four other men were left to do the work. Willem climbed the hill from one side, and the others, dividing into two, climbed it from the other side at two different points. They were met by a severe fire from the fort, but when they got to close quarters up went the white flag, and the English shouted 'We surrender!'

"Thus Willem Pretorius and four burghers captured twenty prisoners and a like number of horses, saddles, bridles, rifles and bandoliers, not to mention some three thousand cartridges. When the veldtcornet at last arrived with his twenty men, he certainly proved himself very useful in carrying away the booty!"

But in December matters improved, and General Bruce Hamilton's column, by a series of night marches, practically blotted out the resistance in the eastern Transvaal. The corps of National Scouts (burghers who had come over) was inaugurated, and matters so far mended in Johannesburg that the stock exchange reopened. By the end of the year the blockhouse system was complete, but this phase of the war was destined to close badly, as De Wet on Christmas Eve captured the whole of Colonel Firman's Yeomanry camp at Tweefontein, Orange River Colony.

THE "DRIVES"

With 1902 the last phase of this protracted struggle commenced. The blockhouse system was practically finished, and Kitchener determined upon a new means of harassing the enemy, who still had a total of about twenty-five thousand men in the field. But the blockhouses had already begun to

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HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII DISTRIBUTING THE WAR MEDALS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN VOLUNTEERS

(From the painting by Ernest Crofts, R. A.)

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serve the purpose for which they were designed. In the past the mobile columns, of which there were over sixty in the field, had always been bound to the railway for supply; now convoys could be pushed out to them along whatever blockhouse line they touched.

During January and February this system was continued with alternate successes and disasters. In March De la Rey performed a gallant feat of arms by capturing Paris' column and Lord Methuen; but the great drive in the western Transvaal proved to the Boers the futility of prolonging the struggle. On March 23d representatives came into Pretoria, six weeks were spent in negotiation, and then a monster meeting of delegates, under the presidency of General Kemp, was held at Vereeniging.

PEACE

As a result of this conference a peace was ratified at Pretoria on May 31st, and the South African War was a history of the past. The terms of peace may be condensed into the following points: (1) surrender of all burghers in the field, with all arms and munitions of war; (2) all burghers duly declaring themselves subjects of King Edward VII to be repatriated; (3) no burghers who should surrender to be deprived of either their liberty or property; (4) no proceedings to be taken against burghers for any legitimate acts of war during the period of hostilities; (5) the Dutch language to be taught in public schools on the request of parents, and to be allowed in courts of law; (6) sporting rifles to be allowed upon the taking out of licences; (7) the military administration to be superseded by civil administration as soon as possible, the civil administration to lead up to self-government; (8) the question of the native franchise not to be considered until after the introduction of self-government; (9) landed property not to be subjected to any special tax to defray the cost of the war; (10) a commission to be formed to facilitate the repatriation of the burghers. A grant of £3,000,000 to be given as compensation for the destruction of farms. These terms were signed on behalf of the British government by Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener; on behalf of the Orange Free State by Messrs. J. Brebner, C. R. de Wet, C. Olivier, and Judge J. B. M. Hertzog; on behalf of the Transvaal government, by Messrs. S. W. Burger, F. W. Reitz, Louis Botha, J. H. De la Rey, Lucas Meyer, and Krogh.

In the whole war the British lost 5,774 killed and 22,829 wounded, while the Boers lost about 4,000 killed. The number of Boer prisoners in the hands of the British at the end of the war was about 40,000.

The story of the Transvaal since the war can be told in few words. The work of repatriation proceeded rapidly, and a new government, consisting of an executive and legislative council, a supreme court, and a lieutenant-governor, all appointive, was established. In 1904 the home government decided that the time had come when an elective element could be introduced; and in April, 1905, the draft of a new constitution was issued. Before this constitution, which did not concede full local government, was inaugurated, the liberal party came into control in England, and, much to the satisfaction of the Boers, announced that a responsible government would be established. Owing to the scarcity of labour for working the mines, an ordinance allowing the introduction of non-Europeans under contract was passed in 1904, and in the same year and in 1905 many thousands of Chinese were brought in. This policy aroused opposition, especially among the liberals in England, and the new liberal ministry suspended the introduction of these persons until the colony could decide upon the question for itself.

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On July 31st, 1906, the new British parliament took up the question of granting a constitution to the Transvaal colony, and later in the year a new constitution was put in operation. It provides for universal manhood suffrage on a qualification of six months' residence; for an election every five years; and for an elective second chamber modelled on that of Cape Colony. In the first election the Boers, aided in many constituencies by the English Nationalists, who opposed the grasping policy of the mine owners, gained a majority of the seats. General Botha became the first premier and entered upon his duties in a way that gave bright promise for future harmony. Despite the opposition of the mine owners, steps were taken to exclude the Chinese and to repatriate those already in the colony at the expiration of their contracts. An education bill has also been adopted, and the colony has presented to King Edward the famous Cullinan diamond.[a]

NATAL

The country which forms the colony of Natal was discovered by Vasco da Gama, who sighted the bluff headland at the entrance to the bay forming the present port at Durban, on Christmas Day in 1497, and so named the country Terra Natalis. From that date little is recorded until the survivors of the crew of the Dutch ship *Stavenisse*, wrecked on the coast in 1686, gave their report of the country and its inhabitants. In 1721 the Dutch formed a settlement, but it was soon abandoned. Subsequently, about 1810, it would seem that Chaka, chief of the Amazulu, swept with his warriors through the whole of Natal and the adjoining territories, destroying all males, and making booty of the cattle and women. One tribe, the Amatuli, however, after offering resistance to the invader, retreated into the dense bush near the bluff and were amongst the few aborigines when the British took possession of the country. In 1824 Lieutenant Farewell and about twenty companions landed in Natal with the view of colonising it, and for that purpose entered into a treaty with Chaka. Some four years after their arrival, however, Chaka was murdered by his brother Dingaan, and the settlement was broken up. In 1835 another British officer, Captain Allen Gardner, got permission from Dingaan to introduce missionaries into the country, and at once formed the township of Durban, at the port where there were still a few English settlers. In 1837 several Dutch farmers made an exodus from the Cape Colony, and one of their leaders, Peter Retief, with the assistance of the reverend Mr. Owen, who had been for some time a resident missionary at Dingaan's own head kraal, obtained from Dingaan a cession of the whole territory of Natal. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty Retief and his followers were treacherously murdered, and the attempt was made to extirpate the Boers throughout the length and breadth of the land. The latter with their firearms eventually proved more than a match for their numerous assailants, and joining Mpanda, who had rebelled against his brother Dingaan, utterly routed Dingaan's army on the banks of the White Umvolozi in 1840, and drove him to the Amaswazi country, where he was shortly after assassinated. Natal became a British colony on August 8th, 1843, and, owing no doubt to the fame of the security and protection to be found under the British flag, large accessions were at once made to the native population by refugees from the several surrounding tribes. Since 1843 the colony has made rapid progress; the native tribes as a rule have been loyal, and, although occasional reports from Zululand have alarmed the colonists, it has very seldom been found necessary to send out the volunteer forces on *commando*. Any tendency to

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insubordination on the part of the resident natives has always been quickly suppressed, and a spirit of disaffection has never become general. In 1879 the colony became the base of operations against the Zulu king, and in 1881 it was for a short time invaded by the Transvaal Boers in connection with the fighting which arose out of the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877.*g*

At the conclusion of the first Boer War in 1881, the chief engagements of which were fought in the northern extremity of Natal, Sir Evelyn Wood was commander-in-chief of her majesty's forces. He was also appointed for a short time administrator of Natal, and on his departure for England, after a final arrangement for the cession of the Transvaal, he was succeeded by Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Mitchell as administrator. In 1882 Sir Henry Bulwer was sent to Natal with the full title of governor, and in 1886 was succeeded by Sir Arthur Havelock. The feeling of the colonists after the retrocession of the Transvaal was extremely bitter. The treaty of retrocession was never regarded in Natal as anything but a surrender.

The Zulu power which had always been a menace to Natal as well as the Transvaal, was broken in 1879 by British forces. After the settlement intestine quarrels arose among the petty chiefs, and in 1883 some Transvaal Boers intervened, and subsequently, as a reward for the assistance they had rendered to one of the combatants, demanded and annexed eight thousand square miles of country, which they styled the New Republic. A strong feeling was once more aroused in Natal. The New Republic was nevertheless allowed to remain, and in 1887 the British consented to the territory being incorporated with the Transvaal.

In 1884 the discovery of gold in De Kaap Valley, and on Mr. Moodie's farms in the Transvaal, caused a considerable rush of colonists from Natal to that country. Railways were still far from the Transvaal border, and Natal not only sent her own colonists to the new fields, but also offered the nearest route for prospectors from Cape Colony or from Europe. Durban was soon thronged; and Pietermaritzburg, which was then practically the terminus of the Natal railway, was the base from which nearly all the expeditions to the gold fields were fitted out. Two years later, in 1885, gold was also discovered at the Witwatersrand, and the tide of trade which had already set in with the Transvaal steadily increased.

For many years Sir John Robinson led a party in Natal which agitated for a responsible form of government. In 1893 a bill in favour of this change was introduced into the legislative council, and passed. The British government gave their consent to the bill, and the Constitution Act of 1893 became law. Sir John Robinson, K.C.M.G., was the first colonial secretary and premier under the new constitution, and Mr. Harry Escombe, Q.C., the first attorney-general. In the same year Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson was appointed governor of the colony. In 1898 Natal entered the customs union already existing between Cape Colony and Orange Free State.

In May, 1899, the Natal government began to suspect the nature of the military preparations that were being made by the Boers, and their apprehensions were communicated to the high commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, who telegraphed on May 25th to Mr. Chamberlain, informing him that Natal was uneasy. In July the Natal ministry learned that it was not the intention of the imperial government to endeavour to hold the frontier in case hostilities arose, but that a line of defence considerably south of the frontier would be taken up. This led to a request on their part that if the imperial government had any reason to anticipate the breakdown of negotiations, "such steps may be at once taken as may be necessary for the effectual defence of the

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whole colony." Sir W. P. Symons, the general commanding the British forces in Natal in September, decided to hold Glencoe. On the arrival of Sir George White from India, he informed the governor that he considered it dangerous to attempt to hold Glencoe, and urged the advisability of withdrawing the troops to Ladysmith. The governor was strongly opposed to this step, as he was anxious to protect the coal supply, and also feared the moral effect of a withdrawal. Eventually Sir A. Hunter was consulted, and stated that in his opinion, Glencoe being already occupied, "it was a case of balancing drawbacks, and advised that, under the circumstances, the troops be retained at Glencoe." This course was then adopted.

On October 11th, 1899, war broke out. The first act was the seizure by the Boers of a Natal train on the Free State border. On the 12th Laing's Nek was occupied by the Boer forces, who were moved in considerable force over the Natal border. Sir W. Penn Symons hoped to be able to hold the northern portion of Natal, and there is no doubt that this policy strongly commended itself to the governor and ministers of Natal, who exercised considerable pressure to have it adopted. But from a military point of view it was not at all cordially approved of by Sir George White, and it was afterwards condemned by Lord Roberts. Ladysmith became later in the month the centre of further operations. The Boers gradually surrounded the town and cut off the communication from the south. Various engagements were fought in an attempt to prevent this movement, including the disastrous mishap at Nicholson's Nek, and the battle of Farquhar's Farm on the 30th. The siege of Ladysmith continued till February 28th, 1900, when, after various attempts to relieve the beleaguered garrison, Sir Redvers Buller's forces at last entered the town. The relief of Ladysmith soon led to the evacuation of Natal by the Boer forces, who trekked northwards.

During the Boer invasion the government and the loyal colonists, constituting the great majority of the inhabitants of the colony, rendered the imperial forces every assistance. In the actual hostilities the Natal Volunteers and other Natal forces took a prominent part. The Imperial Light Horse and other irregular corps were recruited in Natal, although the bulk of the men in the forces were Uitlanders from Johannesburg. As the nearest colony to the Transvaal, Natal was resorted to by a large number of men, women and children who were compelled to leave the Transvaal on the outbreak of the war. Refugee and Uitlander committees were formed both at Durban and Maritzburg, and, in conjunction with the colonists, they did all in their power to assist in recruiting irregular corps, and also in furnishing relief to the sick and needy. Natal was the theatre of some of the most arduous fighting during the whole course of the war, and the brunt of it was shared by her colonists with the imperial forces.[h]

In 1906 a revolt among the natives occasioned alarm, but it was put down after considerable bloodshed. In September, 1907, a new governor, Sir Matthew Nathan, was enthusiastically received at Durban.[a]

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CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

THE DISCOVERERS

THE stage on which the drama of Canadian history unfolds may seem to the world an obscure one. A closer view, however, will reveal that on this stage some of the gravest problems of history have been pressed to a solution; and we may reasonably expect to find in this drama an answer to some of the weightiest questions of modern politics. Battles were fought on the Rhine, the Elbe, the Danube; German, Austrian, Spanish thrones were shaken to their fall; navies grappled in the Caribbean, and Mahratta hordes were slaughtered on the rice-fields of India, to decide the struggle which ended only upon the Plains of Abraham. Now, in these imperial domains which Wolfe's triumph secured to British sway, a people is taking shape which bids fair to combine the power and genius of the two great races from which it springs.[d]

The story of the European discovery and colonisation of America, of the two centuries of struggle between France and England for the mastery of the North American continent, of the upbuilding and downfall of French dominion in Canada, is so interwoven and bound up with the history of the beginnings of the great American Republic that we have told it there in all the detail befitting one of the grandest and most romantic eras of all history. Here it will be enough to trace briefly the principal points in that dramatic period as they affected Canadian history down to the establishment of English rule in 1760.

It is in the shadowy realms of myth and tradition that Canadian history seems to have its beginnings. In the Icelandic sagas that tell of the voyages and adventures of the North vikings, Eric and Leif and Thorfinn, to the "new lands" — undoubtedly the shores of North America — we find the record of the earliest contact of Europeans with what is now Canada. But

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their ventures came to naught; and we shall probably never know whether Thorfinn's colony of Vineland was located on the coast of Nova Scotia or on the more southerly shores of New England.

To the Venetian reared navigator John Cabot, sailing out of Bristol under a charter from Henry VII of England five years after Columbus had opened a "New World" to European conquest and exploitation, belongs without doubt the honour of the first discovery of the North American continent. On his act in planting the standard of England on the Newfoundland shore rested the claim of Great Britain to America. The Newfoundland fisheries were the first fruits of the discovery, and twenty years after Cabot's first voyage, English, Basque, and Breton fisherman were swarming on the Banks and drying their fish upon the neighbouring shores. The next discoverers of whom we have records carried the flag of France, and upon the declaration of one of them, Verrazano, a Florentine in the French service, who coasted along the shore from the Carolinas to the St. Lawrence in 1524, rests the claim of France to American dominion.

THE FRENCH RÉGIME

The energy and good fortune of the French enabled them to outstrip for a time their rivals in the north, and eventually by actual settlement to establish the sovereignty of France over a great part of the disputed territory. The greatest of her earliest voyagers was the adventurous Breton navigator, Jacques Cartier, who between 1534 and 1542 sailed three times to the New World, discovered and entered the St. Lawrence, spent the winter of 1535–1536 on the site of the present city of Quebec, and planted the lilies of France where the city of Montreal later rose. Associated with Cartier's last voyage is the ill-fated attempt of the sieur de Roberval to establish a permanent colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence. For fifty years after his failure the government of France seemed to have forgotten Canada, although her fishermen still flocked to the Newfoundland Banks. In the mean time English eyes were turned toward it; in 1576 Martin Frobisher landed on the rocky cliffs of Labrador, and in the next year on the other side of the continent Sir Francis Drake, seeking Spanish treasure-ships in the far Pacific, looked upon the snow-capped mountains of the future British Columbia. Soon after, in 1583, the first attempt at English settlement was made by the gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who planted a short-lived colony at St. John's, Newfoundland.

In 1598 the French again turned their attention to colonisation, but for many years every attempt resulted in failure. The convict colony of De la Roche, the fur-trading venture of Chauvin and Pontgravé at Tadousac, the settlement of De Mont and Champlain at St. Croix later removed to Port Royal, succeeded one another in rapid succession and passed out of existence.

In 1610–1611 came Biencourt to found a new colony at Port Royal. With him came the Jesuits. "Now," writes a graphic Canadian historian, "appeared the mysterious, black-robed, indomitable figures of the Jesuits, destined to leave so deep a mark on Canada. Magnificent in peril, meddlesome in peace, oft dreaded by their friends, but extorting the admiration of their enemies, their record in the councils of Canada is one of ceaseless quarrels with the civil power; but their record among the savages is one of imperishable glory."

Before this, however, Champlain in 1608 had established on the St. Lawrence a little trading-post destined soon to grow into the city of Quebec, the

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first permanent settlement of importance in Canada. Already it had become the centre of the fur-trade, upon which from first to last the prosperity of New France was based. In every direction the *coureurs de bois* pierced the forests, and where the carefully organised settlements had failed, they established successfully their trading posts and erected their dwellings. But now it was that the English and French met in Canada in actual armed hostility. Argall, sailing north from Virginia, destroyed the French settlement at Port Royal and also a Jesuit mission post at Mount Desert on the Maine coast. In 1629 Admiral Kirke, entering the St. Lawrence, defeated a French fleet and attacked Quebec. The spirited defence of Champlain was of no avail and the English flag for the first time floated over the Quebec heights. English rule was of short duration, however, as France's Canadian possessions were restored to her by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632. The years that followed saw the beginnings of Scotch settlement in Nova Scotia, and the fierce struggle between the Catholic Charnisay and the Huguenot De la Tour for supremacy in Acadia, which so weakened the French that Port Royal and the whole surrounding country fell an easy prey to the expedition sent from Boston in 1654, only to be for a second time returned to France by the Treaty of Breda (1667). Meanwhile, despite the ceaseless hostility of England's red allies, the Iroquois, the French settlers were pushing westward up the valley of the St. Lawrence. Montreal was founded by Maisonneuve in October, 1641.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

The rise of Colbert as the chief counsellor of Louis XIV was marked by a somewhat better treatment of Canada by France. He recognised that the colony might be made of great value to French commerce, and that to make it so a more liberal policy must be adopted. In this he was ably represented in New France by the indomitable Talon, appointed intendant at Quebec, and the brave marquis de Tracy sent out as viceroy in 1665. The former turned his attention to the resources of the colony, made new rules for the regulation of the fur trade, discovered iron deposits in the Three Rivers district, and began the importation of women from France to supply wives for the colonists. The defeat of the Iroquois by De Tracy relieved the settlements for a time from their raids. Perrot, Joliet, and Marquette pushed their way westward into the region beyond the Great Lakes. The year 1672 marks the appearance of the count de Frontenac, the greatest figure in the history of New France, who, in that year, was appointed to succeed De Courcelles as governor. Under his auspices La Salle and Tonty explored the upper Mississippi, and military posts were established at Niagara, Mackinac, and in the Illinois country. Recalled in 1682, Frontenac was reappointed governor in 1689 in time to direct the French and Indian attacks on the frontiers of Maine, New Hampshire, and New York, to despatch D'Iberville, to capture the English posts in the Hudson Bay region, and to repulse the redoubtable Sir William Phips, who, fresh from the capture of Port Royal, descended on Quebec in 1690. Frontenac died in 1698, a year after his conquests in the New World had been handed back to the English by the Treaty of Ryswick.

The peace was of short duration. In 1702 the war of the Spanish Succession, known in America as Queen Anne's War, broke out. The bloody border warfare was resumed, Francis Nicholson captured Port Royal, and only the wrecking of Sir Hoveden Walker's fleet saved Quebec. But Marlborough's victories at Blenheim, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet decided the

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fate of Acadia, which together with Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay territory, was ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

Again a few years of peace succeeded, during which the French slowly but surely extended their dominion in the great West and the valley of the Mississippi, forming a complete cordon of settlements about the English who now saw that they must either break the chain or content themselves with the limitation of their territory to the east of the Alleghanies. For fifty years they made no attempt to gain the northwest or to control the fur trade. In 1711 Louisiana had been separated from Canada and erected into a separate colony. Meanwhile on the seaboard Cape Breton was strengthened and fortified as a bulwark of the French against future English aggression in that direction, and millions were expended on making the fortress of Louisburg impregnable. Hostilities began again in 1740 with the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession (King George's War), the principal event of which in America was the capture of Louisburg by a New England expedition under Sir William Pepperell. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) restored the conquest to the French.

Eight years of nominal peace followed. The English, realising that a greater struggle was approaching, tightened their grip on Nova Scotia by founding a fortified city at Halifax (1749). The French located a new line of forts in the backwoods of New York and Pennsylvania — at French Creek, Presque Isle (Erie), and Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh). The outposts of the two nations were thus drawn so near together that a conflict was a mere matter of time. The peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle laid down no definite line between French and English territory, and the Ohio Company chartered to make settlements west of the Ohio, sent the young Virginian surveyor Washington into the region in 1749 to make a preliminary survey. In 1754 Washington, at the head of a body of Virginia militia, attacked the French at Great Meadows near Fort Duquesne, but was soon attacked in turn at Fort Necessity, and compelled to retire from the country. It proved to be the first engagement of the French and Indian War. In 1755 hostilities broke out in earnest with several more engagements, although it was not till May, 1756, that war was actually declared. Before that, however, Braddock had been disastrously defeated near Fort Duquesne, and the English had adopted the radical and harsh measure of deporting the French in Acadia, the justice and necessity of which historians have ever since disputed. The campaigns of 1756–1757 were favourable to the French, whose energetic commander Montcalm captured Oswego and Fort William Henry. The year 1758 saw some English successes, for the strong hand of the elder Pitt was guiding the English ship of state. Amherst and Wolfe took Louisburg, and the forts at Niagara and Duquesne fell into English hands. As England awakened to the situation France weakened. Montcalm was neglected and left with a wholly insufficient force to hold the immense empire entrusted to him. The battle of September 13th, 1759, on the Plains of Abraham, and the subsequent capture of Quebec and Montreal, made England supreme on the North American continent. New France ceased to exist.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris (February 10th, 1763) France ceded to Great Britain, Canada and the Cape Breton district, and all the land east of the Mississippi except the city and district of New Orleans, and formally renounced all claims to Acadia. Great Britain pledged itself to protect the adherents of the Catholic church in Canada, and to allow a continuance of French fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast. By the same treaty Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain.[a]

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THE MILITARY RÉGIME; THE PONTIAC CONSPIRACY

The first intervention of the British in the affairs of Canada after the conquest was in 1774, when two Acts were passed relating to the newly acquired territory, then called "the Province of Quebec." The one gave it a constitution; the other provided a revenue for defraying the administration of justice and support of the civil government, by the imposition of certain duties on spirits and molasses, and which duties were in lieu of others enjoyed by the French king previous to the conquest. They were, however, in the total but inconsiderable and far short of the amount annually required for the purposes to which they were appropriated, the deficiency being supplied from the imperial treasury.

From the conquest to this epoch, fourteen years, the province appears to have been governed generally to the satisfaction of the inhabitants.[h] Bourinot[e] declares that "none of the *habitants* ever left Canada after the war."[a] During the first three years of this period, however, the government was a purely military, though it seems an equitable, one, and indeed more to the taste, as some will have it, of "the new subjects" (as the Canadians were then denominated), themselves a brave and military people, than that which immediately succeeded it. The royal proclamation of 1763, by their new sovereign, King George III, put an end to this, and introduced a new order, something more congenial to British feelings and habits. All disputes from this time forward, between the new subjects concerning rights in land and real property, inheritance, succession to, and division of, the same among coheirs, continued, as previous to the conquest, to be determined by judges from among their own countrymen.[h]

It was at this period, when the French in the St. Lawrence valley, satisfied that a change of kings was to mean practically no change in their lives, were beginning to take up again the daily routine of their work, that the Western Indians, united under the able Ottawa chief Pontiac, suddenly rose and fell unexpectedly upon all the former French ports, now held by British garrisons, in the Great Lake, Ohio, and upper Mississippi country. French traders and emissaries had urged the red men on and their plans were well laid. In six weeks after the first attack on Detroit, May 9th, 1763, every fort in the western country except Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Green Bay had been seized and destroyed, and the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers laid waste, and it was not until the intrepid Colonel Bouquet had carried the warfare into the very heart of the Indian country on the Muskingum that peace was at length restored. The stirring story of this great conspiracy, as brilliantly related by Francis Parkman, will be found under the United States.

Before the Indian outbreak was quelled George III, in the autumn of 1763, issued a proclamation establishing four new governments in North America; Quebec, East and West Florida and Grenada. The several governors were empowered to summon legislative assemblies, to legislate with their consent, and to establish law courts. In Quebec (Canada), however, no assembly ever met under his proclamation, for the French Canadians were unwilling to take the required test oath or declare against transubstantiation. From 1763 to 1774, therefore, the government of the province was carried on solely by the governor-general, assisted by an executive council composed chiefly of officials, but containing also a few prominent colonists. The prevailing uncertainty as to the laws in force tended to keep things in an unsettled state. The French Canadians contended for the retention of their

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ancient customs and usages, the English subjects demanded the establishment of courts in which the English common law should be the only jurisprudence recognised. The French colonists trusted both Governor Murray and Governor Carleton, and on the whole were content with their lot, but the British were restless.

THE QUEBEC ACT, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At length in 1774 parliament passed the measure known as the Quebec Act. The British settlers who had demanded a change were its most violent opponents because of the substitution of the ancient laws and customs of French Canada for the English common law. The American colonies objected to it because of the inclusion of the Great Lake country within the new jurisdiction. But Sir Guy Carleton, who had been named to succeed General Murray as governor-general in 1766, had studied the needs of the colony on the spot, and his advocacy was probably the determining factor that led to the passage of the bill.[a]

The new constitution came into force in October, 1774. It provided that Roman Catholics should be no longer obliged to take the test oath, but only the oath of allegiance. The government of the province was entrusted to a governor and a legislative council, appointed by the crown, inasmuch as it was "inexpedient to call an assembly." This council had the power, with the consent of the governor, to make ordinances for the good government of the province. In all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, recourse should be had to the French civil procedure, whilst the law of England should obtain in criminal cases. Roman Catholics were permitted to observe their religion with perfect freedom, and their clergy were to enjoy their "accustomed duties and rights," with respect to such persons as professed that creed.

Sir Guy Carleton nominated a legislative council of twenty-three members, of whom eight were Roman Catholics. This body sat, as a rule, with closed doors; both languages were employed in the debates, and the ordinances agreed to were drawn up in English and French. In 1776 the governor-general called to his assistance an advisory privy council of five members.

When Canada came under the operation of the Quebec Act, the Thirteen Colonies were on the eve of that revolution which ended in the establishment of a federal republic, and had also most important influence on the fortunes of the country through which the St. Lawrence flows.

The Canadian people had now entered on one of the most important periods of their history. Their country was invaded, and for a time seemed on the point of passing under the control of the congress of the old Thirteen Colonies, now in rebellion against England. The genius of an able English governor-general, however, saved the valley of the St. Lawrence for the English crown, and the close of the war for American independence led to radical changes in the governments of British North America. A large population, imbued with the loftiest principles of patriotism and self-sacrifice, came in and founded new provinces, and laid the basis of the present Dominion of Canada.

During the revolution emphatic appeals were made to the Canadian French to join the English colonies in their rebellion against England. The mass of the French Canadians, especially in the rural districts, no doubt looked with great indifference on the progress of the conflict between the king of England and his former subjects, but in Quebec and Montreal, principally in the latter

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THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY

(After the painting by John Trumbull)

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town, there were found English as well as French-speaking persons quite ready to welcome and assist the forces of congress when they invaded Canada. On the other hand, the influences of the Quebec Act and of the judicious administrations of Murray and Carleton were obvious from the outset, and the bishop, Monseigneur Briand — who had been chosen with the silent acquiescence of the English government — the clergy of the Roman Catholic church, and the leading seigniors combined to maintain Canada under the dominion of a generous power which had already given such undoubted guaranties for the preservation of the civil and religious rights of the "new subjects."[e]

We will not dwell here on the events of the War of the American Revolution. The government of Canada from 1778 on to the end of the war was under the control of General Haldimand, whose management of the affairs of the province during a critical period was marked by some rather arbitrary acts such as the arrest of several French Canadian supposed-to-be sympathisers with the revolted colonies. But probably his severity was no greater than the situation demanded. At any rate he fulfilled the requirement for a governor who could keep Canada loyal to the British cause.

THE LOYALISTS

The restoration of peace in 1783 meant to Canada both loss and gain. The fertile Ohio valley and the entire region south and west of the Great Lakes, now the richest part of the North American continent, was, with that ignorance of possibilities which has generally characterised the transfer of unsettled territory, taken from Canada, and ceded to the United States for all time. On the eastern coast it was provided that the boundary between Nova Scotia and Maine should be the St. Croix river, with a line drawn "from its source to the highlands, dividing the waters falling into the Atlantic from those emptying themselves into the St. Lawrence," thus establishing a great elbow of alien territory between Canada proper and the maritime provinces. But what Canada lost by a readjustment of its boundaries it gained by the addition to its population of an element which has been perhaps the greatest factor in its progress and development, namely, the American loyalists, or as they are commonly called in the United States the tories. The Treaty of Versailles virtually abandoned to their fate these men, without whose active aid the British successes in the revolted colonies would have been few indeed. The only clause referring to them in the treaty was one pledging congress to recommend to the various states the adoption of measures of restitution. As everyone foresaw, it turned out a perfect nullity, and the British government was called upon to compensate them for their losses by the grant of lands in the maritime provinces and the region about Lake Ontario. "Without detracting from the achievements of our French fellow-citizens," writes a popular Canadian historian, "it is but truth to say that the loyalists were the makers of Canada. They were an army of leaders. The most influential judges, the most distinguished lawyers, the most capable and prominent physicians, the most highly educated of the clergy, the members of council of the various colonies, the crown officials, people of culture and social distinction — these, with the faithful few whose fortune followed theirs, were the loyalists. Canada owes deep gratitude to her southern kinsmen who thus, from Maine to Georgia, picked out their choicest spirits, and sent them forth to people our northern wilds."

It is estimated that by 1786 upwards of fifty thousand of these people had

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reached British North America. Thousands settled in Nova Scotia, thousands more moved on into the valley of the St. John and founded the province of New Brunswick; another large contingent found their way to the west and laid the foundations of the province of Upper Canada, the future Ontario.

The English inhabitants of the province of Quebec had never been satisfied with the provisions of the Quebec Act of 1774, and to the new loyalist population in the lake territory the thought of living under French law was particularly distasteful. Then, too, their inherent love of a representative government asserted itself, and the demands for a change which would embody the principles of self-government based on English law were many and clamorous. Nova Scotia had had a representative government since 1758, and the two newly established provinces of New Brunswick and Cape Breton received similar rights in 1784. Naturally the English of the west objected to being considered less able to govern themselves than their countrymen on the seaboard. General Haldimand, whose strict and rather arbitrary administration had perhaps unjustly—considering the condition of the provinces—won for him the reputation of being "a mere military martinet," was at length in 1786 superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester.

Lord Dorchester, who has been lauded by his ardent admirers as "the founder and saviour of Canada," seems to have been well fitted to govern mixed peoples. What was more to the point, he was a rather liberal-minded, far-sighted statesman, and he at once set himself to solve the difficult problem before him. Although he was himself the principal author of the act under which the province of Quebec was then governed, he recognised clearly that new conditions demanded new laws. He immediately undertook temporary measures which would soothe the discontent until the British parliament could enact the necessary legislation. His first official acts were the restoration of the Habeas Corpus Act and the right of trial by jury in civil cases. Then he set to work to study the necessities of the province, which he set forth in a masterly report to the colonial secretary. The newly settled lake region he divided into four new districts, to be administered under English law.[a]

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT

The remedy proposed by Lord Dorchester for the difficulties in Canada was a division of the territory into two provinces, each to have that form of constitution best suited to the wants of its inhabitants. In accordance with this plan, Earl Granville introduced in the British parliament a bill, known to Canadian history as the Constitutional Act, for dividing the dissatisfied province into Upper Canada and Lower Canada. The act stirred up a fierce debate in the imperial parliament. The English population of the proposed lower province were violently against it, fearing that they would be swamped by the French majority. Many were for treating French Canada in all respects as a conquered territory, and imposing upon it the English language, English laws, and English institutions—a course which would have found ample precedent in the practice of civilised states. But both policy and justice seemed to point to other measures. Lord Dorchester's advice, backed by the tremendous support of the younger Pitt, carried the day. The French Canadians had proved themselves loyal subjects of Great Britain at a time when the sons of her own loins were flying at her throat. They had turned

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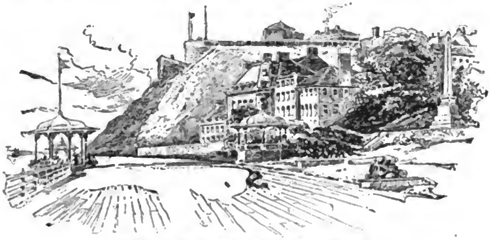
a deaf ear to the English-American colonies. Now, at a time when France was given up, in the name of liberty, to all the wild horrors of the Revolution, the French Canadians were faithful to their church and obedient to their priests. This steadiness and conservatism found great favour in English eyes. English statesmen were not inclined to force upon so excellent a people any laws and customs which they did not like. Moreover, the revolt of the thirteen colonies had rubbed smartly into the English mind a lesson which was not yet fully understood. Pitt fancied that the new colonies would be more securely held to England if they could be held somewhat apart from each other. He favoured the perpetuation of French ideas, institutions, and speech in Lower Canada, as a barrier between the English provinces of Upper Canada on the one hand, and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the other. His dread was lest these provinces should some day roll together into one, and repeat the deeds of '76. He remembered the cynical saying of Turgot, that "colonies are like fruits which only cling till they ripen." He wished by



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justice and generosity to strengthen every tie of love between the colonies and England; but by no means did he wish the colonies should love each other.

Upper Canada, therefore, was made in all respects a British province, with English laws, and with all lands held on the freehold tenure. Lower Canada, while receiving the benefit of representative institutions, along with the Habeas Corpus Act, and the criminal law of England, remained in other respects, what she already was, a French province. Lands were held on that feudal tenure then in existence. In the case of new grants, however, the freehold tenure was permitted on special request. In civil law the French practice was established. French sentiment was determined that the French language and French customs should not go down before the swarming inroads of English settlement, and this sentiment was fully recognised in the new act. The act secured to the French Canadians what had been allowed them from the conquest — the privileges of their religion and the maintenance of their church system; but at the same time, to protect the Protestant minority, a large portion of the wild lands was set apart in Lower Canada, as in the other provinces, for the support of the Protestant clergy. These lands, known as the "clergy reserves," became in after years a source of bitter strife in the provincial assemblies.

At the time of the division Lower Canada had a population of perhaps 125,000, Upper Canada of less than 20,000. To each was given a legislature

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of three branches, as in the other provinces. These three branches — governor, legislative council, and house of assembly — corresponded in a vague way to the "three estates" in England: king, lords, and commons. There was also a strong but anomalous body called the executive council, which acted as an advisory board to the governor. Its powers were very vaguely laid down; and the position of its members enabled them to defy public opinion. They were the occupants of the highest official posts in each colony, and as a rule, though not of necessity, they held seats in the legislative council. The governor, appointed by the crown, and usually sent out from England with small knowledge of the peculiar conditions of life in a new country, was apt to be swayed unduly by these official advisers. If the governor made himself obnoxious to the people, the people could, in course of time, get rid of him by petitioning for his recall. But the members of the executive council, once they were appointed, held office without responsibility either to the governor or the people. The crown, of course, could remove them; but they were hardly important enough to attract the crown's attention. Therefore their seats were impregnable, and they gradually acquired a lofty contempt for the classes whom they considered their inferiors. Much of the bitterness of the struggle for responsible government, destined so soon to commence, was directly traceable to the arrogance of the executive council.

The legislative council was mixed up with the executive in a most confusing way; its membership in part, and its interests altogether were the same. The members of the legislative council were appointed by the crown, and for life. They were selected from among the judges, bishops, and highest officials of the provinces. They held themselves responsible to no one but a king who was too far off to observe them; and they strove to secure to themselves the privileges of a hereditary aristocracy. In the beginning they were the most vehement petitioners for free representative government. When they had gained a measure of it, and that measure entirely in their own hands, they set themselves to block the wheels of progress. Themselves at first the leaders in the advance, they became at last its most obstinate opponents. The final triumph of the principles of responsible government was only gained by their overthrow.

The members of the assembly were the representatives of the people, responsible to the people, and elected by the people to serve for a fixed term of years. They did not always serve the full term, however, as the governor had power to "dissolve the house" at any time, and call upon the people to elect a new assembly. Under these circumstances the people were very likely to re-elect their old representatives. In the hands of the assembly rested the power of raising revenues for the public services, by taxation and the imposition of customs duties. The making of laws rested with the assembly and legislative council, but no law became operative till it received the assent of the governor. As we have said, the raising of revenue was in the hands of the assembly; but there was a large revenue coming in from the sale or lease of crown lands, as well as from the lease of mines and timber limits, which was known as the "casual and territorial revenue." The control of this revenue was in the very beginning seized by the executive, with the legislative council's consent. It became a bone of fierce contention between executive and assembly.[d]

The two decades which elapsed between the inauguration of the constitution of 1792 and the outbreak of the War of 1812 between England and the United States contained few incidents of importance. The administration of Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of the new

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province of Upper Canada, was marked by a zealous extension of the western settlements and the encouragement of immigration, particularly that of American loyalists. The capital was removed to Toronto. Simcoe's intense hostility to the United States, however, led him to give countenance if not actually to encourage the Indian attacks on the American settlements on the Great Lakes, and he was removed in 1796. In the same year Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton) was recalled from the governor-generalship which he had held with distinguished ability for ten years. In the early years of the nineteenth century the first warnings of political unrest were manifest in the bitter enmity between the governor-general, Sir James Craig, an obstinate Scotch soldier, appointed 1808, and the representative assemblies. In Lower Canada he aroused the racial hostility of the French Canadians by arbitrarily suppressing their principal organ *Le Canadien*. The reformers were somewhat pacified by the removal of Governor Craig in 1811, and the appointment in his place of Sir George Prevost, and the outbreak of the War of 1812 caused a brief postponement of a settlement of the differences.

KENT GATE, QUEBEC

"The War of 1812," said Bourinot,[e] "was to prove the fidelity of the Canadian people to the British crown and stimulate a new spirit of self-reliance among French as well as English Canadians." From the beginning to the end of the conflict Canada was the theatre of the greater part of the military operations, and the scene of the principal battles. Upper Canada, however, was the only province that really suffered as a result. The Canadian militia rallied to the call of the authorities, and played a part in the several campaigns that compares not unfavourably with that of the British regulars whom they supported. But the war had little enough glory for any of the parties concerned. The conflict, its causes and results, will be found treated as a part of the history of the United States.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The restoration of peace in 1815 marked the beginning of a quarter century of domestic strife and turmoil. The struggle centering in the two Canadas originated in the constant contest for supremacy between the executive authorities on the one hand and the popular legislative authorities on the other, that had begun some years earlier. In Lower Canada the dispute was aggravated by the fact that the English-speaking minority controlled the executive and the legislative councils, while the popular assembly was dominated by the French Canadians. The basis of the whole trouble, therefore, may be said to have been race antagonism. As Lord Durham expressed it

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in 1839, "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle not of principles but of races."

Circumstances gave to the movement the form and aspect of a struggle for representative government. The several constitutions granted the provinces in the latter part of the eighteenth century placed the governments nominally on a representative basis. In reality they were far from being so. The members of the executive councils, appointed for life and responsible to no one, represented only a small aristocracy. Their influence dominated also the upper or appointive chamber of the legislatures, serving as a positive check on the actions of the popular lower branch. The assembly demanded that the executive should be responsible to them, that he should acknowledge the theory of parliamentary responsibility and retire from office on the withdrawal of popular support. In Upper Canada this oligarchic aristocracy came to be known, because of their jealous exclusiveness, as the Family Compact, and the name eventually extended to the corresponding parties in the other colonies.

In Lower Canada the strife began again before the close of the American war with the impeachment by the assembly of Judge Monk and Chief-Justice Sewell, whom the reformers blamed for all the sins of omission and commission of their former governor, Sir James Craig. But the charges had no justification either in law or justice, and the impeachment proceedings failed utterly. The next bone of contention was the civil list, in regard to which the assembly asserted the right of examination of the items. In 1819 the assembly and the legislative council came to a deadlock over appropriations, and such was the situation when King George III died and Lord Dalhousie became governor-general.

At the very outset the new governor precipitated a conflict by demanding that the assembly provide for the civil list by a permanent appropriation, and upon their immediate refusal he himself appropriated an amount from the treasury sufficient to cover the civil list expenses. Session after session passed and the deadlock continued. Recourse was had by the governor to the funds accumulating from the sale of crown lands, but even these were inadequate for the purpose. Then, too, they were so carelessly managed that Sir John Caldwell, the receiver-general, became a heavy defaulter.

Dalhousie at length dissolved the assembly. But the new house had an even larger majority of reformers than the old, and at once re-elected as speaker, Louis Joseph Papineau, the rash and impetuous leader of the French Canadians who, save for a brief interval, had been speaker of the house since 1817. He had been most active in the attack upon the governor's assumption of the assembly's appropriating power, and was the most eloquent defender of the prerogatives of the popular chamber. A man of commanding presence, gifted with unusual powers of rhetoric and persuasion, a brilliant debater and an able parliamentarian, Papineau was too much lacking in tact and discretion, too erratic and too extreme a partisan ever to take rank as a constructive statesman. As an agitator, as the enthusiastic and radical leader of a popular cause, whose adherents were inherently emotional rather than rational, no man was by nature better fitted than Papineau. Lord Dalhousie distrusted and disliked him. He rightly considered him the real leader of the opposition, and his re-election as speaker was taken as a challenge from the reformers. Lord Dalhousie accepted it and refused to sanction Papineau's election. The assembly refused to reconsider its action, and the governor-general prorogued the body, which did not meet again during Lord Dalhousie's administration. A petition signed by eighty-seven thousand

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inhabitants was at once forwarded to England, charging the governor-general with many arbitrary acts, of illegal appropriation of treasury funds, of violent prorogation of the assembly, of dismissing militia officers for opposing his policy, of remodelling the civil service to serve political purposes, and of continuing in the office of receiver-general a notorious defaulter, Sir John Caldwell.[a]

As Upper Canada was at the same time besieging the home government with like petitions, the state of affairs attracted anxious attention in England. Parliament appointed a Canada committee to examine the points at issue. The report of this committee (1828) was hailed in Lower Canada with grateful rejoicing. It urged that the crown duties (of the Act of 1774) should be put under the control of the assembly on condition that permanent provision should be made for the payment of the crown officials; that the judges should give up their seats in the legislative council; that bishops should not be allowed to interfere in matters of government; that receivers-general should give security; that accounts should be examined by the assembly's auditors; and that the executive and legislative councils should be enlarged and made more independent by the addition of members representing different classes and interests, and not holding government offices. These recommendations applied to both Upper and Lower Canada; and in regard to the latter province it was particularly urged that the French Canadian majority should have a fair representation. The unpopular Dalhousie was recalled. The new governor-general, Sir James Kempt, recognised Papineau as speaker of the assembly; and once more the excitement died away.[d]

SOUS LE CAP, QUEBEC

THE DISPUTE IN UPPER CANADA

Events in Upper Canada meanwhile were tending in much the same direction as in the lower province, though the various steps in the progress were very different. The race antagonism for one thing was lacking. The struggle, too, at the outset at any rate, lacked some of the bitterness of that in the sister province. More clearly defined than elsewhere, the issue was the domination or overthrow of the Family Compact. This faction existed in Upper Canada in its strictest, most oligarchic, and most objectionable form. Every branch of provincial activity, not alone the political, but the social, educational, mercantile and industrial, felt the blight of its rule. Its members held not only all the government offices, but they owned practically all

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the real estate, and controlled virtually every trade and industry in the provinces. Frightened by the logic of "the spirit of '76," these sons of exiled tories vigorously repelled every attempt to enlighten or instruct the people in regard to self-government. They frowned on popular education for the masses, they kept the press muzzled in a most un-English manner, and every attempt to petition for the correction of popular grievances they ignored absolutely.

Without a doubt, the alarm of the Family Compact partisans was aggravated by the flood of immigration from the United States which set in immediately after the peace in 1815. The new settlers were democratic in their training and method of thought, and had nothing but ridicule for the old tory aristocracy, whose power they at once openly set about to overthrow and discredit. Their frankly uttered expressions favouring a possible annexation to the United States certainly did not serve to make a reconciliation with the ruling class easier. The struggle was precipitated by Robert Gourlay, an eccentric Scotch agitator who, as a land agent, aroused the hostility of the Compact by going about the country and advising the people to complain of their wrongs to the colonial office. The Compact then set about driving the objectionable Gourlay from the country. Twice he was arrested and tried for libel, and twice he was acquitted. Thwarted in their attempts to remove him legally, his enemies conspired to bring against him an unjust and unfounded charge of sedition. Again he was arrested, and contrary to every principle of English law and justice, he was allowed to languish in prison seven long months without trial. He was then taken to Niagara, where the control and influence of the Compact were all-powerful, and before a prejudiced judge, in a trial that was from first to last a hollow mockery and a travesty on justice, he was found guilty by a packed jury and sentenced to exile. But in the fate of the unhappy Scotchman was sounded the doom of the Family Compact. Men were at length awakened to demand their rights, and the spirit aroused that day ceased not to grow till the Family Compact was overthrown and responsible government established.[a]

Unquestionably most of the movements against the democratic tendencies of the time in Upper Canada were originated by Dr. John Strachan, afterwards first bishop of Toronto. He was a politician of the most ardent type. He added the persistency of his Scottish nature to the uncompromising principles of loyalism. Bravery, perseverance, astuteness, and ingenuity were the prominent features of the ecclesiastical legislator and councillor. It is easy to imagine with what gusto, in his Aberdonian dialect, the clerical politician, when it was suggested to him that the law did not permit the house to expel a refractory member, would declare, "The law — the law! Never mind the law — turn him oot; turn him oot!"[b]

MACKENZIE AND THE FAMILY COMPACT

The forces of the Family Compact in Upper Canada under Doctor Strachan and Beverley Robinson were much better organised than in the lower province, and they were able for some time to keep the upper hand of their radical opponents. It was not until 1824 that the reformers obtained a majority in the assembly. In that same year William Lyon Mackenzie, a fiery, hot-headed young Scotchman, started a reform paper called the *Colonial Advocate*. Its bitter and scathing criticisms of the Compact in 1826 led a band of young Compact partisans to break into the office one night and destroy the presses. The only important result of this raid was that Mackenzie, who had been on

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the point of discontinuing the paper for lack of support, was enabled to start in again on a larger scale with the $3,000 damages awarded him.[a]

Other things happened to stir up the people's indignation. Members of the opposition in the assembly were spied upon and persecuted. A British half-pay officer, Captain Matthews, for having, in an after-dinner mood, called upon some strolling American players to give two or three American national airs, was reported to the home government for disloyalty, and lost his pension. A certain Judge Willis, sent out from England, incurred the wrath of the Compact by his strictures upon their modes of administering justice, and was removed from his position. Then a grasping inn-keeper named Forsyth, at Niagara Falls, built a high fence along the front of his place, to shut out the view and force visitors to pass through his grounds if they wished to see the great cataract. Governor Maitland ordered him to take away the obstruction, but Forsyth refused. Thus far, Forsyth was in the wrong. But the arbitrary governor made haste to put himself in the wrong — and at once the avaricious boniface appeared a victim of tory persecution. A squad of soldiers appeared, tore down the fence, destroyed a house of Forsyth's which stood on his own land, and threw the wreck into the falls. The assembly undertook to investigate the outrage. Certain government officials were summoned before the house to give evidence; but on Maitland's rash advice they refused to obey the summons. The assembly had them arrested and put in prison; whereupon the governor dissolved the house. This led to such a storm of anger that Maitland was promptly recalled by the colonial office (1828). He was succeeded by Sir John Colborne, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars.[d]

The new governor, however, was unable to terminate the conflict which was daily growing more ominous. The extremes to which the Mackenzie faction ran however, led to a split in the ranks of the reformers, and the more moderate liberals led by such men as Egerton Ryerson, Robert Baldwin and Marshall Bidwell, speaker of the assembly, did all they could to stem the tide which they began to fear was rising to dangerous heights. This split enabled the Compact to obtain control of the assembly in 1830; an occasion which they took advantage of by passing a measure known as the Everlasting Salaries Act, which by providing a permanent grant for the salaries of judges and officials rendered them independent of the assembly. Mackenzie, who had been elected a member, bitterly attacked the bill, and was expelled. Again and again he was returned by his loyal constituents, only to be as often expelled by the tory majority. Mackenzie appealed to the colonial secretary, who declared that his expulsion was illegal. He at once became a popular idol, and was enthusiastically chosen first mayor of Toronto in 1834. In 1835 the reformers again had a majority in the assembly, Bidwell was re-elected speaker, and Mackenzie made chairman of a special committee on grievances.

Sir John Colborne was recalled, but the new governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, although appointed with the evident idea of placating the reform party, at the very outset adopted a course that made peace between the warring parties impossible. He appointed three reformers to his council, but declared to them that he should take their advice only when he felt so disposed, and that he had no faith in the principle of responsible ministers. Thereupon the reformers resigned, the new governor filling their places with Compact leaders and acted thenceforth with that party. The assembly retaliated by passing resolutions of censure upon Governor Head, and refused to vote supplies. At this juncture Speaker Bidwell received a communication from

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Papineau, the reform leader in Lower Canada, suggesting that the reformers in the two provinces act in unison. Sir Francis Head thought he scented in this a republican conspiracy, and dissolved the assembly. The new assembly, elected after a sharp campaign in which the loyalty of the voters was appealed to, showed a majority for the Compact. The Mackenzie faction, bitterly complaining of injustice and oppression were thus driven into alliance with the more radical elements in the lower province.

THE LOWER CANADA RISING

Meanwhile affairs in Lower Canada had reached a crisis. A royal commission was appointed in 1835 to inquire into the state of affairs in the province. Its report, submitted to the British parliament in 1837 was adverse to the extreme demands of the reformers. Lord John Russell, in view of this report, took the step of introducing a bill authorising the use of provincial treasury funds to make up for the failure of the assembly to support the civil list. When the news of this action reached the province the reformers prepared for resistance. Public meetings were held in every parish, and secret militia organisations called Sons of Liberty were widely established. The local authorities seemed paralysed, but Bishop Lartigue and the French Roman Catholic clergy asserted themselves against the seditious utterances of the revolutionary leaders. The admonitions of the priests fell on deaf ears.

In October occurred the first steps in an organised revolt. The rebels collected in force at St. Charles and St. Denis. At the former place, a column crowned by a liberty cap was set up. Everywhere the tri-colour was displayed. At the latter place, under Dr. Wolfred Nelson, an educated Englishman, a large stone distillery was fortified. The first bloodshed occurred in a street riot between the factions in Montreal early in November. Soon afterwards, Sir John Colborne, commander of the forces, dispatched two expeditions to scatter the rebels at St. Charles and St. Denis.

Against St. Denis was sent Colonel Gore with five hundred men and one cannon. Lieutenant Weir, a young militia officer, carrying despatches to Colonel Gore, was captured by a band of rebels and shot while endeavouring to escape. The shooting was apparently unwarrantable and was condemned by Doctor Nelson, who however, from the despatches captured, was apprised of Colonel Gore's strength and purposes. Colonel Gore attacked on the night of November 23rd, but was beaten off with considerable loss and retired, leaving his gun ignominiously stuck in the mud.

Two days later, however, Colonel Wetherall moving against the rebel position at St. Charles had scattered the insurgent *habitants* with little difficulty, and Wetherall leaving a small force in the village returned to Montreal dragging the liberty pole and cap behind him. Papineau, who it is alleged, shrank from participating in the armed revolt which he had been the most active agent in arousing, fled across the border after the rout at St. Charles. On December 5th martial law was proclaimed in the Montreal district. On December 13th Sir John Colborne, at the head of an effective force of thirteen hundred men, regular troops and militia, marched against the rebels in the Two Mountain district. At St. Eustache on the following day a force of insurgents was dispersed, and many lost their lives by the burning of a church whence they had fled for protection. At St. Benoit the rebels without firing a shot, laid down their arms, and were allowed to return to their homes. With the return of Sir John Colborne to Montreal, the first revolt in Lower Canada may be said to have terminated.

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THE REVOLT IN UPPER CANADA

In Upper Canada after their defeat in the assembly election the Mackenzie faction prepared to act in agreement with the radicals in the lower province. In the summer of 1837 Mackenzie effected an organisation known as the Committee of Vigilance, and throwing caution to the winds went about the province making incendiary speeches. Bidwell refused to have anything to do with the movement. The dispatch of troops to Lower Canada on the first signs of outbreak in that province, favoured Mackenzie's schemes. On the very day of Colonel Wetherall's victory at St. Charles a revolutionary appeal headed "Proclamation by William Lyon Mackenzie, chairman *pro tem.* of the Provisional Government of the State of Upper Canada," and calling on all liberty-loving Canadians to rise, was scattered broadcast throughout the province. The proclamation stated that the "patriots" had established a provisional seat of government on Navy Island in the Niagara river.

In the first week in December the rebels began to report at Montgomery's tavern, near Toronto, designated as a rendezvous. Had the insurgents marched at once on Toronto, where the apathy was great, it must have fallen into their hands. The rebels opened negotiations with Governor Head, who would grant none of their demands. But the time spent in parleying was fatal. Colonel Allan McNab arrived in Toronto with a force of militia, and lost no time in attacking the insurgents at Montgomery's tavern. After a short but sharp skirmish the rebels gave way and Mackenzie, for whose head a reward of £1,000 had been offered, fled across the border into the United States.[a]

The provisional government was still organised on Navy Island, in the Niagara river. The patriot flag, with twin stars and the motto, "Liberty and Equality," was hoisted and planted in the face of Colonel McNab, who held the Canadian shore. A daring action was performed on December 29th by Captain Drew, R.N., one of McNab's command. The insurgents had made use of a vessel, the *Caroline*, in carrying supplies from the American shore to Navy Island. The vessel lay moored for the night under the very guns of Fort Schlosser, indeed the shadows of the fort enveloped the *Caroline*. With seven boats, carrying some sixty men in all, who were armed with pistols, cutlasses, and pikes, the captain boarded the ill-fated vessel, captured her, but not being able, on account of the current, to bring her to the Canadian side, sent her flaming over the Niagara Falls. The vessel proved to be an American bottom, and so Britain was compelled to disavow the seizure, but nothing could blot out the bravery of the deed.[b]

Up to the end of 1838 Upper Canada was from time to time entered by marauding bands from the United States, composed of a few disappointed revolutionists urged on by Mackenzie and others, and such ruffians or adventurers as they could persuade by promise of pillage or grants of land to join them. None of the expeditions were successful enough to cause much more than a temporary disturbance, and they came to an end when the United States authorities finally awakened to the necessity of suppressing them. Mackenzie himself was arrested and spent some time in prison for his part in instigating the raids. The inefficient Sir Francis Bond Head was at length removed from the lieutenant-governorship and his successor, Sir George Arthur, acted with more resolution. Lount, Matthews, Von Shoultz and a number of the American raiders were executed, and a large number transported to the convict settlements in Australia. The revolt was an unfortunate and unnecessary episode in Canadian history, but as Sir John Bourinot[c]

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points out, it caused the extinction of the Family Compact régime, and led to a better system of government.[a]

LORD DURHAM IN CANADA

The immediate result of the rebellion in Lower Canada was the intervention of the imperial authorities by the suspension of the constitution of that province, and the formation of a special council for purposes of temporary government. Lord Durham, a nobleman of great ability, who had won distinction in imperial politics as a reformer, was sent out to Canada as governor-general and high commissioner to inquire into and adjust provincial difficulties. This distinguished statesman remained at the head of affairs in

PARLIAMENT BUILDING, OTTAWA

the province from the last of May, 1838, until the 3rd of November in the same year, when he returned to England, where his ordinance of the 28th of June, sentencing certain British subjects in custody to transportation without a form of trial, and subjecting them and others not in prison to death in case of their return to the country without permission of the authorities, had been most severely censured in England as quite unwarranted by law. By this ordinance Wolfred Nelson, Bouchette, Viger, and five others, then in prison, were banished to Bermuda, while Papineau, Cartier, O'Callaghan, Robert Nelson, and others beyond Canadian jurisdiction were threatened with death if they returned to the province. Lord Durham's action was certainly in conflict with the principles of English law, but it was an error of judgment on the side of clemency. He was unwilling to resort to a court-martial — the only tribunal open to the authorities. A trial in the courts of justice was impracticable under existing conditions, as it was shown later. Lord Durham left Canada, in deep indignation at the manner in which his acts had been criticised in England, largely through the influence of Lord Brougham, his personal enemy. The most important result of his mission was a report which was probably written by Charles Buller, his secretary,

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and an exceptionably able man, although there is no doubt that it embodied Lord Durham's own opinions and conclusions.

Soon after the departure of Lord Durham, who died a few months later, Sir John Colborne became governor-general. He was called upon to put down another rebellious movement led by Robert Nelson, brother of Wolfred Nelson, then in exile. At Caughnawaga, Montarville Mountain, Beauharnois, and Odelltown the insurgents made a stand from time to time, but were soon scattered. Bands of marauders inflicted some injury upon loyal inhabitants near the frontier, but in a few months these criminal attempts to disturb the peace of the province ceased entirely. The government now decided to make an example of men who had not appreciated the clemency previously shown their friends. Twelve men were executed, but it was not possible to obtain a verdict from a jury against the murderers of Weir and Chartrand — the latter a French Canadian volunteer murdered under circumstances of great brutality while a prisoner.[e]

THE UNION ACT OF 1840

Lord Durham's report was so important that a bill was founded on its recommendations, and introduced into parliament in 1839, by Lord John Russell. Before the final passage of this bill, it was deemed wise that it should be submitted to the colonial governing bodies. To accomplish this end a shrewd diplomatic envoy, Mr. Charles Poulett Thompson, a relative of the famous Lord Ashburton, was sent to Canada, September 13th, 1839.

The council of Lower Canada accepted the proposed constitution, though had the assembly, which had been suspended during the rebellion, been in existence the result would have been different. Even the Upper Canadian legislature needed much skilful management by Mr. Thompson in order to induce it to accept the bill; for the loyalists saw that they would be greatly outnumbered in United Canada. A strong appeal to their patriotism, however, at length gained their approval.

The imperial parliament then again took up the matter, and the "Act to Reunite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada" became law July 23rd, 1840. Under this new constitution, there was provision made for a legislative council, whose members would be appointed for life by the governor, while the legislative assembly was to consist of an equal number of members from Upper and Lower Canada. Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec were to elect two members each; the towns one member; and to the governor was given the power of fixing the limits of the constituencies. The English language alone was permitted in the legislative records, but this provision was changed in after years. In order to make the constitution stable, it was provided that no change in the number of members of the assembly could be made, unless by a two-thirds vote.

By the new constitution a fixed civil list, amounting to £75,000 annually, was made, over which the assembly had no control, but all other expenditure must be under its direction. Amounts due the clergy were not subject to the vote of the assembly, and ecclesiastical rights were under the protection of the crown. Taxes on the people could only be levied for the benefit of the province, and with the assent of the two houses of parliament. Provision was made for the full establishment of courts of law. To the governor belonged the power of fixing the place of meeting of the Canadian legislature.

The longing desire of the people was that the new constitution should provide the executive council being made responsible to the assembly, and so

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to the people. In the new act this was not provided for in so many words, but it was provided that the governor should only exercise power according to instructions from her majesty. To supplement these important provisions, upon the act coming into force by proclamation, on the 5th of February, 1841, a despatch was forwarded by Lord John Russell to the governor-general that "the governor must only oppose the wishes of the assembly when the honour of the crown or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned." The moderate opponents of the Family Compact were in transports of delight over the new constitution; the rebel party of Upper Canada regarded it as but a half measure, their aforetime compatriots in Lower Canada were much dissatisfied, and sent a petition with forty thousand signatures against the new act to Britain, while the loyalists looked suspiciously upon it, regarding it as the beginning of a Canadian republic. The British ministry, through Lord Durham's aid, had undoubtedly reached the happy mean; Mr. Thompson was raised to the peerage as Lord Sydenham for his successful management and appointed governor-general, and under his wise guidance the new constitution was launched to go on its perilous way.[b]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

"The passage of the Union Act of 1840," says the eminent Canadian publicist, Sir J. G. Bourinot,[e] "was the commencement of a new era in the constitutional history of Canada as well as of the other provinces. The most valuable result was the admission of the all-important principle that the ministry advising the governor should possess the confidence of the representatives of the people assembled in parliament."

Lord Sydenham entered with enthusiasm into the work of launching the new constitution. The first assembly elected after the union was heterogeneous in the extreme, the old discredited "Family Compact" faction was scarcely represented, and the successful inauguration of the new government was accomplished by its avowed friends. But Lord Sydenham died (September, 1841) before the success or failure of his policy could be proved, and his successor Sir Charles Bagot likewise died within a year. The next governor-general was Lord Metcalfe, a protégé of the colonial secretary, Earl Stanley. Lord Metcalfe like his superior was of strong reactionary tendencies, and a term as governor of Jamaica, where he had to deal principally with inferior races, had not fitted him especially well for his new post as governor of a people struggling to establish a responsible parliamentary government. The crisis soon came. Under the able lead of Robert Baldwin, a conservative but sincere advocate of responsible government, the assembly declared that the acts of the governor must be in harmony with the advice of his executive council.

Ignoring this declaration Lord Metcalfe made an appointment without consulting his council of ministers, who thereupon resigned, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the autocratic governor could fill their places. At the succeeding elections (1844) his ministry was barely sustained. The British ministry gave its unqualified approval of his attitude, however, and raised him to the peerage; and, satisfied with this manifestation of confidence, the lack of confidence of the Canadian people troubled him but little. Harassed by ill health he resigned the following year and returned to England, where he soon died. Of him Dr. George Bryce[b] says: "Of a kind and benevolent disposition, he was not without his Canadian admirers; but the attempt to interfere needlessly with a constitution which had been obtained by the exile

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of a number of leading Canadians, and the blood of others, stirred up the strong feeling of the best elements of Canadian society against this propounder of absolutist theories."

Meanwhile the maritime provinces were not without their constitutional struggles. In Nova Scotia Sir Colin Campbell, a good soldier, but wholly unsuited for the position of civil governor, after an unceasing strife with the liberals led by Joseph Howe and William Young, was recalled at the request of the assembly and superseded by Lord Falkland, a vain and pompous man, who became the tool of the tory party and after an administration even more troublous than that of Campbell was in turn replaced by Sir John Harvey, who as governor of New Brunswick had already by his tact and a high order of statesmanship established government on a responsible basis in that province.

In 1847 Lord Elgin was sent to Canada as governor-general with positive instructions "to act generally upon the advice of his executive council, and to receive as members of that body those persons who might be pointed out to him as entitled to such positions by possessing the confidence of the assembly." The year 1848 thus saw the principle of parliamentary self-government fully established in the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. By 1851 Prince Edward's Island too was in full enjoyment of a like system.

THE REBELLION LOSSES BILL

Lord Elgin, in 1848, in carrying out the theory of responsible government, had called into power a ministry dominated by the two liberal leaders, Baldwin and Lafontine, who had at once introduced a bill allowing £100,000 for the satisfaction of losses incurred during the rebellion of 1837. At once the British or conservative party raised the cry of "No pay to rebels," and race and party feeling ran high. The conservatives organised the British North American League with the idea of effecting a union of all the provinces, in the expectation of a separation of the two Canadas. In the provincial parliament, the opposition, led by Sir Arthur McNab fought the Rebellion Losses Bill bitterly, but in spite of every effort it was passed. Its opponents then tried to persuade Lord Elgin to veto it, but in vain. Believing that it was desired by the people as represented by their ministers he gave it his assent. A first signal victory for responsible government had been won.

As Lord Elgin left the Parliament house after assenting to the bill he was followed by a jeering, threatening mob composed of the best educated and most enlightened portion of Montreal's population. The news of the governor's action spread like wildfire and a mob soon quartered about the Parliament house where a night session was in progress. At last, after flying stones had broken every window in the building, the mob rushed in and thrust the frightened legislators from the hall. The torch was then applied and the building was soon a mass of flames. The imperial government sustained Lord Elgin and as a rebuke to Montreal, the provincial capital was removed and finally (1858) established at Ottawa.

CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

Slowly but surely during three years the idea of confederation was forming itself throughout the provinces. Its necessity as the only solution of the increasing difficulties of administration was daily becoming more evident.

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It had been ably advocated in the Canadas by Alexander Galt in 1857. In the year following the conservatives, to save themselves, accepted Galt as a colleague, and incorporated his ideas of confederation into their party programme. Early in 1864 representatives of the maritime provinces met at Charlottetown to discuss a union of the maritime provinces. Before any plan of coalition could be decided upon, a delegation from the two Canadas appeared on the scene with a proposal for a larger union. A second conference was decided upon and met in Quebec in the following October. They deliberated eighteen days and adopted a series of seventy-four resolutions, forming a scheme of union, which formed the basis of the subsequent British North America Act.

St. Louis Gate, Quebec

Agitation continued during several years. Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick decided for confederation and sent delegates to England to urge the passage of an act to bring it about. Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island held back, and for a time a reaction in Nova Scotia almost caused that province's withdrawal from the proposed union. The so-called Fenian invasions of 1866, by emphasising the necessity for united action, won votes for the Confederation proposals. At length the British North American Act passed the imperial parliament and was assented to by the queen, March 29, 1867.

THE NORTHWEST

Until the year 1867 the history of the Canadian northwest was little more than a history of the fur trade. The original Hudson's Bay Company was organised under a charter of Charles II in 1670 with Prince Rupert as president. This corporation disputed the field with the French and American colonial traders for over a century. In 1787 the merchants of Montreal and other Canadian towns organised a rival company known as the North West Company, or more familiarly the "Nor' Westers." In 1789 the famous explorer Alexander Mackenzie, an agent of the "Nor' Westers," started on his way across the continent, arriving at length, in July, 1793, on the shores of the Pacific, the first known white man to cross the continent north of Mexico. But already the navigators Cook (1778) and Vancouver (1792) had planted the British flag upon the shores of the western ocean. In 1806 Simon Frazer built at Fort Frazer the first trading post in British Columbia. In a few years the great interior region was being opened to settlement. The first post in the Red river country was established by a Frenchman, Veren-

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drye, who as early as 1735 had built a stockade which he named Fort Rouge on the site of the present city of Winnipeg. It was not, however, until 1812 that an English settlement was attempted. In the previous year Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, purchased from the Hudson Bay Company, in which he was one of the heaviest stockholders, a hundred thousand square miles of territory in the northwest, which he named Assiniboia. In 1812 he planted on the banks of the Red river a colony of Scotch and Irish immigrants. The North West Company, suspecting the new settlement to be a venture of their rival in the fur trade, adopted a hostile attitude, and the early days of the settlement, which really marked the founding of Manitoba, were marked by turmoil and privation and bloodshed. In 1816 the animosity of the North West Company took the form of an armed expedition against the Selkirk colony with the avowed purpose of exterminating it. The Nor' Westers' attack on Fort Douglass was gallantly beaten off, though with the loss of Governor Semple. In the following year Lord Selkirk himself led an armed force and a new lot of settlers to the aid of his colonists, reduced several of the North West Company's posts, and established his settlements on a firm foundation. The cause of all the rivalry came to a happy end with the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies in 1821 and a period of steady, peaceful growth followed. In 1835 the entire Red river region was placed under a regular government known as the council of Assiniboia which continued to control it till the purchase of the Northwest by the Canadian Confederation.

In 1849 the Hudson Bay Company made Victoria on Vancouver Island the capital of the Pacific coast part of its territories. The discovery of gold in the coast range in 1856 led to a large influx of settlers. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 had however left the United States boundary in doubt, and the subsequent uncertainty almost led to hostilities. This dispute was patched up in 1860 however. Previously in 1858 Vancouver Island and British Columbia were made separate provinces, but in 1866 they were again united to avert a threatened movement on the island for annexation to the United States. In 1870 after the confederation had been accomplished, negotiations for taking the control of the Northwest, including the Red river region, from the Hudson Bay Company were crowned with success. In return the company received £300,000 in cash, one-twentieth of all surveyed land and certain guarantees as to excessive taxation. In 1870 the new province of Manitoba was admitted to the Confederation, to be followed three years later by British Columbia.[a]

THE RED RIVER REBELLION

The transfer of the Hudson Bay Company territories to Canada was greatly mismanaged. Before the country had been handed over Canadian surveying and working parties had been sent into it to lay it out, and complete the "Dawson Road" from Lake of the Woods to Red river. These parties had expressed contempt for the natives, who had Indian blood in their veins, and who were not being considered in the matter of the transfer. The French Metis, or half-breeds, especially were in a disturbed state, and were led by a rash and vainglorious young man, named Louis Riel. He was the son of a fiery French Canadian miller, who lived on the small river, the Seine, which empties into Red river, below Fort Garry. Louis Riel, the younger, was a French half-breed, and had been partially educated for a priest in Montreal.

On the arrival on the boundary-line at Pembina of William McDougall,

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who on account of his long agitation on behalf of the Northwest was named as its first governor, he found himself opposed by the Metis, who had risen in rebellion. Buried in the wilds of Minnesota, four hundred miles north of St. Paul, warned against entering the new district for which he had laboured, McDougall issued his proclamation as governor, ordering the rebels to lay down their arms. The proclamation was a *brutum fulmen*, for the Red river people soon heard of its being valueless, from the territory not having been transferred. The few Canadians in the country and the English-speaking natives were anxious to receive the *soi-disant* governor, but Riel, who had seized Fort Garry, and formed a provisional government, refused.

"M. le président Riel," as the upstart desired to be called, arrested a band of Canadians, and imprisoned them at Fort Garry, treating them in a contemptuous and inhuman manner. He even went so far as to execute a young Canadian named Scott, who had been somewhat unyielding and independent. The news of the shooting of Scott, on its arrival in Canada, roused a wild feeling, and the cry for vengeance was loudly heard. Thousands of volunteers offered their services, of whom some seven hundred were accepted as sufficient, and with them five hundred regulars made up the Red River Expeditionary Force, which was commanded by Colonel Wolseley.

After a long and toilsome journey up Lake Superior, and by the old furtrader's route, after passing five hundred miles of rapid and portage, and lake and stream, the little army reached Fort Garry on August 24th, 1870, to find the rebel leader fled, and the rebellion at an end.

The Canadian government had sent by Bishop Taché, from Ottawa, the promise of an amnesty, but the murder of Scott having taken place before the delegate could reach the country to promulgate the pardon, the authorities maintained that circumstances had changed, and refused to recognise Riel as entitled to the amnesty. Accordingly the besotted leader was induced to leave the country, and passed five years of exile in the United States. His "adjutant-general," Lepine, was afterwards tried, found guilty, and for a time imprisoned.

The Red River Rebellion grew out of a series of blunders. The Canadian government should have taken steps to conciliate the people of Red river, before taking possession of the country. The Hudson Bay Company officials in Fort Garry were singularly inert, the pseudo-proclamation of Governor McDougall was a great mistake, and the crowning blunder of Riel, in advocating the case of his compatriots, was the murder of Scott. The military enthusiasm awakened, however, throughout Canada was notable, and numbers of the volunteers of the expedition remained in Manitoba to be among its truest citizens.

The enormous influx of settlers to the Northwest had led Canada to believe that the French half-breed population was powerless. Many of the Metis had, after the suppression of the Red River Rebellion, gone west to settle on the Saskatchewan. In the remote settlements, no doubt, due attention was not given to the difficulties and grievances of these scattered settlers by the Canadian government. The settlers on the Saskatchewan river, in the neighbourhood of Prince Albert and Batoche, were ill at ease. The Indian population, too, on account of the destruction of the buffalo and the encroachment of the whites, were in a dissatisfied state of mind.

The malcontents invited the aforetime exile, Riel, from Montana, whither he had gone, to return and lead their movement. Riel accepted the call of his countrymen, and posed as the liberator of his race, and even promulgated a new religion. Little danger was apprehended from the wild harangues of

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the adventurer. Suddenly Canada was convulsed by the news, telegraphed from within a few miles of the scene, that an attack had been made on the mounted police and Prince Albert volunteers at Duck Lake, on the 26th of March, 1885, and that the troops had been defeated with loss of life.

The excitement through all Canada was intense. The insurgents were intrenched at a point two hundred miles from the Canadian Pacific Railway, and there were unmistakable signs of restlessness among all the Indian tribes, for messengers to them had been sent in all directions by Riel, who had formed another provisional government. The 90th battalion, from Winnipeg, and a volunteer field battery were despatched to the scene of action, and from different parts of Canada in a few days some five or six thousand of the volunteer militia were on their way to the scene of the rebellion.

SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD
(1815–1891)

The first skirmish took place at Fish Creek on the Saskatchewan, where the French half-breeds held a strong position among the ravines with their skilfully arranged rifle-pits. After loss of life they were compelled to retire. In another portion of the country farther up the Saskatchewan, the Queen's Own, of Toronto, attacked an intrenched camp of Cree Indians under Chief Poundmaker, and inflicted severe loss. The defeated half-breeds, with a number of Sioux Indians as allies, after the fight of Fish Creek, fell back to their stronghold at Batoche; but here, after several days' skirmishing, and further loss of life, the position was taken on the 12th of May, 1885, after which the rebel chief was captured a few miles from the field. Taken to Regina, tried by civil process, and found guilty, on the 16th of November, 1885, Louis Riel, on the scaffold, expiated the crime of leading two rebellions and the country was again at peace.[b]

AFTER CONFEDERATION

The governor-generalship of Canada became on confederation one of the greatest official appointments in the gift of the crown. It is agreed that the statesmen who have filled the post have been uniformly successful in holding evenly the balance between political parties, and Canadians are satisfied with the method of appointing the official head of the state. Canada's political history is interesting, as showing the gradual development of a policy strictly Canadian, and yet not divergent from that of the empire. The liberal conservative party which gathered round Sir John A. Macdonald, the first premier, represented a practical school of statesmen. Drawn from the ranks of

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both parties, they adopted a system of compromise in political matters, and made the early and speedy development of the country the main object of their policy. Opposed to them were the reform party, who took as their watchword financial retrenchment, and therefore opposed the government in its railway policy and other schemes of rapid development. On the overthrow of the Macdonald ministry in 1873, a reform government was formed under the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie. Committed by their parliamentary record to a policy of economy, the reformers soon aroused discontent by their neglect of the Canadian Pacific Railway project. As consistent believers in free trade too, they seemed powerless in the face of the financial difficulties that then beset Canada and threatened the ruin of her manufactures. This led to their defeat in 1878. The conservative party, on returning to power, adopted a highly protective tariff as a defence against American trade encroachment, and this has so far proved itself favourable to the commercial well-being of the country that it has been continued to the present day.[g] On the death of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1891, Sir John Abbott became premier, but resigned through ill-health in the following year, and was succeeded by Sir John Thompson, who died at Windsor Castle in 1894, while attending to be sworn in as a member of her majesty's privy council. Sir Mackenzie Bowell then became premier, and held the office until 1896, when he gave way to Sir Charles Tupper. In the elections of the same year, under the able leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the reformers, who had been in opposition since 1878, won a signal victory, which they repeated in 1900 and again in 1904. The reform administration has been marked by various measures tending to unite Canada more closely with the empire—such as the adoption of imperial penny postage; the denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties, with the subsequent preferential treatment accorded to British goods; the carrying out of plans previously made for cable connection between Canada and Australia; and the contribution of men for the South African war. On the other hand, the abandonment by the British government of the Canadian claims in the Alaskan boundary dispute aroused a storm of indignation in the dominion; and Sir Wilfrid Laurier went so far as to suggest that Canada should be given the right to conduct her own diplomatic negotiations. A notable feature of Canadian history in recent years has been a great flood of immigration, in large measure from the United States, into the northwest. In 1905 Alberta and Saskatchewan were erected into provinces. At present the Grand Trunk company, with the assistance of the government, is constructing a new transcontinental railway, which will greatly facilitate the settlement of this region.[a]

The general election of 1906 resulted in a great victory for the liberals, but this success coincided with their defeat in Ontario, where they had been in power for thirty years. In the session of parliament beginning in November, 1906, a new tariff bill was passed providing for three different rates on imports: (1) on imports from Great Britain, (2) on imports from other countries that do not have reciprocity agreements with Canada, and (3) on imports from countries that have such agreements. The establishment of a permanent commission to deal with difficulties arising between railways and shippers, the appointment of an insurance commission, and the development of the federal department of labour are among the other important political events of the time. In September, 1907, serious riots broke out in Vancouver against the Chinese and Japanese. A demonstration was also made against the landing of 900 Hindus, who were reported to be of a superior class and well supplied with funds.[a]

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NEWFOUNDLAND

The discovery of John Cabot in 1497 of the island of Newfoundland, which thereby became the most ancient of all Great Britain's colonial possessions, has already been mentioned. Likewise we have touched upon the early attempts at colonisation of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1583) and others. By the year 1650, a century and a half after its discovery, the entire population of Newfoundland was under two thousand, distributed along the southern shore in fifteen small settlements. This scant population was swelled in the summer time by several thousand fishermen, who made the island a temporary dwelling place while they salted and dried their season's catch. Hence the foreign fish-traders and shipowners discouraged permanent settlement in order to maintain a monopoly of the fisheries and to retain the shore and coves for their exclusive use. To retard permanent settlement the British government was led to make stringent laws prohibiting settlement within six miles of the shore and forbidding fishermen to remain over winter or to build or repair a house without special licence. The rivalry of the French fishermen was another element which retarded the prosperity of the island. During the long period of the French and English wars the constant hostility of the French harassed the few English settlers and rendered life and property insecure. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) which gave to France the right of catching and drying fish on the western and northern shores, known henceforth as the French Shore did not terminate the quarrel by any means, for although the sovereignty was confirmed to England the practical effect was to exclude settlers from the most habitable part of the island. It was only after a prolonged contest of over two centuries that the Newfoundland settlers obtained the repeal of the last of the restrictive laws.

Meanwhile, despite these adverse conditions, the colony grew. In 1728, in the face of the objection of the "adventurers," the appointment of a governor was secured, Captain Henry Osborne being sent on in that year with a commission to organise a civil government for the island. This marked a new era in the history of the colony, and by 1763 its permanent population had increased to eight thousand. In 1765 Labrador was attached to the Newfoundland jurisdiction. During the Napoleonic wars the French were swept from the seas, and the colonial merchants and fishermen reaped the whole advantage of the fisheries. The value of fish trebled, wages rose, and in 1814 no less than seven thousand immigrants settled in the colony, the population of which had by that time increased to over eighty thousand. In 1832 a new constitution embodying the principle of representative government was adopted, and in 1855 the system of responsible ministries was inaugurated.

In 1884 Newfoundland gained a new importance in international politics from the revival of the ancient dispute in regard to the French Shore. In 1884 and again in 1885 conventions arranged between the British and French governments were rejected by the Newfoundland legislature, which in 1886 went further and passed an act cutting off the supply of fish bait to French fishermen. This measure was rather tardily approved by Lord Salisbury, a year and a half later, and at once the French foreign secretary, M. de Freycinet, retaliated by ordering the seizure and confiscation of the implements and stock of all foreign fishermen found upon the French Shore. The order was subsequently made to apply to the Newfoundland lobster factories, although the treaty originally dealt only with the question of the cod fisheries. In 1890 a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon by which existing lobster factories, both French and British, were to be left undisturbed until a final settlement

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could be arranged. The Newfoundland legislature was finally prevailed upon, by the promise that the imperial government would attempt to negotiate a new treaty, to incorporate the stipulations of the *modus vivendi* in an act which was passed annually thereafter up to 1904, each passage being accompanied with a protest. At length by the terms of an agreement signed April 7th, 1904, by M. Delcassé on the part of France and Lord Lansdowne on the part of England, France gave up her pretensions to exclusive fishing rights on the French shore in return for an indemnity to be settled by arbitration, and a recognition of her rights in Morocco.

A question of supreme importance in Newfoundland's domestic politics has been the so-called Reid Contract. A Montreal contractor of the name of R. G. Reid secured, in 1893, despite bitter opposition, a contract for the construction of a trans-insular railroad. The contract provided that the contractor should operate the road, and a telegraph system which he agreed to build, for a period of ten years, in return for a grant in fee-simple of 5,000 acres of land for each mile of road constructed amounting, if the railroad was fifty miles in length, to 2,500,000 acres. The railroad, completed in 1897, had a mileage of over six hundred miles. In 1898 Mr. Reid made a new contract with the Winter ministry by which in consideration of a further grant of 2,500,000 acres he undertook to pay into the colonial treasury the sum of $1,000,000 and to operate both the railway and telegraph systems free of charge for fifty years, with the provision that at the end of that period both should become his property. In the face of the declarations of the opponents of the measure that it practically meant the sale of the colony to Mr. Reid, the ministry secured the assent of the legislature and the approval of the imperial government. The action of the British government led to the resignation of the governor, Sir Herbert Murray, who disapproved of the measure, and eventually (1900) to the overthrow of the ministry of Sir James Winter and the formation of a liberal ministry by Sir Robert Bond who had led the opposition to the "contract." The proposal of Mr. Reid to convert his property into a limited liability company led the way to a readjustment of the terms of the new contract of 1898. The new agreement provided for the immediate transfer of the telegraph system to the company, for a more equitable arrangement of the land grants, and gave the colony the option of taking back the railroad system after fifty years by the paying back to the contractor of the sum of $1,000,000 and interest, and a further sum for betterments.

Legislation directed at American fishermen caused considerable friction during 1905 and 1906. In October of the latter year a *modus vivendi* arranged for one year between the United States and Great Britain on the subject aroused much dissatisfaction in the island. In August, 1907, the *modus vivendi* was renewed in a modified form and an agreement was reached to submit the questions at issue to the arbitration of The Hague.[a]

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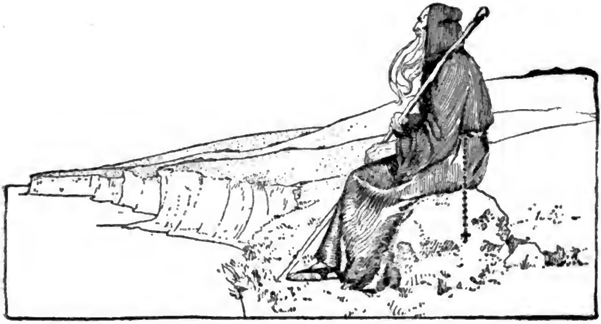

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO BRITISH HISTORY

I

THE BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV EMPOWERING HENRY II TO CONQUER IRELAND (1155 A.D.)

Bishop Adrian, servant of the servants of God, sends to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolic benediction. Laudably and profitably enough thy magnificence thinks of extending thy glorious name on earth, and of heaping up rewards of eternal felicity in Heaven, inasmuch as, like a good catholic prince, thou dost endeavour to enlarge the bounds of the church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to extirpate the plants of evil from the field of the Lord. And, in order the better to perform this, thou dost ask the advice and favour of the apostolic see. In which work, the more lofty the counsel and the better the guidance by which thou dost proceed, so much more do we trust that, by God's help, thou wilt progress favourably in the same; for that reason that those things which have taken their rise from ardour of faith and love of religion are accustomed always to come to a good end and termination.

There is indeed no doubt, as thy Highness doth also acknowledge, that Ireland and all other islands, which Christ the Sun of Righteousness has illumined, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman Church. Wherefore, so much the more willingly do we grant to them that the right faith and the seed grateful to God may be planted in them, the more we perceive, by examining more strictly our conscience, that this will be required of us.

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Thou hast signified to us, indeed, most beloved son in Christ, that thou dost desire to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to subject the people to the laws and to extirpate the vices that have there taken root, and that thou art willing to pay an annual pension to St. Peter of one penny from every house, and to preserve the rights of the churches in that land inviolate and entire. We, therefore, seconding with the favour it deserves thy pious and laudable desire, and granting a benignant assent to thy petition, are well pleased that, for the enlargement of the bounds of the church, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and the introduction of virtues, for the advancement of the Christian religion, thou should'st enter that island, and carry out there the things that look to the honour of God and to its own salvation. And may the people of that land receive thee with honour, and venerate thee as their master; provided always that the rights of the churches remain inviolate and entire, and saving to St. Peter and the holy Roman Church the annual pension of one penny from each house. If, therefore, thou dost see fit to complete what thou hast conceived in thy mind, strive to imbue that people with good morals, and bring it to pass, as well through thyself as through those whom thou dost know from their faith, doctrine, and course of life to be fit for such a work, that the church may there be adorned, the Christian religion planted and made to grow, and the things which pertain to the honour of God and to salvation be so ordered that thou may'st merit to obtain an abundant and lasting reward from God, and on earth a name glorious throughout the ages.

II

JOHN'S CONCESSION OF ENGLAND TO THE POPE (1213 A.D.)

John, by God's grace, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to all Christ's faithful that shall see the present charter, greeting. To all of you, through this our charter, furnished with our seal, we wish it to be known that inasmuch as we had offended God and our mother Holy Church in many ways and hence are known greatly to need God's mercy, and can not offer anything worthy to make due satisfaction to God and to the church unless we humble ourselves and our kingdoms: — wishing to humble ourselves for Him who humbled Himself for us unto death, and inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit, not induced by force or driven by fear, but of our own good free will and by the common advices of our barons, we do offer and freely yield to God and His holy apostles Peter and Paul and the holy Roman church our mother, and to our lord pope Innocent and to his catholic successors, the entire realm of England and the entire realm of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, for the forgiveness of our own sins and of those of all our race, both living and dead; and now receiving and holding them, as a vassal from God and the Roman church, in the presence of the wise Pandulph, subdeacon and of the household of the lord pope, fealty for them to him our aforesaid lord pope Innocent, and his catholic successors and the Roman church we do perform and swear according to the form appended; and in the presence of the lord pope, if we be able to come before him, we shall do liege homage to him binding our successors and our heirs by our wife forever, in like manner to perform fealty and show homage to him who shall be chief pontiff at the time, and to the Roman church without demur. As a sign, moreover, of this our perpetual obligation and concession

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we will and establish that from the proper and especial revenues of our aforesaid realms, for all the service and customs which we ought to render for them, saving in all things the penny of St. Peter, the Roman church shall receive yearly a thousand marks sterling, namely at the feast of St. Michael five hundred marks, and at Easter five hundred marks — seven hundred, namely for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland — saving to us and to our heirs our rights, liberties and regalia; all of which things, as they have been described above, we declare to be forever holding and firm, and we bind ourselves and our successors not to act counter to them. And if we or any one of our successors make bold to attempt this, — whoever he be, unless after due admonition he repent, he shall lose his right to the kingdom, and this charter of our obligation and concession shall always remain firm.

Form of the Oath of Fealty

I, John, by God's grace, king of England and lord of Ireland, from this hour forth will be faithful to God and St. Peter and the Roman church and my lord pope Innocent and his successors who are ordained in a catholic manner: I shall not allow, by act, deed, word, consent or counsel, that they lose life or members or be taken captive. I will stop harm unto them, if I know of it, and will cause harm to be removed from them if I can: otherwise with all speed I will inform them or tell of it to such person as I believe will for certain inform them. Any counsel which they entrust to me through themselves or through their envoys or through their letters, I will keep secret, nor will I wittingly disclose it to any for their harm. The patrimony of St. Peter, and especially the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Ireland, I will aid to the best of my ability in holding and defending against all men. So God and these holy Gospels help me.

III

THE STATUTE DE RELIGIOSIS (STATUTE OF MORTMAIN) (1279 A.D.)

[The Statute de Religiosis, or as it is more commonly called, the Statute of Mortmain, was enacted by Edward I to forbid the acquisition of land by religious orders or by the church, in such wise that the land should come into mortmain. "The king and other lords," says Stubbs, "were daily losing the services due to them, by the granting of estates to persons or institutions incapable of fulfilling the legal obligations. In future all lands so bestowed were to be forfeited to the immediate lord of the fee; the crown standing in the position of ultimate sequestrator."]

The king to his Justices of the Bench, greeting. Inasmuch as of late it has been provided that members of orders should not enter into the fees of any without the will and licence of the lords in chief of whom these fees are held immediately; and members of orders, nevertheless, have hereafter entered as well into their own fees as into those of others, appropriating them to themselves, and buying them, and sometimes receiving them from the gift of others, whereby the services which are due of such fees, and which from the beginning were provided for the defence of the realm, are unduly withdrawn, and the lords in chief do lose their escheats thence; we, for the profit of our realm, wishing to provide a fit remedy, by advice of our prelates, counts and other subjects of our realm who are of our council, have provided, established and ordained, that no person, member of an order or no, or whatsoever else he be,

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shall make bold to buy or sell any lands or holdings, or under colour of gift, or of any other term or title whatever, receive them from any one, or in any other way, by craft or by wile appropriate them to himself, whereby such lands and holdings may come into mortmain; under pain of forfeiture of the same. We have provided also that if any person, member of an order, or no, make bold either by craft or wile to go counter to this statute, it shall be lawful for us and for other immediate lords in chief of the fee so alienated, to enter it within a year from the time of such alienation and to hold it in fee as an inheritance. And if the immediate lord in chief shall be negligent and be not willing to enter into such fee within the year, then it shall be lawful for the next mediate lord in chief, within the half year following, to enter that fee and to hold it, as has been said; and thus each mediate lord may do if the next lord be negligent in entering such fee, as has been said before. And if all such chief lords of such fee, who shall be of full age and within the four seas and out of prison, shall be for one year negligent or remiss in this matter, we, straightway after the end of the year after the time when such purchases, gifts, or appropriations of another kind happen to be made, shall take such lands and holdings into our hand, and shall enfief others therein by certain services to us to be rendered thence for the defence of our realms; saving to the lords in chief of the same fees their wards, escheats and other things which pertain to them, and the services therefrom due and accustomed. And therefore we command you to cause the aforesaid statute to be read before you, and from henceforth to be firmly kept and observed. Witness the King at Westminster, the 15th day of November, the 7th year of our reign.

IV

THE STATUTE QUIA EMPTORES (1290 A.D.)

[The Statute Quia Emptores, known also as the Statute of Westminster III, was to feudalism what the Statute of Mortmain was to the church. Its abolition and prohibition of subinfeudation was one of the strongest restraints put upon the feudal system in England, and checked the natural tendency of development along the lines followed on the Continent. The difference between the feudal systems in England and in continental countries being one of the vital points in English mediæval history, the importance of the enactment is evident.]

Inasmuch as buyers of lands and holdings of the fees of magnates and others to the injury of the same, often in former times have entered upon their fees, and to them (the purchasers) the free tenants of these same magnates and others have sold their lands and holdings to be held in fee for themselves and their heirs from the subinfeudators and not from the lords in chief of the fees, whereby the same lords in chief have often lost the escheats, marriages, and wardships of lands and holdings belonging to their fees, which thing indeed to the same magnates and other lords seemed very hard and extreme, and likewise, in this case, manifest disinheritance; the lord king in his parliament at Westminster after Easter in the 18th year of his reign, *viz.*, in the Quinzime of St. John the Baptist, at the instance of the magnates, of his realm did grant, provide, and decree that henceforth it shall be lawful for any and every free man to sell at will his lands or holdings or a part of them; in such manner, however, that the infeudated person shall hold that land or holdings from the same lord and chief and by the same services and customs by which his infeudator previously held them. And if he shall have sold to any one any part of the same lands or holdings, the infeudated person shall hold

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it directly of the lord in chief, and shall straightway be charged with as much service as pertains or ought to pertain to that lord for that parcel, according to the amount of the land or holding sold; and so in this case there shall fall away from the lord in chief that part of the service which is to be performed by the hand of the infeudator, from the time when the infeudated person ought to be attendant and answerable to that same lord in chief, according to the quantity of the land or holding sold, for that parcel of service thus due. And it must be known that by the said sales or purchases of lands or holdings or any part of them, those lands or holdings in part or in whole, can not come into mortmain, by art or by wile, contrary to the statute recently issued thereupon, etc. [the statute of 1279]. And it is to be known that that statute concerning lands sold holds good only for those holding in fee simple, etc.; and that it extends to future time; and it shall begin to take effect at the feast of St. Andrew next coming.

V

STATUTE OF LABOURERS (1349 A.D.)

[The first Statute of Labourers, passed in the twenty-third year of Edward III was an attempt to regulate labour, the price of which had become unusually high as a result of the dearth of labourers following the Black Death. A second statute, passed two years later, minutely regulated the scale of wages.]

Edward, by the grace of God, etc., to the reverend father in Christ, William, by the same grace, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, greeting. Because a great part of the people, and especially of the workmen and servants, has now died in that pestilence, some, seeing the straights of the masters and the scarcity of servants, are not willing to serve unless they receive excessive wages, and others, rather than through labour to gain their living, prefer to beg in idleness. We, considering the grave inconveniences which might come from the lack, especially of ploughmen and such labourers, have held deliberation and treaty concerning this with the prelates and nobles and other learned men sitting by us; by whose consentient counsel we have seen fit to ordain: that every man and woman of our kingdom of England, of whatever condition, whether bond or free, who is able bodied and below the age of sixty years, not living from trade nor carrying on a fixed craft, nor having of his own the means of living, or land of his own with regard to the cultivation of which he might occupy himself, and not serving another — if he, considering his station, be sought after to serve in a suitable service, he shall be bound to serve him who has seen fit so to seek after him; and he shall take only the wages, liveries, meed, or salary which, in the places where he sought to serve, were accustomed to be paid in the twentieth year of our reign of England, or the five or six common years next preceding. Provided, that in thus retaining their service, the lords are preferred before others of their bondsmen or their land tenants: so, nevertheless that such lords thus retain as many as shall be necessary and not more; and if any man or woman, being thus sought after in service, will not do this, the fact being proven by two faithful men before the sheriffs or the bailiffs of our lord the king, or the constables of the town where this happens to be done — straightway through them, or some one of them, he shall be taken and sent to the next jail, and there he shall remain in strict custody until he shall find surety for serving in the aforesaid form.

And if a reaper or mower, or other workman, or servant, of whatever

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standing or condition he be, who is retained in the service of any one, do depart from the said service before the end of the term agreed, without permission or reasonable cause, he shall undergo the penalty of imprisonment, and let no one, under the same penalty, presume to receive or retain such a one in his service. Let no one, moreover, pay or permit to be paid to any one more wages, livery, meed or salary than was customary as has been said; nor let any one in any other manner, exact or receive them, under penalty of paying to him who feels himself aggrieved from this, double the sum that has thus been paid or promised, exacted, or received; and if such person be not willing to prosecute, then it (the sum) is to be given to any one of the people who shall prosecute in this matter; and such prosecution shall take place in the court of the lord of the place where such case shall happen. And if the lords of the towns or manors presume of themselves, or through their servants, in any way to act contrary to this, our present ordinance, then in the counties, wapentakes and tithings suit shall be brought against them in the aforesaid form for the triple penalty (of the sum) thus promised or paid by them or their servants; and if perchance, prior to the present ordinance, any one shall have covenanted with any one thus to serve for more wages, he shall not be bound by reason of the said covenant, to pay more than at another time was wont to be paid to such person; nay, under the aforesaid penalty he shall not presume to pay more.

Likewise saddlers, skinners, white-tawers, cordwainers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, masons, tilers, shipwrights, carters, and all other artisans and labourers shall not take for their labour and handiwork more than what, in the places where they happen to labour, was customarily paid to such persons in the said twentieth year and in the other common years preceding, as has been said; and if any man take more, he shall be committed to the nearest jail in the manner aforesaid.

Likewise let butchers, fishmongers, hostlers, brewers, bakers, pulters, and all other vendors of any victuals, be bound to sell such victuals for a reasonable price, having regard for the price at which such victuals are sold in the adjoining places: so that such vendors may have moderate gains, not excessive, according as the distance of the places from which such victuals are carried may seem reasonably to require; and if any one sell such victuals in another manner, and be convicted of it in the aforesaid way, he shall pay the double of that which he received to the party injured, or in default of him, to another who shall be willing to prosecute in this behalf; and the mayor and bailiffs of the cities and burroughs, merchant towns, and others, and of the maritime ports and places shall have power to inquire concerning each and every one who shall in any way err against this, and to levy the aforesaid penalty for the benefit of those at whose suit such delinquents shall have been convicted; and in case that the same mayor and bailiffs shall neglect to carry out the aforesaid, and shall be convicted of this before justices to be assigned by us, then the same mayor and bailiffs shall be compelled through the same justices, to pay to such wronged person or to another prosecuting in his place, the treble of the thing thus sold, and nevertheless, on our part too, they shall be grievously punished.

And because many sound beggars do refuse to labour so long as they can live from begging alms, giving themselves up to idleness and sins, and, at times, to robbery and other crimes — let no one, under the aforesaid pain of imprisonment presume, under colour of piety or alms, to give anything to such as can very well labour, or to cherish them in their sloth — so that thus they may be compelled to labour for the necessaries of life.

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VI

PETITION OF RIGHT (1628 A.D.)

[The Petition of Right is memorable, as Gardiner points out, as the first statutory restriction of the powers of the crown since the accession of the Tudors. It received the name of petition because the commons stated their grievances in the form of a petition, refusing to grant supplies until Charles gave his assent to the measure. The king at first eluded the petition, but, finally, moved by the threat of the commons to proceed with charges against his favourite, Buckingham, affixed his signature to the enactment.]

THE PETITION EXHIBITED TO HIS MAJESTY BY THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL AND COMMONS, IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED, CONCERNING DIVERS RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECTS, WITH THE KING'S MAJESTY'S ROYAL ANSWER THEREUNTO IN FULL PARLIAMENT.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

Humbly shew unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I, commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the King or his heirs in this realm, without the good will, and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of Parliament holden in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the King against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which statutes before mentioned and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent, in Parliament.

II. Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give utterance before your Privy Council and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace and others, by command or direction of your Majesty, or your Privy Council, against the laws and free customs of the realm.

III. And whereas also by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

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IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before justices by your Majesty's writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your Majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your Privy Council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law.

VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas also by authority of Parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that no man should be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by Acts of Parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; nevertheless of late time divers commissions under your Majesty's great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers or mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof some of your Majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been judged and executed.

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax,

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or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or to take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

Quâ quidem petitione lectâ et plenius intellectâ per dictum dominum regem taliter est responsum in pleno parliamento, viz. Soit droit fait comme est desiré.

VII

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT (1643 A.D.)

[The Solemn League and Covenant was the second of the public national covenants entered into in Great Britain, the first being the Scottish National Covenant, drawn up by order of James VI in 1580, and several times renewed, lastly in 1638. The Solemn League and Covenant was arranged by English and Scotch commissioners, and was practically an international treaty between England and Scotland for the purpose of securing the uniform establishment of the civil and religious liberties of the two kingdoms.]

A SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT FOR REFORMATION AND DEFENCE OF RELIGION, THE HONOUR AND HAPPINESS OF THE KING, AND THE PEACE AND SAFETY OF THE THREE KINGDOMS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, and commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion; having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and

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kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies: we have (now at least) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings, for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:

I

That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, *according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches;* and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II

That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and His name one in the three kingdoms.

III

We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

IV

We shall also, with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be *incendiaries*, *malignants*, or evil *instruments*, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall

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require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V

And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted to us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments: we shall each one of us, according to our places and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

VI

We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and His Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of Him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and trangressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away His wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that Great Day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed: most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by His Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to His people, and encouragement to the Christian churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of anti-Christian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

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VIII

THE DECLARATION OF BREDA (1660 A.D.)

[The conciliatory proclamation of Charles II, known as the Declaration of Breda, from the town in the Netherlands where the fugitive king had set up his court, was published after Monk had declared for a free parliament and begun his advance from Scotland into England. It was intended and accepted as a proof of Charles' willingness to take the crown from the hands of the united Cavaliers and Presbyterians, and of his design to bury old animosities and in general to forgive those who had been keeping him from his inheritance.]

Charles R., by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of the country, in the restoration of King, Peers and the people to their just, ancient and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament, those only to be excepted. Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining that henceforth all notes of discord, separation and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the re-settlement of our just rights and theirs in a free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animos-

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ities against each other (which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting of that indulgence.

And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales and purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at our Court at Breda, this 4th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

IX

THE BILL OF RIGHTS (1689 A.D.)

[The great statute known as the Bill of Rights was one of the first acts of the first parliament of William and Mary, which met on February 13th, 1689. It wrs, as Sir Edward Creasy points out, the third and last great bulwark of English liberty—the two earlier being the Magna Charta (1215) and the Petition of Right (1628).]

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT, AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did, upon the thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following; viz.—

Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:—

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of

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prerogative, for other time, and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognisable only in Parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and the freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late King James II having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters, elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare: —

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed, and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence and prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

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5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That elections of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

To which demand of their rights, they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

II. The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases, the said Crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly.

III. And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary:

So help me God.

I, A. B., do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of

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Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm:

So help me God.

IV. Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

V. And thereupon their Majesties were pleased, that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, should continue to sit, and with their Majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, did agree and proceed to act accordingly.

VI. Now in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming and establishing the said declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, That all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration; and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come.

VII. And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence, and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said Majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto Him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby recognise, acknowledge and declare, that King James II having abdicated the government, and their Majesties having accepted the Crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said Majesties did become, were, are, and of sovereign right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal State, Crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed.

VIII. And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm, by reason of any pretended titles to the Crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, and tranquillity, and safety of this nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do beseech their Majesties that it may be enacted, established and declared, that the Crown and legal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continued to

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their said Majesties, and the survivor of them, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And that the entire, perfect, and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in, and executed by, his Majesty, in the names of both their Majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said Crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her Majesty; and for default of such issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of his said Majesty: And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever; and do faithfully promise, That they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the Crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted, That all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said Crown and government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

X. And that every King and Queen of this realm, who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this kingdom, shall, on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament, next after his or her coming to the Crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation, before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Charles II, intituled "An act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." But if it shall happen, that such King or Queen, upon his or her succession to the Crown of this realm, shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such King or Queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said declaration at his or her coronation, or the first day of meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen after such King or Queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

XI. All which their Majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said Majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and

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Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, or established accordingly.

XII. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after this present session of Parliament, no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be especially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of Parliament.

XIII. Provided that no charter, or grant, or pardon granted before the three-and-twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred eighty-nine, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other than as if this Act had never been made.

X

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT (1700 A.D.)

["In order to obviate the confusion that was likely to arise as to the right of the crown, in the event (which actually occurred) of there being no surviving issue of William and Mary, of the Princess Anne, or of William, it was found necessary, in 1700, to fix more definitely the succession of the crown, and it was now further limited to the Princess Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her heirs, she being granddaughter of James I and the next in succession who held the Protestant faith. In the statute by which this was done, called the Act of Settlement, several very important constitutional provisions were introduced." — SIR EDWARD CREASY. The second, third and fifth provisions were obviously adopted because of the jealousy felt for a foreign dynasty. The third, fourth and sixth provisions were repealed before the act came into operation. It is upon the seventh, which supplements the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights, that the greatest importance of the act rests.]

1. That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown, shall join in communion with the Church of England, as by law established.

2. That in case the Crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.

3. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament.

4. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.

5. That, after the said limitations shall take effect as aforesaid, no person born out of the Kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although to be naturalised or made a denisen — except such as are born of English parents), shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grants of land, tenements, or hereditaments, from the Crown, to himself, or to any other or others in trust for him.

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6. That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.

7. That, after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

8. That no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

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Appendix. Documents Relating to British History

The documents here given are to be found in the following sources and publications: I in George Lyttleton's *History of the Life of Henry II*, London, 1767; II, III, and IV in Stubbs' *Select Charters of English Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1870; V, VI, VII, IX, and X in the *Statutes of the Realm*, London, 1810-1828; VIII in T. Rymer's *Fœdera*, London, 1704-1735.

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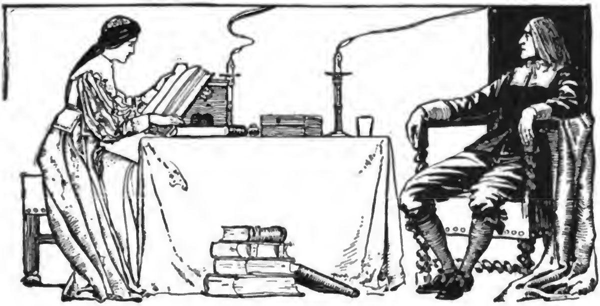

A GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH HISTORY

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Sir Archibald Alison was born at Kenly in Shropshire, December 29th, 1792, and after graduating from Edinburgh University with high honours, was called to the bar in 1814. His great success as an advocate soon enabled him to indulge his taste for travel, and he spent much of his leisure time upon the Continent visiting the localities rendered memorable by the Napoleonic wars. In 1835, having been appointed sheriff of Lanarkshire, he settled near Glasgow and devoted himself to literary work. His *History of Europe*, commenced in 1829 and completed in 1842, achieved immediate success, passing through six editions within two years, and was translated into many foreign languages, even into Arabic and Hindustani. This great success was due to the fact that the work presented for the first time, in compact though not always well arranged form, a mass of information regarding the most exciting period of European history. The interest aroused by its matter obscured, for the time, a faulty style, strong political partisanship, inaccurate statement and incomplete deductions. Alison's literary activity con-

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tinued to the end of his life, and he received many public honours, being created a baronet in 1852, and chosen as rector of Glasgow University in the previous year. He died at Glasgow May 23rd, 1867.

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For nearly four hundred years after the death of Bede, no historian whose name has been preserved existed in England. During all this period, however, a record of current events written in the vernacular, was being compiled by many successive but now unknown hands, which is of inestimable value to the historian. Its beginning is uncertain—at least as early as the reign of Alfred—and it was continued through successive generations until after the death of Stephen. Being largely chronological, it is not, as a whole, interesting reading, but many important events, especially the Danish incursions and the deeds of some of the ancient worthies are described vividly and at length. Apart from its historical value the work possesses great interest as indicating the development and transformation of the language, and the fusion of the different dialects of the island. Its style is generally plain, clear, and matter of fact, without rhetorical embellishment; in the main it is a dry record of events, but it bridged the wide gap from Bede to Eadmer, and has proved a mine of information to later historians.

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Asser, the biographer of Alfred the Great, was probably of Welsh birth, as he was educated and ordained priest at the monastery of St. Davids in Pembrokeshire. His talents attracted the attention of Alfred, who invited him to the court and subsequently made him bishop of Exeter and abbot of several wealthy monasteries. It is said that he induced Alfred to found the University of Oxford and settle annual stipends upon its instructors. The life of Alfred is the sole work of Asser that has come down to our times; it is merely a fragment and largely a compilation, but derives its interest from the genuine greatness of the person described. Asser possessed genuine merit as a biographer, and many of his graphic anecdotes illustrative of the life and character of the great British king have become familiar to all readers of English history. His long and useful life ended in the year 909.

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Walter Bagehot was born at Langport, Somerset, England, in 1826, took his degree at London University in 1848, and after engaging for ten years in banking, became editor of the *Economist*, retaining the position until his death in 1877. Bagehot's fame rests chiefly on *The English Constitution*, a brilliant philosophic essay on the workings of the English government, already accepted as a classic, and *Lombard Street*, essays on practical finance, which have had a wide influence on the history of banking in England.

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Bede (*Beda*) surnamed the Venerable, was an English monk who was born about the year 672 at Wearmouth in the bishopric of Durham. At the age of seven he was placed in the monastery of St. Peter, at Wearmouth, and after a few years removed to the monastery of Jarrow, where he was ordained deacon in 691 and priest in 702. The fame of his learning spread to foreign lands, and Pope Sergius urged him to visit Rome, but Bede remained quietly in his cell gathering the material for his Ecclesiastical History, which was completed in 731. This great work was received with such favour that it was ordered read in the churches. Bede wrote numerous treatises on religious and scientific subjects, and besides conducting a large correspondence continued his instruction in the school of the monastery to the time of his death in the year 735. While his writings are, to modern view, subject to grave criticism as superficial, inexact, and disfigured by the credulity of his age in matters of religion, there is no doubt that his attainments were remarkable, and that he occupied the highest rank among the scholars of his period. His history was translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred.

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Henry Thomas Buckle was born at Lee, Kent, November 24, 1821. Being a delicate child his studies were pursued at home, but to such advantage that at the age of thirty he knew nineteen languages. Possessing an independent fortune, he spent much time in foreign travel, and about 1844 conceived the design of writing a history of the Middle Ages. After several years of preparation he enlarged the scope of his work, and in 1857 published the first volume of his *History of Civilisation*, which achieved immediate and marked success. After the publication of the second volume in 1861, he sought to restore his wasted strength by travel, but died at Damascus, May 29th, 1862. Buckle's work is really only an unfinished introduction to the great history which he had planned. He seeks to establish history as an exact science: to show that climate, soil, and natural forces form the character of a people; that scepticism advances and credulity retards national progress, and that paternal government dwarfs the spirit of freedom and civilisation. His ideals are high, his style vigorous and elegant.

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Thomas Carlyle was born at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, December 4th, 1795. He began to study for the ministry at Edinburgh University, but abandoned this plan and, after teaching several years, settled at Edinburgh with the determination of supporting himself by letters. He first secured recognition with a *Life of Schiller* (1825). From that time on he busied himself with translations and essays, until 1837, when his first notable work, *The French Revolution*, appeared. His characterisation of that event

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as "truth clad in hell fire" accounts for his method of treating it — but wonderful as it is, it can scarcely be called history. Several years devoted to writing and lecturing followed, and in 1845 his *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* was published. This great work — hero-worship as it is — is considered by many his masterpiece. It certainly created a new and favourable picture of the Great Protector which has remained to this day. Between 1858-1865 appeared in six volumes his *History of Frederick the Great*. After the death of his wife in 1866 his life became more and more secluded, but he continued his literary activity almost up to his death, February 4th, 1881.

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Edward Shepherd Creasy was born at Bexford, in Kent, September 12th, 1812. Educated at Cambridge, he was called to the bar in 1837, and in 1840 was made professor of history in London University, where he remained for twenty years until his appointment as chief justice of Ceylon. During his connection with the university he published

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several historical works of much merit, of which his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* received high commendation and has been widely read. His death occurred January 27th, 1878.

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Mandell Creighton (1843-1901) graduated at Oxford in 1866 and entered the ministry of the Church of England. In 1884 he became professor of ecclesiastical history at Cambridge, in 1891 was made bishop of Peterborough, and in 1897 transferred to the see of London. His *History of the Papacy* is probably the most authoritative work on the subject written by an Englishman. His works on the Tudor period in English history are also of great value. He was a founder and first editor of the *English Historical Review*.

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Samuel Astley Dunham was associated with Lardner in the preparation of the *Cabinet Cyclopædia,* for which he compiled a number of histories. These works are not professedly original, but are well arranged and entertainingly written. He also collaborated with Southey, who speaks of his knowledge of the middle ages as "marvellous," and with Lingard. He received the degree of LL.D. in recognition of his labours, and died at London in 1858.

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Edward Augustus Freeman was born at Mitchley Abbey, in Staffordshire, August 2, 1823. He was educated at Oxford and after his marriage, in 1847, devoted his life to literary pursuits. His first publication was a *History of Architecture*, and by frequent contributions to periodicals he soon became known to the English reading public as an accurate and versatile writer. In 1867 the first volume of the *History of the Norman Conquest* established his position among English historians, and brought him numerous academic honours. To familiarise himself with countries whose history he was writing Freeman travelled extensively, and became well known as a lecturer in both England and the United States. He was a very voluminous writer and has treated of many nations and diverse periods with unfailing accuracy and critical ability. His prolixity, however, mars the literary quality of his work and interferes with the flow of his thought, but his honesty of purpose and profound search for truth will render his works always valuable and authoritative. Freeman succeeded Bishop Stubbs as regius professor of history at Oxford in 1884, but failing health compelled him to spend much of his time in a warmer climate, and while travelling in Spain he died at Alicante, March 16th, 1892.

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James Anthony Froude was born at Dartington, in Devonshire, April 23rd, 1818, and was educated at Westminster School and Oxford. He entered the church, but the change in his religious views, caused by the Tractarian movement, in which he became deeply interested, caused him to abandon the profession and devote his life to literature. A frequent contributor to the reviews, he was editor of *Fraser's Magazine* for many years and published numerous historical and biographical works. As literary executor of Carlyle he aroused vehement criticism by what many considered his lack of editorial discretion. He travelled extensively, both privately and on government missions, and gave numerous lectures in the United States as well as in England. His historical fame is mainly founded on his *History of England*, though this, like all his works, is injured by his adaptation of facts to suit his chosen views. But if he often subordinated accuracy to the exigencies of vivid description, his lucid style and the charm of his language cause his works to be ranked among the most noteworthy of his century and will give him high position among British historians. Froude succeeded E. A. Freeman as regius professor of modern history at Oxford in 1892, and died at Salcombe, Devonshire, October 20th, 1894.

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James Gairdner was born at Edinburgh, March 22nd, 1828. At the age of eighteen he was appointed to a clerkship in the Public Records Office in London, and displayed such capabilities that his advancement was rapid. For many years he was assistant keeper of the public records, and has published numerous works as the result of his assiduous study of the ancient documents. These publications have thrown a flood of light upon the early history of England, and will always be of invaluable service to the historian as well as of interest to the general reader.

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Samuel Rawson Gardiner was born at Ropley, Hants, March 4th, 1829, and was educated at Oxford, subsequently taking courses at Edinburgh and Göttingen. He was for many years professor of history at King's College, London, and was offered the professorship at Oxford made vacant by the death of Froude, but declined it. Gardiner's historical studies were mainly devoted to the revolutionary period following the death of James I, of which he made most exhaustive study, being greatly aided by the discovery of the hitherto unknown sources contained in the collections known as the Clarke and Verney MSS., the Paston Letters and the "Nicholas and Hamilton Papers." He was the first to treat this important epoch in a non-partisan spirit, and has given the first fair and adequate explanation of the rise of the Cavalier party, and the political quarrels which arose in the Long Parliament from differences of religious opinion. He edited many volumes for the Camden Society and was for ten years editor of the *English Historical Review*, to which his contributions were numerous and valuable. At his death, in 1902, he was engaged upon the last part of his great work, *The Commonwealth and The Protectorate*, which was completed to the year 1656.

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Giraldus Cambrensis (Girald de Barri) was born near Pembroke, in South Wales, in the year 1145. He was educated by his uncle, the bishop of St. David's, and at the age of twenty was sent to Paris, where he studied theology under Peter Comestor, and lectured upon belles lettres and rhetoric in the English college. Upon his return to England, in 1172, his reputation for learning and his zeal for the church were so great that he was given an extraordinary commission to reform abuses in Wales. In 1176 he returned to Paris and spent three years in the study of the canon law, with such success that he was offered the professorship in the university. Henry II sent him to Ireland in 1185 as secretary to Prince John. Giraldus did not accompany the prince on his return, but remained in Ireland for more than a year in search of antiquities and to complete his topographical description, for which purpose he travelled over the whole island. In 1198 he was elected bishop of St. David's; the election being disputed, he went to Rome in 1200 to press his claim, but was defeated by a more wealthy competitor. Giraldus lived about seventy years and left many writings, some of which have been published. He was eloquent and profoundly learned for his age, but credulous and superstitious. A bitter enemy of the monks, it was a common saying with him "a monachorum malitia libera nos, Domine" (from the malice of monks, good Lord, deliver us).

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Heinrich Rudolf Hermann Friedrich von Gneist, a German jurist and statesman, was born at Berlin, August 13th, 1816. He was educated at the Berlin University and practised his profession for several years, becoming an assistant judge of the Superior Court. In 1850 he resigned this position to devote his time to teaching jurisprudence. He was a member of the Prussian Lower House from 1858 to 1893, and of the Reichstag from 1867 to 1884, where he became a leader of the National Liberal party. Gneist was an ardent admirer of the English constitution, of which he made exhaustive study and frequently cited as a model for German affairs. His published works are numerous, including many treatises upon the history of jurisprudence in addition to those relating to English parliamentary history. He was ennobled by Frederick III in 1888, and died at Berlin, July 22nd, 1895.

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John Richard Green was born at Oxford, December 12th, 1837. Upon completing his university course he entered the church, but failing health caused him to abandon clerical life and accept a position as librarian at Lambeth in 1869. From early years an enthusiastic student of English history, he sought in his *Short History of the English People* to present vivid pictures of the life and customs of the people and of the social conditions which had influenced their growth rather than to dwell upon dynasties and wars. The success of the work was immediate; its picturesque style and life-like descriptions proved eminently attractive to the general public, even though he often built a larger and more elaborate structure than his foundation warranted. Notwithstanding his bodily weakness, Green wrote *The Making of England*, a much more scholarly work, which was published in 1882; and so far collected and arranged the material for the succeeding volume on *The Conquest of England* that it was published by his widow shortly after his death, in 1883. Mrs. Green, who was a student and writer of much ability, rendered constant and valuable assistance to her husband, and has produced important works of her own composition.

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François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, a distinguished French historian and statesman, was born at Nîmes, October 4th, 1787. His father was guillotined during the Reign of Terror, and his mother sought refuge in Switzerland, where young Guizot was educated. Returning to Paris in 1805, he began the brilliant literary career which ended only with his life. History, biography, translations, essays and reviews followed in rapid succession, and quickly gave him high rank among French literati. In addition, he lectured for many years in the Sorbonne and occupied important positions in the government, attaining the premiership in 1847. The coup d'état of 1851 closed his public career and the remainder of his life was passed in literary labour. A close student of English history, his writings upon the Puritan period have great merit and deserved reputation. Guizot died at the age of eighty-seven at Val-Rocher, September 13th, 1874.

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Richard Hakluyt was born in or near London about 1553. He took his degree at Oxford in 1573-4, and after taking his M.A. in 1577, commenced at Oxford the first public lectures on geography. His first published work was his *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582). From 1583 to 1588 he was chaplain to Lord Stafford, English ambassador to France, busying himself meanwhile with studies and researches in history and geography. Hakluyt's greatest work was *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600), which has been truly called "the prose epic of the modern English Nation." Though but little read, it is an invaluable treasure house for the study of English history, geographical discovery and colonisation. He was archdeacon of Westminster from 1603 until his death in 1616.

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Henry Hallam was born at Windsor, July 9, 1777. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, studied law and was in active practice on the Oxford circuit until 1812, when he was enabled to retire and devote himself to historical study. He exhibited literary talent at an early age, and his contributions to the reviews had already established his position among English writers. In 1818 he published *A View of Europe during the Middle Ages*, the result of two years' research and extended European travel. Hallam's works, characterised by careful and painstaking study, impartial criticism, and sincere, straightforward

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style, have taken a rank among English classics from which they will never be dislodged. Subsequent investigations and later discoveries of sources have, of course, rendered parts of his work of little value. Absolute justice to every one was Hallam's aim, and in his *Constitutional History* he has treated men and events with judicial coolness and impartiality. His general knowledge was immense, and he was a competent critic in science and theology, mathematics and poetry, metaphysics and law. Many honours were bestowed upon him by the state and various learned societies and universities. His domestic life was saddened toward its close by the death of his wife and ten of his eleven children. He died at Pickhurst, Kent, January 21, 1859.

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David Hume was born at Edinburgh, April 26th, 1711. Being a younger son, with slender patrimony, and of a sober, studious disposition, he was destined by his parents for the law, but, seized with an early passion for letters, he had an insurmountable aversion to any other study. After an unsuccessful attempt at business life in Bristol, he went to France for the further prosecution of his studies, and remained three years, during which period he wrote his *Treatise on Human Nature*. Returning to England in 1737, he was at first secretary to the marquis of Annandale, afterwards on the staff of

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General St. Clair, whom he accompanied to Austria and Italy in 1747. His early writings were not received with commendation, though his reputation as a man of letters was increasing. In 1754 he published the first volume of *A Portion of English History from the Accession of James I to the Revolution*, which he hoped to be a success, as he thought himself the first English historian free from bias, but he says "that he was herein miserably disappointed, and that, instead of pleasing all parties, had made himself obnoxious to all." The second volume, which appeared in 1756, was more favorably received. In 1759 he published the *History of the House of Tudor*, and in 1761 the early portion of the *English History*. Notwithstanding, possibly by reason of, the clamour raised by his opponents, his publications proved very remunerative, and he twice retired to Edinburgh, with the intention of leading a life of scholarly ease, but was recalled to accept important appointments. In 1769 he finally abandoned public life and lived in Edinburgh until his death, on August 25, 1776. His history, notwithstanding its faults, has a distinct place in English literature; it was the first attempt at comprehensive, thoughtful treatment of historic facts, the first to consider the social and literary aspects of the national life as little inferior to its politics and wars. While Hume was at all times an advocate, colouring facts to suit his theories, and glossing over the faults of his favourites, he established a standard of historical composition and developed a style animated, yet refined and polished.

Hume, M. A. S. (translator), Chronica del Rey Enrico Ottavo de Ingleterra, London, 1889; The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1896; Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Simancas, London, 1892-1899, 4 vols. — **Hunt,** J., Religious Thought in England, London, 1870. — **Hunt,** W., Bristol, London, 1887; The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest, London, 1899. — **Hunter,** W. W., The Indian Empire, London, 1878; article on "India" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **Huntingdon,** H. W. H., History of Australia, Newcastle, 1888. — **Huskisson,** W., Speeches, London, 1830, 3 vols. — **Hutchinson,** L., Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson, London, 1806. — **Hutchinson,** T., History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1764-1774, 4 vols. — **Hutton,** W. H., Sir Thomas More, London, 1895.

Indian Student, An, India before and after the Mutiny, Edinburgh, 1886. — **Ingram,** J. K., A History of Political Economy, London and New York, 1888. — **Ingram,** T. D., History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1887, new edition, 1899. — **Innes,** C., History of Scotland to 818, Edinburgh, 1853; Scotland in the Middle Ages, Edinburgh, 1860; Sketches of Early Scottish History and Social Progress, Edinburgh, 1861. — **Irish History,** Two Centuries of, London, 1888.

James I, A Counterblast to Tobacco, London, 1616; A Remonstrance of the Most Gracious King James I against an Oration of the Cardinal of Perron, Cambridge, 1619; Book of Sports, London, 1709. — **James,** Lionel, article on the War in South Africa, 1899-1901, in new volumes of *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **James,** W., The Naval History of Great Britain from the Declaration of War by France in 1793 to the Accession of George IV, London, 1822-1826, 6 vols., 1866. — **James,** W. N., The British in India, London, 1882. — **Jardine,** D., Criminal Trials, London, 1832, 2 vols.; Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, London, 1857. — **Jenks,** E., The Australian Colonies to 1893, London, 1895. — **Jennings,** G. H., An Anecdotical History of the British Parliament, London, 1892. — **Jesse,** J. H., Memoirs of the Pretenders and Their Adherents, London, 1845; Memoirs of the Life and Times of George III, London, 1867. — **Jessopp,** A., Studies by a Recluse, London, 1893. — **Jevons,** W. S., The State in Its Relation to Labour, London and New York, 1885. — **John of Fordun,** Chronica gentis Scotorum, in T. Gales' *Scriptores Quindecim*, Edinburgh, 1691, translation by W. F. Skene in the *Historians of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1871. — **Jomini,** H., Vie politique et militaire de Napoleon, Paris, 1827, 4 vols., translation by H. W. Halleck, London, 1864, 4 vols. — **Jones,** W., Works, London, 1811, 13 vols.; articles in *Journal of Asiatic Researches*. — **Jones,** W. B., Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd, London, 1851; History of St. Davids, London, 1856. — **Joyce,** P. W., Concise History of Ireland, London and Dublin, 1893. — **Jung,** C. E., Australia, London, 1884. — **Junius,** Letters, London, 1772, 1812, 1854. — **Jusserand,** J. J., Les Anglais au moyen age, Paris, 1884, translation by L. T. Smith, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages, London, 1899; The Romance of a King's Life, London, 1896.

Kaye, J. W., History of the War of Afghanistan, London, 1851. — **Kaye,** J. W., and G. B. **Malleson,** History of the Indian Mutiny, London, 1865-1880, 6 vols. — **Kebbel,** T. E., Life of Lord Beaconsfield, London, 1888. — **Keene,** H. G., The Fall of the Moghul Empire of Hindustan, London, 1876, 1887. — **Keightley,** T., History of England, London, 1837.

Thomas Keightley was born near Dublin in Ireland in October, 1789. He entered Trinity College in 1803, but did not take a degree, and in 1824 settled in London, where for nearly half a century he was busily engaged in literary work. He is probably best known for his *Mythology of Ancient Greece and Rome*, but his biographies and miscel-

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laneous works possess much merit, and his historical writings are carefully compiled, and written in a clear and entertaining style. He died at Erith, Kent, November 4th, 1872.

Kemble, J. M., The Saxons in England: A History of the English Commonwealth till the Period of the Norman Conquest, London, 1849, 2 vols.

John Mitchell Kemble, the son of Charles Kemble the actor, was born in London in 1807. He entered Cambridge in 1826, where he became an intimate friend of Tennyson and Archbishop Trench, but left before completing his course, to take up the study of Anglo-Saxon law, afterwards pursuing philological studies at Göttingen and other German universities. His edition of Beowulf, published in 1833, established his rank as an Anglo-Saxon scholar, and his reputation was greatly enhanced by a course of lectures given at Cambridge in the following year. Kemble was editor of the *British and Foreign Review*, for nine years, and in 1840 succeeded his father as licenser of the stage plays. As a result of his study of Anglo-Saxon law, he published, in 1839-1840, a valuable collection of Saxon charters, and in 1849 the first two volumes of a *History of the Anglo-Saxons in England*, which was never completed, but was for many years the chief authority for this period of English history. He died at Dublin, March 26th, 1857.

Kent, C. B. R., The English Radicals, London, 1899. — **Kerr,** Robert, History of Scotland during the Reign of Robert Bruce, Edinburgh, 1811. — **King,** W., Political and Literary Anecdotes, London, 1819. — **Kinglake,** A. W., The Invasion of the Crimea, London, 1863-1887, 8 vols. — **Kingsford,** W., History of Canada, London, 1887-1898, 10 vols. — **Kirkup,** T., articles on "Henry VII" and "Henry VIII" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **Knight,** C., Pictorial History of England, London and New York, 1837-1844, 8 vols.; Popular History of England, London, 1856-1862, 8 vols.; Half-hours with English History, London, 1867.

Charles Knight was the son of a bookseller at Windsor, where he was born March 15th, 1791. His schooling was limited, most of his education being gained in his father's shop. While publishing the *Etonian* he formed the acquaintance of Macaulay, Praed, and Nelson Coleridge, who induced him to start *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* in 1824. The venture was a financial failure, but served to introduce Knight to the London public and encouraged him in his plans for popular instruction. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, established by Brougham in 1825, was Knight's idea, and he was called to superintend its publications. Henceforth his literary activity was enormous and his influence widespread. Besides editing numerous cyclopædias, magazines, and literary and scientific works, he personally wrote several biographies and contributed largely to all his publications. After his retirement from active business life, he continued literary work until his death at Addlestone, March 9th, 1873.

Knighton, H., Chronicle, edited by J. R. Lumby (Rolls Series), London, 1889, 2 vols. — **Knox,** J., Historie of the Reformation of Religioun in the Realme of Scotland, London, 1584, 3 vols., 1664, 5 vols., 1844, 5 vols. — **Kydd,** S., see Alfred.

Labanoff, A., Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, London, 1845, 3 vols.; Maria Stuart, London, 1859. — **Labillière,** F. P., Early History of the Colony of Victoria, London, 1878. — **Laing,** M., History of Scotland from the Accession of James VI to the Reign of Queen Anne, Edinburgh, 1800-1804. — **Lanercost,** Chronicon, edited by J. Stephenson, Edinburgh, 1839. — **Lang,** A., Oxford: Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes, London, 1879; Life, Letters and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote, first Earl of Iddesleigh, London, 1890, 2 vols.; The Mystery of Mary Stuart, London, 1901. — **Langtoft,** P., Chronicle of England, in *Rolls Series*, London, 1866-1868, 2 vols. — **Lanigan,** J., Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Dublin, 1822, 4 vols. — **Lappenberg,** J. M., Geschichte von England, Hamburg, 1834-1837, 2 vols., translation by B. Thorpe, A History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, London, 1845, 1857, 2 vols.; A History of England under the Norman Kings, London, 1857.

Johann Martin Lappenberg was born at Hamburg, July 30th, 1794. He studied medicine at Edinburgh, resided for some time in London, and afterwards studied law and history at Berlin and Göttingen. His appointment as archivist to the Hamburg Senate in 1823 led to the discovery of many important manuscripts and records. His historical writings were numerous and valuable, and he edited many specimens of early German literature. His death occurred November 28th, 1865.

Latimer, E. W., England in the Nineteenth Century, Chicago, 1894. — **Latimer,** H., Works, Cambridge, 1844-1845, 2 vols. — **Laud,** W., History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God and Blessed Martyr William Laud, Written by Himself, London, 1695, Oxford, 1839; Works, Oxford, 1857-1860, 7 vols. — **Laughlin,** J. L., see Adams, H. — **Laughton,** J. K., The Story of Trafalgar, Portsmouth, 1890. — **Laurie,** T. S., The Story of Australia, London, 1890-1896. — **Lawrence,** H. M., Essays, Military and Political, Calcutta, 1859. — **Le Bon,** G., Les civilisations de l'Inde, Paris, 1886. — **Lechler,** G., John Wyclif and His Precursors in England, London, 1892, 2 vols. — **Lecky,** W. E. H., The Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, London, 1871; History of England in the

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Eighteenth Century, London, 1878-1890, 8 vols.; Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1892, 4 vols.; Democracy and Liberty, London, 1899, 2 vols.

William Edward Hartpole Lecky was born near Dublin, March 26th, 1838, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. His *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, published in 1865, aroused wide interest from its unusual erudition and profound thought. After many years of preparation he produced his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, in which his object was "to disengage from the great mass of facts those which relate to the permanent forces of the nation, or which indicate the more enduring features of national life." The work is distinguished by the extent and fulness of its authorities, by its impartiality and its admirable style. The portion dealing with Ireland has since been published independently. Mr. Lecky has served in parliament, been a privy councillor, and has received many civic and literary honours. He died October 22d, 1903.

Leffmann, S., Geschichte des alten Indiens (Oncken Series), Berlin, 1889. — **Leland**, (Leyland), J., De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, Oxford, 1715, 6 vols., London, 1770. — **Leland**, T., History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II, Dublin, 1774. — **Le Moine**, J. M., Maple Leaves; Canadian History, Quebec, 1863-1894; Quebec, Past and Present, Quebec, 1876. — **Lesley**, Bishop, De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum, Rome, 1578, 10 vols. — **Lethbridge**, R., Indian History, London, 1895. — **Levey**, G., Australasian Encyclopædia, London, 1892. — **Levi**, L., History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation, 1763-1870 [the best account of the upbuilding of British commercial supremacy], London, 1879. — **Lewis**, G. C., Essays on the Administration of Great Britain from 1780-1830, London, 1864. — **Lewis**, J., A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English, London, 1818. — **Liber Pluscardensis**, see Buchanan, M. — **Lilly**, W., True History of King James and King Charles I, London, 1615. — **Lingard**, J., History of England from the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688, London, 1819-1830, 8 vols., 1883, 10 vols.; Abridgement of the History of England, London, 1855.

John Lingard was born at Winchester, February 5, 1771. He was educated for the Catholic priesthood at Douay in France, where he remained until the college was broken up by the Revolution in 1793. With some of his former companions at Douay he established a seminary at Crook Hall near Lancaster, where he remained as professor and vice-president until 1811, when he retired to a small parish at Hornby. While at Crook Hall he had published a *History of t.e Anglo-Saxon Church*, a preliminary to his master-work, which appeared between 1819 and 1830 in eight quarto volumes, and passed through six editions during his lifetime. Being the first important history of England written from the Catholic standpoint, it attracted much attention from the start, and though conciliatory in tone, was vehemently attacked by Protesant partisans. Lingard's replies to the detractions displayed such profound knowledge and were fortified by such well-digested authorities as to add materially to his reputation. Although often invited to more important positions in the church, he remained in the seclusion of Hornby until his death, July 17th, 1851. He was granted a pension of £300 by the government; made doctor of divinity by Pope Pius VII, and Leo XII is said to have created him a cardinal *in petto*.

Lister, T. H., Life and Administration of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon, London, 1838, 3 vols. — **Lloyd**, D., The Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation, London, 1665. — **Lodge**, E., Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and James I, London, 1791, 3 vols. — **Lodge**, H. C., see H. Adams. — **Long**, J., Eastern Proverbs and Emblems, London, 1881. — **Longman**, W., Lectures on the History of England, London, 1863; History of the Life and Times of Edward III, London, 1869, 2 vols. — **Lord**, W. F., Lost Possessions of England, London, 1896. — **Lorne**, Marquis of, Viscount Palmerston, K.G., London, 1892. — **Lough**, T., England's Wealth, Ireland's Poverty, London, 1896. — **Low**, S. J., and F. S. **Pulling**, Dictionary of English History, London, 1897. — **Lowth**, R., Life of William of Wykeham, London, 1777. — **Lubbock**, J., Prehistoric Times, London, 1900. — **Lucy**, H. W., Diary of Two Parliaments, London, 1885, 2 vols.; Diary of the Salisbury Parliament, London, 1892; Gladstone, A Study from Life, London, 1898. — **Ludlow**, E., Memoirs, London, 1698, 2 vols. — **Luttrell**, N., A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September, 1678, to April, 1714, Oxford, 1857, 6 vols. — **Lyall**, A. C., The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India, London, 1893. — **Lynch**, J., Cambrensis Eversus, London, 1662. — **Lyndsay** of Pitscottie, R., Historie of Scotland 1436-1575, edited by A. J. G. Mackay, Edinburgh, 1899. — **Lyte**, H. C. M., History of the University of Oxford to 1830, London, 1886.

MacArthur, M., History of Scotland, London, 1873. — **Macaulay**, T. B., History of England from the Accession of James II, London, 1848-1855, vols. 1-4, 1861, vol. 5; Critical and Historical Essays, London, 1854, 2 vols.

Thomas Babington Macaulay was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, October 25th, 1800. He exhibited unusual talent from a very early age, and his progress through

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school and university was a constant series of literary triumphs. His first public appearance was in the pages of *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, but his essay on Milton, published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1825, established his reputation for brilliance, eloquence, and learning. Entering parliament in 1830, he at once took high rank as a debater, and became a member of the Board of Control for Indian Affairs in 1832. He was appointed a member of the Supreme Council in 1834, and spent the next four years in India, where he revised and greatly improved the penal code. Re-entering parliament in 1839 as member for Edinburgh, he became a member of the Melbourne ministry. After sharing the vicissitudes of fortune of the whig party until 1847, he retired from public life to devote himself to the preparation of his *History of England from the Accession of James I.* The first two volumes appeared in 1848, and achieved a reputation and sale which have scarcely been surpassed by the most popular novel, and were only exceeded by the reception granted the later volumes in 1855. University and national honours were heaped upon him, and his reputation became world-wide. Ill-health, which had interfered with the prosecution of his work in 1852, soon became permanent, and he died December 28th, 1859. Macaulay was a man of remarkable talent, with most unusual powers of literary acquisition, and his knowledge of modern history was unsurpassed, but his great work, while a masterpiece of style, is partial and prejudiced.

McCarthy, J., Outline of Irish History, London, 1883; History of the Four Georges, London, 1884-1901, 4 vols.; History of Our Own Times, London, 1879-1897, 5 vols.; Modern England, in *Story of the Nations* Series, London, 1898-1899. — **MacCarthy,** J. H., A History of England under Gladstone, London, 1887. — **MacCarthy,** M. J. F., Mr. Balfour's Rule in Ireland, London, 1891. — **M'Crie,** T., Life of John Knox, Edinburgh, 1812; Life of Andrew Melville, Edinburgh, 1824, 2 vols. — **Macfarlane,** C., Civil and Military History of England, in Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, London, 1838-1844, 2 vols, 1881.

Charles Macfarlane was of Scotch descent, but most of his early life was spent in Italy and Turkey. In 1829 he went to London, and was for a number of years engaged in literary work in connection with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. He contributed the *Civil and Military History of England* to Knight's *Pictorial History*, and also wrote several popular biographies and historical novels. In his later years he again travelled extensively in Italy and Turkey, but returning to London was admitted, as a poor brother, to the Charterhouse, where he died, December 9th, 1858.

Machar, A. M., Stories of New France, Boston, 1890. — **Mackay, A. J. G.,** articles on "Scotland" and "Robert Bruce" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **Mackay,** G., History of Bendigo, Melbourne, 1891. — **Mackinnon,** J., The Union of England and Scotland, London, 1896; History of Edward III, London, 1900. — **Mackintosh,** J., History of the Revolution in England in 1688, London, 1834, 1853, 2 vols.; Miscellaneous Works, London, 1851. — **MacLagan,** R., article on "Punjab" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **MacLennan,** W., Montreal and Some of the Makers Thereof, Montreal, 1893. — **MacMorran,** A., The Local Government Act, London, 1888. — **MacMullen,** J., History of Canada from Its First Discovery to the Present Time, London, 1868. — **Macy,** J., The English Constitution, New York, 1897. — **Madhava Acharya,** The Serva-Dorsanc-Samgraha: or Review of the Different Systems of Hindu Philosophy, London, 1882. — **Mahan,** A. T., Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783, London, 1889; Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire 1793-1812, London, 1892, 2 vols.; Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain, London, 1899, 2 vols.

Alfred Thayer Mahan was born September 27th, 1840, at West Point, N. Y., where his father was for many years professor of engineering at the United States Military Academy. He graduated from the Naval Academy in 1859, and saw active service during the war between the states, gaining the rank of lieutenant-commander in 1865, and that of captain in 1885. For four years he was president of the Naval War College at Newport, but was retired at his own request in 1896. His great work, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, which was an expansion of his lectures in the War College, received immediate recognition as the first philosophic discussion of the influence of maritime activity. *The Life of Nelson* has been accepted as the best biography of that renowned admiral yet published, and Mahan's other works have given him the first rank among writers upon his special topic.

Mahendranatha, D., Sketch of the History of the Establishing of British Rule in India, Benares, 1888. — **Mahon** (P. H. Stanhope), Lord, History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles 1713-1783, London, 1836, 2 vols, 5th edition, 1858, 7 vols.; The Forty-five, London, 1851; Life of Sir Robert Peel, London, 1856-1857, 2 vols.; History of England, Comprising the Reign of Queen Anne, London, 1870, 2 vols.; Life of William Pitt, London, 1879, 2 vols.

Philip Henry Stanhope, Lord Mahon and fifth Earl of Stanhope, was born in Kent in 1805. He was educated at Oxford and entered parliament in 1832, in which he represented Hertford for nearly twenty years, and introduced and carried the copyright law which bears his name. He was under-secretary for foreign affairs in 1834, and secretary to the board of control under Peel. He was largely instrumental in the establishment of the

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National Portrait Gallery and the Historical Manuscript Commission. Though not a great historian, he was a diligent student, an impartial critic, and exhibited great judgment in weighing facts. His style is clear and concise, and his works are recognised as authoritative.

Maine, H. J. S., Lectures on the Early History of Institutions, London, 1875; India 1837-1887, London, 1887. — **Maitland,** F. W., Justice and Police, London and New York, 1885; Domesday Book and Beyond, Cambridge, 1897 [the best analysis of the contents of Domesday]. See also Pollock F. — **Maitland,** S. R., The Dark Ages, Being a Series of Essays Intended to Illustrate the State of Religion and Literature in the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, London, 1844. — **Major,** J., Historia Majoris Britanniæ tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ, Paris, 1521, 4 vols., English translation by A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1892. — **Makower,** L., Constitution of the English Church, London, 1895. — **Malcolm,** J., Memoir of Central India, London, 1823, 2 vols.; Political History of India from 1784 to 1823, London, 1826, 2 vols.; Life of Lord Clive, London, 1836. — **Malleson,** G. B., History of the French in India, London, 1868; Founders of the Indian Empire, London, 1882; Decisive Battles in India, London, 1885; The Indian Mutiny of 1857, London, 1890. — **Malmesbury,** Earl of, Memoirs of an Ex-Minister; an Autobiography, London, 1884. — **Malmesbury,** William of, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, edited by T. D. Hardy, London, 1840, 2 vols., translation by J. A. Giles, Chronicle of the Kings of England, London, 1847; De Vita S. Wulstani, London, 1691, 2 vols.; Gesta Stephani, edited by R. C. Sewell, London, 1846.

William of Malmesbury was of English and Norman parentage, and was born apparently about thirty years after the Conquest. His love for letters was encouraged by his father, who placed him in the monastic school at Malmesbury, where he became a monk and subsequently librarian and annalist to the monastery. He declined the appointment of abbot in 1140, took part in the council at Westminster in 1141, and probably died in 1142. Though little is known of his life, his works testify to his intellect and literary capacity. His reputation was widespread, and he was often requested by other monasteries to write the lives of their patron saints and the history of their communities. His research was painstaking and comprehensive, and the clear, flowing style of his narratives is in striking contrast with the dry compilations of other writers of his day. His education seems to have raised him above the superstitious credulity of the period; he is careful in weighing evidence and sifts thoroughly all doubtful stories. His pictures of social life and customs are vivid and accurate, and his narrative of the upheavals of that stirring period is graphic and picturesque.

Malthus, T. R., An Essay on the Principle of Population, London, 1798, 9th edition, 1888. — **Manning,** Mrs., Ancient and Mediæval India, London, 1869, 2 vols. — **Manvier,** X., Les États Unis et le Canada, Tours, 1886. — **Markham,** C. R., Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, London, 1870. — **Marris,** H. M., The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, London, 1890. — **Marsden,** J. B., History of the Later Puritans, London, 1852. — **Marshall,** C., The Canadian Dominion, London, 1871. — **Marshall,** H., Ceylon and Its Inhabitants, London, 1846. — **Marshman,** J. C., The History of India, London, 1893. — **Martin,** A. P., Stories from Australian History, London, 1893; Australia and the Empire, Edinburgh, 1893. — **Martin,** H., Histoire de France depuis 1789, Paris, 1879, 2 vols. — **Martin,** R. M., The Colonies of the British Empire, London, 1834-1838, 6 vols. — **Martin,** T., The Life of the Prince Consort, London, 1875, 5 vols. — **Martineau,** H., History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace, London, 1849-1850, 2 vols.; British Rule in India, London, 1857; Introduction to the History of the Peace, London, 1857; Palmerston, in *Biographical Sketches*, London, 1869; History of England 1800-1815, London, 1878.

Harriet Martineau was of Huguenot descent, and was born at Norwich, June 12th, 1802. At her father's death, being left in comparative poverty, she began a literary career, and continued to be a prolific and popular writer throughout her life. She spent two years in the United States, from 1834 to 1836, and in 1846 travelled extensively in the Levant. Her works are numerous and varied in subject, and are distinguished for lucid style, sincerity, and wise judgment.

Marvell, A., Life and Works, edited by Cooke, London, 1726, 2 vols., by Thompson, London, 1776, 3 vols., by J. Dove, London, 1832, by E. P. Hood, London, 1853. — **Massey** W., History of England during the Reign of George III, London, 1855-1860, 4 vols., 2nd edition, 1865-1866. — **Masson,** D., Life of John Milton [containing in chapters alternating with the personal biography, one of the best accounts to be found of social life during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth], London, 1859-1879, 6 vols. — **Matthew of Paris,** Historia Major Angliæ, edited by Luard, London, 1872-1880, 5 vols.; Historia Minor Angliæ, edited by Madden, London, 1866-1869, 3 vols.

Little is known of *Matthew Paris*, save that he became a monk of St. Albans in 1217, and was appointed chronographer of that abbey in 1236, a position which he held until his death about 1259. In 1248 he was sent by the pope on a special mission to Norway, where he remained eighteen months. He is believed to have been a skilful artist and illuminator as well as a worker in metals. His writings indicate an education far broader

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than that of most of his contemporaries, and a cosmopolitan view which must have been gained by extensive travel and wide reading. His views of English politics are singularly clear and accurate, and his estimates of foreign nations in their relations with England are almost modern in their breadth and freedom from insular prejudice.

Matthew of Westminster, Flores Historiarum, translation by D. Young, London, 1853, 2 vols. — **Maude,** F. C., Memoirs of the Mutiny, London, 1894. — **Maures de Malartic,** A. J. H. de, Journal des Campagnes au Canada, Dijon, 1890. — **Maurice,** E. C., Lives of the English Popular Leaders in the Middle Ages, London, 1875, 2 vols. — **Maxwell,** H. E., Life of the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, London, 1893; Life of the Duke of Wellington, London, 1899, 2 vols. — **Maxwell,** W. H., Life of the Duke of Wellington, London, 1831-1841, 3 vols. — **May,** T., A History of the Parliament of England which began November 3rd, 1640, London, 1650, Oxford, 1854. — **May,** T. E., A Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III 1760-1860 [supplementing and continuing the works of Stubbs and Hallam, it is the most valuable constitutional history of England for the period covered], London, 1861, 1863, 2 vols. — **Mede,** J., Works, London, 1664, 2 vols. — **Medley,** D. J., Manual of English Constitutional History, London, 1898. — **Melville,** J., Memoirs of His Own Life, edited by T. Thomas, Edinburgh, 1827. — **Melville,** J. (Rev.), Diary, Edinburgh, 1836. — **Mercier,** H., L'avenir du Canada, Montreal, 1893. — **Merewether,** H. A., and A. J. **Stephens,** The History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations in the United Kingdom, from the Earliest to the Present Time, London, 1835, 3 vols. — **Merivale,** C., A General History of Rome, London, 1875. — **Merryweather,** F. S., Glimmerings in the Dark, London, 1850. — **Meteren,** E. van, Belgicshe of Nederlantsche historien van onse tyden, Delft, 1599. — **Mezlhiac,** G. de, Essai comparatif entre le cardinal duc de Richelieu et M. William Pitt, Paris, 1816. — **Michele,** G., Les dépêches de G. Michiel, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre pendant les années de 1554 à 1557, Venice, 1869. — **Mignet,** F. A. M., Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV, Paris, 1836-1844, 4 vols.; Histoire de Marie Stuart, Paris, 1851, 2 vols., translation by A. Scoble, London, 1851, 1881. — **Mill,** J., The History of British India, London, 1818, 3 vols, 1851, 9 vols, 1872, 10 vols. — **Milman,** H. H., History of Latin Christianity, London, 1854-1856, 6 vols., 1883, 9 vols. — **Milner,** A., England in Egypt, London, 1899. — **Milner,** I. and J., History of the Church of Christ, London, 1794-1809, 5 vols. — **Milton,** J., History of Britain, London, 1670; Prose Works, London, 1808, 7 vols, in Vol. I, Defence of the People of England in answer to Salmasius.

John Milton was born in London, December 9th, 1608. He gave early promise of unusual mental power, and became distinguished at Cambridge for the remarkable grace of his Latin verse. From childhood destined for the church, the policy of Laud caused him to hesitate and finally to abandon his chosen calling. After leaving the university he passed six years upon his father's estate in study and poetical composition. In 1638 he went to Italy, where he was received with great honour, but was recalled to England by the civil strife then approaching a climax. For ten years he was engaged in ecclesiastical controversy, and published numerous pamphlets in defence of the Puritan contentions. In 1649 he issued his famous *Iconoclastes*, and in 1650 the *Defensio Populi Anglicani* in reply to Salmasius. On the establishment of the Commonwealth he was appointed Latin secretary to the council of state, a post for which he was especially qualified, and notwithstanding the total loss of his eyesight in 1652, he continued to perform the duties of the office until the abdication of Richard Cromwell in 1659. After his retirement from public life he completed the great epics whose preparation he had long planned. He died November 8th, 1674. Milton's poetic fame has largely obscured his merit as a controversialist. His prose writings have the defects of his time: personalities, grossness and pedantry; but in them he defends religious, civil, and political liberty with an eloquence unsurpassed in English literature for grandeur, harmony, and colour.

Moberley, G. H., Life of William of Wykeham, Winchester, 1887. — **Molesworth,** W. M., The History of England from the Year 1830, London, 1866-1873, 3 vols. — **Momerie,** A. W., English Church and Roman Schism, Edinburgh, 1896. — **Moncrieff,** J., Influence of John Knox and the Scottish Reformation in England, London, 1860. — **Monstrelet,** E. de, Chronique, in Buchon's *Chroniques Françaises du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1824-1829, 47 vols. — **Montcalm de St. Veran,** L. J., Journal de Marquis de Montcalm, Quebec, 1895. — **More,** T., Utopia, Louvain, 1516, translation by R. Robynson, London, 1551, by G. Burnet, London, 1688, London, 1893. — **Morgan,** H. J., Canadian Men and Women of the Time, Ottawa, 1898 — **Morley,** J., Life of Edmund Burke, London, 1879; Life of Richard Cobden, London, 1881, 2 vols.; Walpole, London, 1889; Cromwell, London, 1900; Life of Gladstone, London, 1903.

John Morley was born at Blackburn, in Lancashire, December 24th, 1838, and was educated at Oxford. He was successively editor of the *Literary Gazette* and of the *Morning Star* until 1867, when he took charge of the *Fortnightly Review* which he conducted with great success until 1883, when he became editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*. During this period he supervised the "English Men of Letters Series," writing the lives of Burke and Cobden. Upon entering parliament in 1883 he soon became prominent, and

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in 1886 was made secretary for Ireland under Gladstone, whose political vicissitudes he shared. He has been a prominent figure in public life for many years, and in addition to his editorial labours has published numerous valuable biographies, notably those of Cromwell and Gladstone. Morley was one of the three literary men of England chosen by Edward VII to receive the new Order of Merit, instituted at the time of his coronation.

Morris, W. O'C., Ireland, Cambridge, 1896. — **Mozley,** T. B., Essays, Historical and Theological, London, 1884, 2 vols. — **Mueller,** F. M., India, What Can It Teach Us? London, 1892. — **Munro,** J. E. C., The Constitution of Canada, Cambridge, 1889. — **Mullinger,** J. B., The Schools of Charles the Great, London, 1876; History of the University of Cambridge, London, 1888. — **Murdin,** W., Collection of State Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1759. — **Murdock,** J., History of Constitutional Reform in Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1885. — **Murison,** A. F., Sir William Wallace, Edinburgh, 1898.

Nalson, J., Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State from the Beginning of the Scotch Rebellion to the Murder of Charles I, London, 1682. — **Napier,** W. F. P., History of the War in the Peninsula, London, 1836, 6 vols.; History of the Conquest of Scinde, London, 1845, 2 vols.

William Francis Patrick Napier, who was born at Celbridge, Ireland, December 17th, 1785, entered the army at an early age, took part in the siege of Copenhagen, served with Moore at Corunna, and was made lieutenant-colonel in 1813, for distinguished services in Spain. He rose to the rank of general and was knighted in 1848. His active participation in the Peninsular War well qualified him in some respect to write its history, and he gained great reputation by the work, though many of his statements were bitterly controverted. Napier died February 10th, 1860, at Scinde House, Clapham.

Nasse, E., Über die mittelalterliche Feldgemeinschaft und die Einhegungen des 16. Jahrhunderts in England, Bonn, 1869, English translation, On the Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages, London, 1871. — **Naunton,** R., Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites, London, 1642. — **Neal,** D., History of the Puritans, London, 1811. — **Nennius,** Historia Britonum, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, London, 1848. — **Néve,** J. le, Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, London, 1854, 3 vols. — **Newland,** S., The Far North Country, Adelaide, 1894. — **Nicholls,** G., A History of Scotch Poor Law and also Irish Poor Law; A History of English Poor Law, London, 1854, 2 vols. — **Nicolas,** N. H., History of the Battle of Agincourt, 3d edition, London, 1833; History of the Royal Navy, London, 1847, 2 vols. — **Nicoll,** H. J., Great Orators, Edinburgh, 1880. — **Nimmo,** History of Stirlingshire, Edinburgh, 1777. — **Nineteenth Century,** article called "Tancred," by B. Disraeli, London, 1895; article called "The Queen and Lord Beaconsfield," by R. B. Brett, London, 1895. — **Noailles,** A. de, Négociations en Angleterre, Paris, 1766. — **Norgate,** K., England under the Angevin Kings, London, 1869. — **North,** R., The Lives of the Norths, London, 1740-1742, 2 vols., new edition 1898. — **Norton,** G., History, Constitution, etc., of the City of London, London, 1869. — **Nugent,** G. N. C., Memorials of John Hampden, London, 1825.

Oblate of Mary Immaculate, An, History of Ceylon, Jaffna, 1887. — **O'Brien,** R. B., The Irish Land Question and English Public Opinion, London, 1881; Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-81, London, 1883-1885, 2 vols.; Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891, London, 1898. — **O'Connell,** T., in *Correspondence of D. O'Connell*, London, 1888, 2 vols. — **O'Connor,** T. P., The Parnell Movement, London, 1889. — **O'Donovan,** J., The Four Masters, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, Dublin, 1848-1851, 3 vols. — **Oldmixon,** J., Critical History of England, London, 1730-1739, 3 vols. — **Oliphant,** M., Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II, London, 1869, 2 vols. — **Oman,** C. W. C., The Art of War in the Middle Ages, London, 1885; England and the Hundred Years' War, London, 1898.

Charles William Chadwick Oman was born at Mozufferpore, India, January 12th, 1860. He was educated at Winchester and Oxford, and in 1900 was made deputy professor of modern history in that university. Since 1888 he has been busily engaged in historical research, and has produced a number of valuable works relating to the history of England, as well as of other nations.

One of Her Majesty's Servants, The Private Life of the Queen, London, 1897. — **Ordericus Vitalis,** Historia Ecclesiastica, Paris, 1619, English translation, Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy, London, 1853-1856, 4 vols.

Ordericus Vitalis, born at Atcham, near Shrewsbury, about the year 1075, was of French parentage, and was sent abroad at an early age to receive his education. The greater part of his life was spent at the abbey of St. Evrault, at Ouche, in Normandy, where he composed his history. This work, in thirteen books, is wholly without chronological arrangement, and seems to have been thrown together at random, as the author gained information. This discursiveness of style, however, does not detract from the interest of the work, and it furnishes a series of valuable facts regarding the history of England and Normandy, narrated in a remarkably clear and vivid manner, interspersed

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with vigorous sketches of the life and character of the period. Ordericus died at Ouche in 1142.

Orme, R., History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan, Madras, 1775-1778, 3 vols.; Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Mahrattas, Madras, 1782. — **Orr,** J., The Reformers, Glasgow, 1885. — **Osborne,** F., Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James I, Edinburgh, 1811. — **Osler,** E., Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth, London, 1840. — **Overall,** J., Convocation Book of MDCVI, commonly called Bishop Overall's Book of Canons, Oxford, 1844. — **Owen,** T. M., History of England and Wales, London, 1882.

Palgrave, F., Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, London, 1831, 2 vols.; History of the Anglo-Saxons, London, 1832; History of Normandy and England, London, 1857, 4 vols.

Francis Palgrave was born in London in 1788. He was the son of Meyer Cohen, a wealthy Hebrew, and was privately educated, exhibiting marked precocity. On his marriage, in 1823, he obtained permission to assume the name of Palgrave. From an early age he was interested in antiquarian and historical research, and contributed frequently to the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. After the publication of his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, in 1831, he received the honour of knighthood. In 1838 he was appointed deputy keeper of records, and to him was due the establishment of the great Public Record Office. His *History of Normandy* was mainly published after his death, July 6th, 1861. While his works display research and ingenuity, they are lacking in style and arrangement, and have been largely superseded by those of later writers.

Palgrave, R. F. D., The House of Commons, London, 1878. — **Palmer,** R., (Baron Selborne), Memorials, London, 1898, 4 vols. — **Paris,** M., see Matthew Paris. — **Parker,** C. S., Life of Peel, London, 1890. — **Parker,** J., Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, Oxford, 1859. — **Parkes,** H., Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, London, 1892, 2 vols. — **Parkin,** J. R., The Great Dominion, London, 1895. — **Parkman,** F., The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War, Boston, 1851; The Old Régime in Canada, Boston, 1864, London, 1899; Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI, Boston, 1878; A Half Century of Conflict, Boston, 1892, 2 vols. — **Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England,** London, 1751-1761, 24 vols. — **Parsons,** R., Leycester's Commonwealth, London, 1641. — **Paston Letters,** edited by J. Gairdner, in Arber's *English Reprints*, London, 1872-1875, 3 vols. — **Pauli,** G. R., König Alfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte Englands, Berlin, 1851, English translation, Life of King Alfred, London, 1852; Geschichte Englands seit den Friedensschlüssen von 1814 und 1815, Leipsic, 1864-1875, 3 vols.; Simon von Montfort, Graf von Leicester, der Schopfer des Hauses der Gemeinen, Tübingen, 1867, English translation, Simon de Montfort, London, 1876.

Georg Reinhold Pauli was born at Berlin, May 25th, 1823. He was educated at Berlin and Bonn and spent several years in England in antiquarian research and as secretary to the Prussian embassy. Upon his return to Germany he became a professor at Tübingen, and afterwards at Marburg and Göttingen. His historical writings are largely connected with England and are marked by lucidity and research. He died June 3rd, 1882.

Payne, E. J., and J. S. **Cotton,** Colonies and Dependencies, London, 1883.— **Peacock,** E., Archæological Journal, London, 1883. — **Pearson,** C. H., History of England during the Early and Middle Ages, London, 1867, 2 vols.; English History in the Fourteenth Century, London, 1876.

Charles Henry Pearson, born at Islington, September 7th, 1830, was educated at King's college, London, and at Oxford. From 1855 to 1865 he was professor of modern history at King's college, and from 1869 to 1871 lecturer at Trinity college, Cambridge. In 1871 he went to Australia, engaged in sheep-farming, and sat for a number of years in the legislative assembly of South Australia. From 1886 to 1890 he was minister of education. Compelled by ill-health to return to England, he died at London, May 29th, 1894.

Pepys, S., Diary and Correspondence, London, 1825.

Samuel Pepys was born in London, February 23d, 1633, and educated at Cambridge. He entered the public service and held the position of secretary to the admiralty from 1673 until the revolution of 1688. For two years he was president of the Royal Society, and was busy throughout his life in the collection of the vast store of ancient manuscripts which he bequeathed to Magdalen college. He wrote a *History of the Royal Navy*, and has been credited with *The Portugal History*, but will always be famous for his *Diary*, written during the years 1660 to 1669, which presents a most vivid picture of the court and times of Charles II. It was written from day to day in a sort of shorthand, which was deciphered by the Rev. J. Smith, and first published in 1825. Pepys was a diligent and laborious public servant, and an exceedingly shrewd observer of men and events, and has left us an invaluable record of a most interesting period. He died at London, May 26th, 1703.

Percy, T., Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Edinburgh, 1765, 3 vols., edited by Wheatley, London, 1891, 3 vols. — **Perry,** G. G., History of the English Church, London, 1878-1881, 3 vols. — **Peter of Blois,** Epistolæ, Paris, 1667. — **Petitot,** E., Traditions in-

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diennes du Canada Nord Ouest, Paris, 1886.—**Petty,** W., Political Arithmetic, London, 1682.—**Phayre,** A., History of Burma, London, 1883.—**Pimblett,** W. M., How the British Won India, London, 1893.—**Pinkerton,** J., History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary, London, 1797, 2 vols.—**Plener,** E. E. von, Die Englische Fabrikgesetzgebung, Vienna, 1871, English translation, English Factory Legislation, London, 1873.—**Plinius,** C. Secundus, Historia Naturalis, Venice, 1469, translation by Philemon Holland, London, 1601.—**Plunket,** D., Life, Letters and Speeches of Lord Plunket, London, 1867, 2 vols.—**Pole,** R., Apologia, Rome, 1538; Pro unitate ecclesiæ, Rome, 1538.—**Pollock,** F., The Land Laws, London and New York, 1882-1885; with F. W. Maitland, History of the English Law before the time of Edward I, Cambridge, 1895, 2 vols.—**Pope,** G. U., Indian History and Geography, London, 1871.—**Porter, R. G.,** The Progress of the Nation, London, 1836-1843, 3 vols., 1851.—**Powell,** F. Y., Saga Growth in Folk-Lore, Oxford, 1883, 2 vols.—**Prentice,** A., Personal Recollections of Manchester, London, 1851; History of the Anti-Corn Law League, London, 1853, 2 vols.—**Prinsep,** H. T., The India Question in 1853, London, 1853.—**Prothero,** G. W., Life and Times of Simon de Montfort, London, 1877; Statutes and Constitutional Documents, 1559-1625, Cambridge, 1897; articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

George Walter Prothero, born in Wiltshire, October 14th, 1848, was educated at Cambridge and Bonn. He was lecturer on modern history at Cambridge from 1876 to 1894, and professor at Edinburgh until 1899, when he became editor of the *Quarterly Review.* He has edited a number of important works and has written valuable biographies.

Prynne, W., Canterburies Doome, London, 1646.—**Puiseux,** M. L., Siège et prise de Rouen, Caen, 1867.—**Pulling,** F. S., Life and Speeches of the Marquis of Salisbury, London, 1885.—**Pulling,** F. S., and S. J. **Low,** Dictionary of English History, London, 1897.—**Purchas,** S., Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, London, 1625-1626, 5 vols.

Quarterly Review, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, London, 1866; The Conservative Surrender, London, 1867; Mr. Balfour's Administration of Ireland, London, 1888.

Radcliffe, G., The Earl of Stafford's Letters—with an Essay Towards His Life, London, 1739.—**Rae,** W. F., Wilkes, Sheridan, Fox, London, 1874; Sheridan, London, 1896, 2 vols.—**Raleigh,** W., Discoverie of Guiana, London, 1596; Works, Oxford, 1829.—**Ramsay,** J. H., Lancaster and York, Oxford, 1892; Foundations of England, London, 1898.

James Henry Ramsay, who was born in 1832 and educated at Eton and Oxford, was called to the bar in 1863. Since his succession to the estates of his ancient family he has engaged in literary pursuits, and has made some valuable contributions to English history, and by his diligent investigation has solved many controverted points.

Ranke, L. von, Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im 17. Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1858-1867, 7 vols., 4th edition 1877-1879, 9 vols., English translation, A History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century, London, 1875, 6 vols.

Leopold von Ranke, (1795-1886), who, with Niebuhr, was a founder of the modern school of historical research, in support of his theory of the essential unity of history—especially that of the Latin and Germanic peoples of Europe—has made very careful study of England in her continental relations. His investigations of the Protestant revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are marked by the same careful research, excellent critical judgment, and sharp, accurate characterisation which distinguish his other writings.

Ransome, C., Our Colonies and India; How We Got Them, London, 1885; Rise of Constitutional Government in England, London, 1887.—**Rapson,** E. J., Struggle between England and France in India, London, 1887.—**Rashdall,** H., Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1895.—**Raumer,** F. L. G. von, Political History of England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, London, 1837, 2 vols.

Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer was born at Wörlitz, near Dessau, May 14th, 1781, educated at Halle and Göttingen, and began the practice of law in 1801. He was appointed professor of history at Breslau in 1811, and in 1819 became professor of political science at Berlin. His utter lack of oratorical power proved a great obstacle to his success as a lecturer and he resigned in 1831. The following years were spent in travel through France, Italy, England and America, and bore fruit in several works upon the history of these countries. Von Raumer entered public life in 1848 and represented Prussia at the French court for several years. In 1853 he was made professor *emeritus* at the university of Berlin, and was a member of the House of Lords of Prussia from 1851 until his death, June 14th, 1873. Von Raumer was the first to popularise history in Germany, and his works have attained high reputation.

Raven, J., Parliamentary History of England from the Passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, London, 1885.—**Rees,** R., Essay on the Welsh Saints, London, 1836.—**Reeves,** W. P., The Long White Cloud, A History of New Zealand, London, 1898.—**Reid.** S. J., Lord John Russell, London, 1895.—**Reid,** T. W., Life of W. E. Forster, London, 1888; Life, Letters and Friendships of R. M. Milnes, First Lord Houghton, London, 1890.—**Reresby,**

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J., Memoirs, London, 1875, edited by J. J. Cartwright.—**Retz,** Cardinal de, Mémoires, Paris, 1717, edited by A. Champollion, Paris, 1837. — **Reynolds,** T., Life of Thomas Reynolds of Kilkea Castle, London, 1839, 2 vols. — **Rhys,** J., Early Britain, Celtic Britain, London, 1882; Studies in the Arthurian Legend, Oxford, 1891. — **Richard of Devizes,** Chronicon de Rebus Gestis Richard I, edited by J. Stevenson, London, 1838.

Richard of Devizes, a chronicler of the twelfth century, was a Benedictine monk of St. Swithin's at Winchester. His chronicle is of interest as relating to the condition of England during the reign of Richard I. While he gives much information regarding Richard's crusade, his work is chiefly occupied with the record of domestic events and the contests of Prince John with the adherents of Richard. An interesting item is that of the first incorporation of the city of London. The chronicle is written in a pedantic, artificial style, and filled with classical quotations; but its matter is of exceptional value and enables us to form a clear idea of the spirit of the age.

Richey, A. G., A Short History of the Irish People, London, 1887. — **Ridpath** J. C., Life and Times of Gladstone, Cincinnati, 1898. — **Riley,** H. T., Memorials of London and London Life, London, 1868. — **Rishanger,** W., Chronicon et Annales, in *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani* (*Rolls Series*), London, 1863-1876, 11 vols. — **Roberts,** C. G. D., History of Canada, Boston, 1897, London, 1898. — **Roberts,** F. S., Lord, The Rise of Wellington, London, 1895; Forty-one Years in India, London, 1898. — **Roberts,** P. (translation from the Welsh), Chronicles of the Kings of Britain, London, 1811. — **Robertson,** E. W., Scotland under her Early Kings, Edinburgh, 1862, 2 vols. — **Robertson,** W., History of Scotland during the Reigns of Mary and of James VI till his Accession to the crown of England, London, 1759, 2 vols. — **Robertson,** W. J., Leading Facts of Canadian History, 1891. — **Rockhill,** W. W., The Life of Buddha and the Early History of his Order (derived from Tibetan Works, etc.), New York, 1884. — **Roe,** W. F., Columbia and Canada, London, 1878. — **Roebuck,** J. A., History of the Whig Ministry of 1830, London, 1852, 2 vols. — **Roger of Hoveden,** Chronica, Oxford, 1596, edited by W. Stubbs, History of England from 731-1202 (*Annals of English History*), London, 1868-1871, 4 vols. — **Roger of Wendover** Flores Historiarum, translation by J. A. Giles, Flowers of History, London, 1849, 2 vols. — **Rogers,** J. E. Thorold, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England from 1250-1793, Oxford, 1866-1888, 6 vols.; Six Centuries of Work and Wages; A History of English Labour, London, 1884, 2 vols.; Industrial and Commercial History of England, London, 1892-1894, 2 vols. — **Romilly,** S., Memoirs, London, 1842, 2 vols. — **Roosevelt,** T., The Naval War of 1812, New York, 1882; Cromwell, New York, 1900. — **Rosebery,** Lord, Pitt, London, 1891. — **Ross,** C., Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis of Cornwallis, London, 1859. — **Royal,** Le Canada République ou Colonie, Montreal, 1894. — **Rusdorf,** J. J. de, Mémoires et négociations secrètes, Leipsic, 1789, 2 vols. — **Rush,** R., Narrative of a Residence at the Court of London from 1817 till 1825, Philadelphia, 1833-1845, 2 vols. — **Rushworth,** J., Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, etc. (1618-1649), London, 1659-1701, 8 vols. — **Russell,** G., Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, London, 1891. — **Russell,** J. (Lord), Correspondence of the Duke of Bedford, London, 1842-1846, 3 vols.; Life and Times of Charles James Fox, London, 1859-1860; An Essay on the English Government and Constitution from Henry VII, London, 1873; Recollections and Suggestions, London, 1875. — **Russell,** H., Canada, its Defences, Condition, and Resources, London, 1865. — **Russell,** T. B., Last Year, Events of 1890, London, 1891. —**Russell,** W. C., Horatio Nelson and the Supremacy of England, London, 1890. —**Rymer,** T., Foedera Conventiones Literæ et alia Acta Publica inter Reges Angliæ et alios Principes, London, 1704-1734, 20 vols., edited by T. Cayley and F. Holbrooke, London, 1869, 4 vols.

St. Remy, J. Lefèvre de, Chronique de Lalain, Paris, 1668, edited by Buchon, in *Panthéon littéraire*, Paris, 1826-1838. — **Saintsbury,** G., The Earl of Derby, London, 1892. — **Sanders,** L. C., Life of Viscount Palmerston, London, 1888. — **Sanders,** N., De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani, London, 1585, English version by Lewis, London, 1877. — **Sanderson,** E., Africa in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1898. — **Sanderson,** W., Aulicus Coquinariæ, edited by Sir W. Scott, Edinburgh, 1811, 2 vols. — **Sandham,** A., Ville Marie, or Montreal Past and Present, Montreal, 1870. — **Satyachandra,** M., Indian History of Our Own Times, London, 1891. —**Savile,** B. W., How India was Won, London, 1881. — **Savile,** H., Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi, Frankfort, 1601. — **Scott,** Walter, Secret History of the Court of James I, Edinburgh, 1811, 2 vols.; History of Scotland (in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia), London, 1830, 3 vols.

Walter Scott, poet, novelist and historian, was born at Edinburgh, August 15th, 1771. He was descended from a family of Border lairds of which the first known representative was a Walter Scott, known as "Auld Wat of Harden." Scott's health in early youth was delicate and his schooling was irregular. At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to his father, who was a lawyer, and was admitted to the faculty of advocates in 1792. His subsequent appointment to certain official positions enabled him to apply much of his time to literary work. Study of ancient Scottish manuscripts had supplied him with a store

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of old traditions and romantic tales, and the success attained by his translation of some of Bürger's ballads in 1792, encouraged him to undertake original composition. The immediate popularity of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, published in 1805, determined his choice of a literary career. For the next few years his connection with the publishing house of Ballantyne and Co. occupied his time and mind, still he produced *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake*, besides many miscellaneous poems. In 1812 the rash speculative ventures of the Ballantynes so involved him that he was on the verge of bankruptcy. Under the spur of an enormous debt, Scott exhibited the marvellous powers of his mind and the fertility of his imagination by pouring forth a succession of historic novels, treatises on chivalry and romance, Border antiquities, biographies, and histories with a rapidity that has never been equalled. Success and honour rewarded his labours. His name became a household word and his fame undying, but the strain was too great upon an originally delicate constitution, and the end came September 21st, 1832. Scott's reputation rests more upon his poems and historical novels than upon his histories. These were to a large extent hackwork, but were informed and enlivened by the same intimate knowledge and wealth of description.

Scrutton, T. E., Commons and Common Fields, London, 1887.— **Seebohm,** F., The English Village Community, London, 1883; The Oxford Reformers, London, 1887; Tribal System in Wales, London, 1895.—**Seeley,** J. R., The Expansion of England, London, 1885.

Sir John R. Seeley was born in London in 1834. He graduated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and in 1863 was appointed professor of Latin at University College, London. From 1869 till his death, in 1895, he was professor of modern history at Cambridge. His valuable, but unduly long and unattractive, *Life and Times of Stein* was followed by his illuminating essay on *The Expansion of England*, which, coming at an opportune time, did much to make Englishmen regard the colonies, not as mere appendages, but as an expansion of the British state and nationality. His last work, a lucid and thoughtful study entitled *The Growth of British Policy*, was published posthumously in 1896.

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Goldwin Smith, born at Reading, August 23d, 1823, was educated at Oxford, and became an enthusiast upon the subject of university reform. He served as secretary to the Royal Commissions of 1850 and 1854, and in 1858 was made regius professor of modern history at Oxford. During the Civil War in the United States he strongly espoused the cause of the North, and was largely influential in turning English sentiment to that side. In 1868 he removed to the United States and became professor of English history at Cornell University, where he remained until 1871, when he removed to Toronto, Canada, where he still resides. Since his removal to Toronto he has been editor of the *Canadian Monthly*, also of the *Week* and the *Bystander*. He has written many pamphlets and treatises on questions of the day and several historical works, which, although terse and brilliant in style, make no claim to original research.

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Prior to 1833 the public records of England were most negligently kept. Packed in chests, unindexed, and, therefore, almost unavailable, they were stored in various lumber rooms, exposed to theft and to destruction by damp and vermin. Upon the establishment of the State Paper Office these important documents began to take their proper place in the national literature, and having been largely calendared and arranged — the more ancient transcribed and in many instances translated — now constitute a most valuable source of historical knowledge. Large volumes containing condensations of many of these records from the time of Henry VIII to the end of the eighteenth century have been published, and in time every paper of historical value will be available.

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Agnes Strickland was born at Reydon Hall, Suffolk, July 19th, 1796. Her earliest literary efforts were historical romances in the style of Scott, followed by a number of histories for children. For nearly twenty years Miss Strickland was engaged in the preparation of a series of biographies of the queens of England and Scotland, which were published between the years 1840 and 1859. Earnest study of official documents and records enabled her to present lifelike pictures of the manners and customs of former times. Miss Strickland was an enthusiastic champion of Mary Stuart, and published an edition of the letters of that unfortunate queen in 1843. In 1871 she was granted a pension of £100 in recognition of her talents, and died at Reydon Hall, July 8th, 1874.

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William Stubbs, born at Knaresborough, June 21st, 1825, was educated at Oxford. Entering the church, he was rector of Navestock, in Essex, from 1850 to 1866, when he was appointed regius professor of modern history at Oxford. The duties of his professorship were irksome, as they seriously interfered with his historical researches, which he pursued diligently until his elevation to the bishopric of Chester in 1884. Dr. Stubbs was especially qualified for historical work, possessing remarkable keenness of judgment and a love for minute and critical investigation. He edited numerous Latin texts and wrote ecclesiastical history, but his reputation is largely based upon his *Constitutional History*, which is the highest authority on the period it covers, and undoubtedly one of the most scholarly historical works ever written. He became bishop of Oxford in 1889, and died in London, April 22nd, 1901.

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William Makepeace Thackeray was born in Calcutta, India, July 18th, 1811. He was educated at Cambridge, but left without taking a degree. Having inherited a considerable fortune, he pursued the study of art for several years, but about 1840 adopted a literary career. The superior talent for humour and satire displayed in his writings soon gave him wide reputation, which was extended and established by the series of novels published during the years 1844 to 1854. During 1852 and 1856 Thackeray visited the United States, lecturing in the principal cities. For the second tour, he wrote the *Lectures on the Four Georges*, his only historical work. In 1860 he became editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, but resigned in 1862. He died suddenly, December 24th, 1863.

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Sir George Otto Trevelyan, author and statesman, was born in 1838, and took his degree at Trinity college, Cambridge. He spent several years in the Indian civil service, was a member of parliament from 1868 to 1886, where he advocated such radical measures as a woman's suffrage bill and the abolition of the house of lords. He entered the Gladstone ministry of 1868 as civil lord of the admiralty, was chief secretary for Ireland in 1882, chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster, 1884-1885, and secretary for Scotland 1886. In 1876 he published his admirable *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, and in 1880 his *Early History of Charles James Fox*. From 1892-1895 he was again secretary for Scotland, retiring to private life in the latter year.

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Alexander Fraser Tytler was born at Edinburgh, October 15th, 1747. He was educated at Edinburgh and London, called to the bar in 1770, and appointed joint-professor of universal history in the university of Edinburgh in 1780, becoming sole professor in 1786. The general heads of his lectures were published in 1782, under the title of *Elements of History* but their full text did not appear until 1834. The work attained great popularity and was translated into several foreign languages. In 1802 Tytler was raised to the bench under the title of Lord Woodhouselee. He died at Edinburgh, January 5th, 1813.

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Sir Spencer Walpole, born 1839, was educated at Eton and entered the Civil Service; was lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man in 1882, and has been secretary of the Post Office since 1892. His *History of England* is the best treatment of the modern period, noteworthy for its impartiality and breadth of view.

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Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, a Danish historian and antiquary, was born in Veile, Jutland, March 14th, 1821. In 1847 he became inspector of antiquarian monuments of the kingdom of Denmark, and in 1865 was made director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities and of the Ethnological Museum in Copenhagen. From 1874 to 1875 he was minister of public instruction. His works on Scandinavian history and antiquities are numerous and valuable. Worsaae has made extensive investigation of the Danish and Norwegian invasions of England and presents many valuable facts showing their permanent results in English history.

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PART XXIII

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BOOK I. THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

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BOOK I

THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERERS OF AMERICA

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat Orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

SENECA: *Medea.*[1]

IF the Europeans had never happened upon America, then at some period — far later, indeed, yet inevitable — the Americans would have discovered Europe. Perhaps they would have come down from behind the horizon with all the sudden, barbaric pomp and terror that marked the appearance of the Gauls at Rome's gates, of the Tatars in China, of the Huns on the French plain of Chalons, of the Moslems in Granada and round Constantinople, of the Northmen in Sicily, of the Portuguese in India, of the Spanish at the court of Montezuma and in Peru.

[1] These famous lines have been regarded as a prophecy of the discovery of America. Even if so intended, Seneca was not the first, by any means, to dream of land beyond the ocean-river. His verses may be translated: "There will come, after the years have lapsed, cycles wherein Ocean shall loosen the chains of things, and a vast land shall be revealed, and Tiphys shall explore new worlds; nor shall Thule remain ultimate on earth." Tiphys was the helmsman of the Argonauts, whom some writers credited with exploring the northern Atlantic. Seneca died in 65 A.D.; by a curious coincidence he was born in the Spain that gave Columbus the means to immortalise these very lines, which, indeed, Columbus was fond of quoting. The son of the admiral wrote on the margin of his copy of Seneca. "This prophecy was fulfilled by my father, Christopher Columbus, admiral, in the year 1492. (*Hæc prophetia expleta ē per patrē meum Cristoforū Colō almirantē anno 1492.*")

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We are too prone to think of history as revolving round a European hub. We think of America as coming into view only with Columbus. We minimise all previous explorations in the light of the legend Columbus has become to us. Then we minimise the importance of Columbus himself because, after all, the nation whose agent he was made no lasting impression upon the civilisation of America north of Mexico.

Even physical geography suffers from this egoism which makes ourselves, our lineage, and our conditions the central point of the universe and all history. Though we may not give the fallacy voice or serious acceptance, it yet is part of our mental attitude. We almost dream of the great continent of the new world languishing impatiently, dully vegetating until the present white peoples appeared there in the proxy of their forefathers. Merely to bring such a false thought to the light is to destroy it. To destroy it is to open and enlarge the mind to the larger view of history, to the conception of it as founded far down in geology. With new eyes we can follow the growth of the earth through the long slow patiences or the enormous catastrophes of the world-energy. Without knowing just when or whence, just how or why, we can imagine the gradual appearance of the first men upon the continent, their timid explorations, their groping after the simplest ideas, the most brutish comforts, the most pitiful delights, the most puerile dignities.

PREHISTORIC CONDITIONS

It was long the fashion to think of the "Indians" whom Columbus found, as degenerate relics of a noble civilisation. Crude ruins were invested with a meaning and an antiquity that the science of to-day finds ludicrous. The myths of the Mound Builders are the most vivid example. Thousands of these curious artificial hillocks are scattered about the United States. In some of them are found skeletons, bits of pottery, weapons, and utensils of various sort. To these were added various forgeries of inscriptions by those enthusiastic and laborious practical jokers who make the life of the antiquary one of exquisite terror.

Upon a solution of the mysteries of the mounds, scholars of wide learning, deep thoroughness, and complete honesty spent years of research and printed their opinions in hundreds of volumes. An element of imagination is necessary to a constructive scientist, but in American archæology it was given the free reign. Pipes and trinkets made by European traders, bartered to the Indians, and found among their relics were thought to be the ancient vestiges of a civilisation highly advanced in art. The famous ruined tower at Newport was credited to Norse colonists ages before Columbus, because it was said to be of an unknown style of architecture, yet it is spoken of by Governor Arnold, in 1677, as "my stone-built windmill," and as Palfrey shows,[b] an almost exact duplicate of it, probably its original, is found in Chesterton, England.

The notorious Dighton rock, near Berkeley, Massachusetts, was solemnly accepted as a mysterious Phœnician or Norse inscription, though even George Washington smilingly said he recognised its close resemblance to battle accounts or hunt-records which he himself had seen the Indians carving on trees, and Schoolcraft,[c] on showing a copy of it to an old Indian chief, was told that it was easily translatable save for a few characters. Yet the simplest and nearest-at-hand explanation was, as usual, the last to be tried.

One by one the antiquities of America have thus been brought nearer and nearer modern times. And yet a satisfactory account of the origin of the

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people found by Columbus is still lacking, though theories have not, by any means, been wanting, on which brilliant minds have amused themselves with elaborate futility. They range from the theory that America was peopled from Europe or Asia, to the theory that Europe and Asia were peopled from America; from the doctrine that the Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel, to the doctrine that the Indians were autocthonous and were gradually reared from lower states of life by evolution; from the hypothesis that man extended his habitat as rapidly as the prehistoric glaciers receded, to the blunt denial that there is any trustworthy evidence of great antiquity in human appearance on American soil. But, after all, the important thing is that America is capable of sustaining and encouraging an industrious civilisation and that its capabilities were finally discovered by the peoples who actually could, would, and did start that civilisation on its way.

While then there is no theory of the prehistoric American on which all archæologists are willing to repose, perhaps the most cautious view and the one most largely and recently accepted would be something as follows: So far as negative proof can decide, it is evident that no race had ever reached a state of high civilisation before the advent of the Europeans. Even the southern races, so romantically described by the Spanish conquistadors, were simply passing from the stone age to the bronze; they did not use beasts of burden and had not mastered the art of writing. They are not to be distinguished from the otner Americans as a superior race, but were simply at a more advanced point of the civilisation toward which all the others were trending, as even to-day Boston differs from the backwoods of Arkansas.

ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN OF MAN IN AMERICA

How long had these people been here? Some years ago John T. Short[d] declared brusquely, "No truly scientific proof of man's great antiquity in America exists." But Dr. C. C. Abbott[e] found hundreds of undoubtedly palæolithic implements in the glacial drift near Trenton, New Jersey; his proofs were met with a counter-theory that the glacial age was perhaps of later period than had been supposed. As to the relative antiquity of man's appearance in America and in Europe there has been a sharp division of opinion among scholars, and every link in the two chains of proof has been matter of bitter dispute. In the words of H. H. Howorth,[f] "The evidence for the existence of palæolithic man in America has been more fiercely contested even than in Europe, and the problem there is certainly more complicated. In Europe we can test the age of the remains not merely by their actual character, but also by the presence or absence of associated domestic animals. In America this test is absent, for there were virtually no domestic animals save the dog known to the pre-European inhabitants. We are therefore remitted to less direct evidence, namely, the provenance of the remains from beds of distinctly Pleistocene age, the fabric of the remains, and their association with animals, we have reason to believe, become extinct at the termination of that period."

The battle still rages on all the problems of American palæography, and the general reader must perhaps rest content with some such cautious generalisation as that of Henry W. Haynes,[g] who thinks it probable that, at least in the valley of the Delaware river, man appeared in the palæolithic stage, developed to the neolithic, and became extinct. "The so-called Indians," he says, "with their many divisions into numerous linguistic families, were later comers than the primitive population; the so-called 'mound builders' were

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the ancestors of tribes found in the occupation of the soil; and the Pueblos and the Aztecs were only peoples relatively further advanced than the others."

DID THE AMERICANS COME FROM ASIA?

Whence, then, came this invading race? The most nearly accepted theory accepts Asia as the original home. As Justin Winsor[h] says, "There is not a race of eastern Asia — Siberian, Tatar, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, with the Polynesians — which has not been claimed as discoverers, intending or accidental, of American shores, or as progenitors, more or less perfect or remote, of American peoples; and there is no good reason why any of them may not have done all that is claimed. The historical evidence, however, is not such as is based on documentary proofs of indisputable character, and the recitals advanced are often far from precise enough to be convincing in details, if their general authenticity is allowed."

The paths by which the Asiatics might have come are various. The ice of the Behring Sea might have afforded a bridge; the Aleutian Islands lie like stepping-stones for gradual ventures; the great northern Pacific current might have brought to the Californian shores vessels whose sails or rudders were lost in storm, and the intermarriage of these waifs with the primitive races may have occasioned the physical differences observable between the Americans and the Asiatics, though there are numerous points of strong resemblance, and the very flora of the two coasts of the same ocean have much in common. Finally it is not thought impossible that the Malays of the Polynesian islands may have advanced timidly or accidentally toward South America, where there are many curious traces of apparent Malaysian occupation.

WHO DISCOVERED AMERICA? THE NUMEROUS CLAIMANTS

The problem of the origin of the so-called native races must then join the problem of the antiquity of man in the limbo of the unsolved. There remains still another problem unsolved, despite a whole literature of controversy. Who were the first to have brought the continent into the ken of the older and more civilised world? So many are the theories in this direction that the question is almost less, "Who discovered America?" than "Who did not?"

Vigorously defended claims exist for the priority of the Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, Phœnicians, Romans, Arabians, Turks, Hindoos, Basques, Welsh, Irish, French, Polish,[1] German, Dutch, Portuguese, and Scandinavians. The Welsh asserted that Madoc, the son of Owen Gwyneth discovered America in 1170, and Hakluyt[i] thus describes his adventures:

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth his sonnes, left the land in contention betwixt his brethren and prepared certaine ships, with men and munition, and sought adventures by seas, sailing west and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre north, that he came unto a land unknowen, where he saw many strange things. This land must needs be some part of that countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britaines discovered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither. Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish:

[[1] The Pole, John Szkolny, latinised as Skolmus, is said to have reached Labrador in 1476 while in Danish service.]

but sure it is, there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys that he had seene without inhabitants, and upon the contrary part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephewes did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietnesse: and taking leave of his friends, tooke his journey thitherward againe. Therefore it is supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honoured the crosse. Whereby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the coming of the Spanyards. But because this people were not many, they followed the manners of the land which they came unto, and used the language they found there."

The Basque claim is based on better evidence, for in addition to the stories that French and Basque fishermen had known the fisheries of Newfoundland for centuries before Columbus, it is a fact, according to Peter Martyr, that Sebastian Cabot named those regions Baccalaos "because that in the seas thereabout he found so great multitude of certaine bigge fishes, much like unto tunies (which the inhabitants call *baccalaos*), that they sometimes stayed his shippes."

Now *baccalaos* is the Basque word for a codfish, and since Cabot found it in use among the inhabitants of Newfoundland, the Basques have a good argument for having arrived earlier than Cabot.

The little city of Dieppe which furnished France one of its few great naval warriors, Duquesne, claims not only to have made important discoveries in Africa, but also that a citizen named Jean Cousin was blown to Brazil in 1488 and brought back the news. There is a story that two Italians, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno reached America in 1380 or 1390. It is not considered improbable that certain Basque whalers were blown across the ocean. Two Portuguese sailors, Cortereal and Ramalho also are mentioned as discoverers of Newfoundland in 1463, and the Nuremburg map-maker Martin Behaim is said to have reached South America in 1476, though he did not himself make the claim.

From the Scriptures the sons of Japhet and the Canaanites expelled by Joshua have been looked to; in Greek mythology the inhabitants of the lost land of Atlantis have been advocated. In 1673 an American, probably with humorous intent, suggested that the exiled Trojans had found America. The study of the Indian languages has led some to find what they declared undeniably words from the Norse, the Welsh, Irish, Japanese, Tatar, and even from the Roman tongues. In the ruins of Central America, Hindu and Egyptian elements have been seen by ethnologists, and botanists have found trees of African origin.

In 1790 Benjamin Smith Barton,*j* working with a true sense of the difference between proof and probability, heaped up a mountain of evidence on all sides of the question, and declared that a definite decision was impossible. This is the view now held by the most catholic students. None the less it is of interest to state the principal claimants for whom there is any serious evidence.

THE LAND OF FOUSANG

There exists a strange old account of some Buddhist priests who discovered the land of Fousang or Fusang. The Chinese historian Ma Twan-lin claims to quote one of these priests, Hoei Shin, who in 499 described this

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voyage and the land of Fusang. Some have claimed that Japan or some adjacent region was the coast described; others have insisted on Mexico, claiming that the fusang tree was the Mexican maguey plant. Among those who have believed that the Buddhists actually reached America a thousand years before Columbus, and who have claimed to find traces of their residence, have been De Guignes,[k] Neumann,[l] Paravey,[m] Leland,[n] and more recently Vining;[o] the vast weight of authority, however, is most decidedly against the theory.

ICELANDIC SAGAS CONCERNING THE IRISH DISCOVERY: GREAT IRELAND

The next oldest claim after the Chinese is the Irish. Irish monks and colonists were in Iceland as early as the ninth century and there is an Icelandic saga which not only claims that the Irish preceded the Norse in Iceland, but also describes the fate of the Icelandic chief, Ari Marson, who in the tenth century was storm-driven to a land occupied by Irishmen. It was called Huitramannaland, *i.e.* White Man's Land; or Irland it Mikla, *i.e.* Ireland the Great. He was there detained.

The story of Ari Marson's voyage is thus quoted by Beamish,[p] from Ari's[q] famous *Landnamabok:* "Ulf the Squinter, son of Högna the White, took all Reykjanes, between Thorkafjord and Hafraffell; he married Björg, daughter to Eyvind the Eastman, sister to Helge the Lean; their son was Atli the Red, who married Thorbjörd, sister to Steinolf the Humble; their son was Mar of Holum, who married Thorkatla, daughter of Hergil Neprass; their son was Ari; he was driven by a tempest to White Man's Land, which some call Great Ireland; it lies to the west in the sea, near to Vinland the Good, and VI days' sailing west from Ireland.[1] From thence could Ari not get away, and was there baptized. The story was first told Rafn the Limerick merchant, who had long lived at Limerick in Ireland. Thus said [also] Thorkell Gellerson, that Icelanders had stated, who had heard Thorfinn Jarl of the Orkneys relate that Ari was recognised in White Man's Land, and could not get away from thence, but was there much respected."

There is an old geographical fragment, quoted by Beamish as corroborative of the preceding: "Now are there, as is said, south from Greenland, which is inhabitated, deserts, uninhabitated places, and ice-bergs, then the Skrælings, then Markland, then Vinland the Good; next, and somewhat behind, lies Albania, which is White Man's Land; thither was sailing, formerly, from Ireland; there Irishmen and Icelanders recognised Ari the son of Mar and Katla of Reykjaness, of whom nothing had been heard for a long time, and who had been made a chief there by the inhabitants."

Then there is the romantic story of the *Eyrbyggja Saga* concerning Bjarni Asbrandson, who having betrayed an Icelandic married woman named Thurid, who bore him a son, was attacked by her husband, Thorodd, and others, but fought off his assailants; finally, for the sake of peace, he consented to leave the country. He sailed away in 999 A.D. and was never seen there again. But in 1029 a merchant, Gudleif Gudlangson, was blown to a strange land and there found Bjarni Asbrandson among a people who spoke Irish. We quote from this quaint saga:[a]

[[1] "*Vi daegra sigling vestr fra Irlandi.*" Rafn[r] is of opinion that the figures VI have arisen through mistake or carelessness of the transcriber of the original manuscript which is now lost, and were erroneously inserted instead of XX, XI, or perhaps XV, which would better correspond with the distance; this mistake might have easily arisen from a blot or defect in that part of the original manuscript.]

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The Eyrbyggja Saga concerning the Irish Colony

It happened in the last years of the reign of King Olaf the Saint that Gudleif undertook a trading voyage to Dublin; but when he sailed from the west, intended he to sail to Iceland; he sailed then from the west of Ireland, and met with northeast winds, and was driven far to the west and southwest, in the sea, where no land was to be seen. But it was already far gone in the summer, and they made prayers that they might escape from the sea; and it came to pass that they saw land.

It was a great land, but they knew not what land it was. Then took they the resolve to sail to the land, for they were weary of contending longer with the violence of the sea. They found there a good harbour; and when they had been a short time on shore, came people to them: they knew none of the people, but it rather appeared to them that they spoke Irish. Soon came to them so great a number that it made up many hundreds. These men fell upon them and seized them all, and bound them, and drove them up the country. There were they brought before an assembly, to be judged. They understood so much that some were for killing them but others would have seem distributed amongst the inhabitants, and made slaves.

And while this was going on, saw they, where rode a great body of men, and a large banner was borne in the midst. Then thought they that there must be a chief in the troop; but when it came near, saw they that under the banner rode a large and dignified man, who was much in years, and whose hair was white. All present bowed down before the man, and received him as well as they could. Now observed they that all opinions and resolutions concerning their business were submitted to his decision.

Then ordered they this man Gudleif and his companions to be brought before him, and when they had come before this man, spoke he to them in the Northern tongue, and asked them from what country they came. They answered him that the most of them were Icelanders. The man asked which of them were Icelanders. Gudleif said that he was an Icelander. He then saluted the old man, and he received it well, and asked from what part of Iceland he came. Gudleif said that he was from that district which hight Borgafjord. Then inquired he from what part of Borgafjord he came, and Gudleif answered just as it was. Then asked this man about almost every one of the principal men in Borgafjord and Breidafjord; and when they talked thereon, inquired he minutely about everything, first of Snorri Godi, and his sister Thurid of Froda, and most about Kjartan her son.

The people of the country now called out, on the other side, that some decision should be made about the seamen. After this went the great man away from them, and named twelve of his men with himself, and they sat a long time talking. Then went they to the meeting of the people and the old man said to Gudleif: "I and the people of the country have talked together about your business, and the people have left the matter to me; but I will now give ye leave to depart whence ye will; but although ye may think that the summer is almost gone, yet will I counsel ye to remove from hence, for here are the people not to be trusted, and bad to deal with, and they think besides that the laws have been broken to their injury."

Gudleif answered: "What shall we say, if fate permits us to return to our own country, who has given us this freedom?" He answered: "That can I not tell you, for I like not that my relations and foster-brothers should make such a journey hereto, as ye would have made, if ye had not had the benefit of my help; but now is my age so advanced, that I may expect every

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hour old age to overpower me; and even if I could live yet for a time, there are here more powerful men than me, who little peace would give to foreigners that might come here, although they be not just here in the neighbourhood where ye landed."

Then caused he their ship to be made ready for sea, and was there with them, until a fair wind sprang up, which was favourable to take them from the land. But before they separated took this man a gold ring from his hand, and gave it into the hands of Gudleif, and therewith a good sword; then said he to Gudleif: "If the fates permit you to come to your own country, then shall you take this sword to the yeoman, Kjartan of Froda, but the ring to Thurid his mother." Gudleif replied: "What shall I say, about it, as to who sends them these valuables?"

He answered: "Say that he sends them who was a better friend of the lady of Froda, than of her brother, Godi of Helgafell; but if any man therefore thinks that he knows who has owned these articles, then say these my words, that I forbid any one to come to me, for it is the most dangerous expedition, unless it happens as fortunately with others at the landing place as with you: but here is the land great, and bad as to harbours, and in all parts may strangers expect hostility, when it does not turn out as has been with you."

After this, Gudleif and his people put to sea, and they landed in Ireland late in harvest, and were in Dublin for the winter. But in the summer after, sailed they to Iceland, and Gudleif delivered over these valuables; and people held it for certain that this man was Bjorn, the champion of Breidavik, and no other account to be relied on is there in confirmation of this, except that which is now given here.[a]

THE NORSE DISCOVERERS

We have given the account of the Irish settlement of Great Ireland, which sceptics have thought to be merely some European island. We come now to the Norse claims which assert that these sea-rovers came to America by way of the stepping stone of Iceland, into Greenland, and thence down the coast as far as a region where vines grew. It is claimed that the year after the first Norse settlers reached Iceland a Norseman called Gunnbjörn was driven west so far that he sighted a new land. Half a century later the Norse adventurers of whom we have already read, found Ireland the Great.

Next appears the Red Eric, a murderous brawler who left Norway for his country's good, and later found even Iceland too peaceful for him. Sent into three years' exile, he went hunting a more congenial shore. Having heard of the land that Gunnbjörn had seen, he sailed due west and found it. Returning at the end of his term of banishment he desired to take out colonists. *The Saga of Eric the Red* credits him with shrewdness, for "he called the land which he had found Greenland, because, quoth he, 'people will be attracted thither if the land has a good name.'"

So effective were his stories of the arctic region, that in 985 (?) thirty-five ships set forth with him, of which twenty-one were lost on the way. This was the beginning of genuine colonisation. In 999 Eric's son Leif went back to Norway and found that Christianity had become the state religion. He was converted and took back to Greenland a priest, the first Christian missionary to America. This great and undoubted colonisation of a portion of arctic America was doomed to an ultimate failure, and the colonies eventually disappeared. Some have said that the Eskimos began to drive the Northmen

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out as early as 1342. Communication with Iceland and the home country of Norway ceased entirely in the fifteenth century. All that remains of the colony now is a few ruins and a few doubtful remnants of custom or tradition among the Eskimos.

As early as 986, if we can believe the sagas, one Bjarni Herjulfson, set out from Iceland for Greenland; but was so beset by north winds and fogs that he lost his bearings and at last made out a coast which did not conform to Eric the Red's account of the mountainous and icy coast of Greenland. This land was "without mountains and covered with wood." They turned north and on their way they saw four different lands and finally reached Greenland, where Bjarni gave up sea-faring." Such is the simple detail of the first voyage of the Northmen to the western hemisphere.

Rafn[r] felt that there were sufficient data in the ancient Icelandic geographical works to determine the position of the various coasts and headlands thus discovered by Bjarni Herjulfson. A day's sail was estimated by the Northmen at from twenty-seven to thirty geographical miles, and the knowledge of this fact, together with that of the direction of the wind, the course steered, the appearance of the shores, and other details contained in the narrative itself, together with the more minute description of the same lands given by succeeding voyagers, leave no doubt, according to some writers, that the countries thus discovered by Bjarni Herjulfson were Connecticut, Long Island, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; and that the date of the expedition is determined by the passage in the preliminary narrative which fixes the period of Herjulfson's settlement at Herjulf's Ness in Iceland. R. G. Haliburton gives a map in which Bjarni's course is marked as entering the St. Lawrence Gulf by the south, and emerging by the straits of Belle-Isle.

It may, perhaps, be urged in disparagement of these discoveries that they were accidental — that Bjarni Herjulfson set out in search of Greenland, and fell in with the eastern coast of North America; but so it was, also, with Columbus.

Bjarni had had enough of the north Atlantic winds, but the story excited Leif, Eric's son, to hunt that fair shore seen by Bjarni. About the year 1000 he set out with thirty-five companions. The old account as given in the sagas is interesting and important enough to quote as translated from the *Codex Flatoyensis* or Flatey Book. We have put in footnotes Rafn's[r] shrewd guesses at the identity of the places mentioned, though it is necessary to caution the reader that they are only careful speculations not adhered to by many severe critics.[a]

THE SAGA OF VINELAND THE GOOD (*Codex Flatoyensis*)

The next thing now to be related is that Bjarni Herjulfson went out from Greenland, and visited Eric Jarl [*i.e.* Red Eric, the earl or jarl], and the jarl received him well. Bjarni told about his voyages, that he had seen unknown lands, and people thought that he had shown no curiosity when he had nothing to relate about these countries; and this became somewhat a matter of reproach to him. Bjarni became one of the jarl's courtiers, and came back to Greenland the summer after. There was now much talk about voyages of discovery. Leif, the son of Eric the Red, of Brattelid, went to Bjarni Herjulfson, and bought the ship of him, and engaged men for it, so that there were thirty-five men in all. Leif asked his father Eric to be the leader on the voyage, but Eric excused himself, saying that he was pretty well stricken in

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years, and could not now, as formerly, hold out all the hardships of the sea. There was a southerner on the voyage, hight Tyrker.

Now prepared they their ship, and sailed out into the sea when they were ready, and then found that land first which Bjarni had found last. There sailed they to the land, and cast anchor, and put off boats, and went ashore, and saw there no grass. Great icebergs were over all up the country, but like a plain of flat stones was all from the sea to the mountains, and it appeared to them that this land had no good qualities. Then said Leif, "We have not done like Bjarni about this land, that we have not been upon it; now will I give the land a name, and call it Helluland [from *hella*, a flat stone, perhaps slate."] Then went they on board, and after that sailed out to sea, and found another land; they sailed again to the land, and cast anchor, then put off boats and went on shore.

This land was flat, and covered with wood, and white sands were far around where they went, and the shore was low. Then said Leif, "This land shall be named after its qualities, and called Markland (woodland)." They then immediately returned to the ship. Now sailed they thence into the open sea, with a northeast wind, and were two days at sea before they saw land, and they sailed thither and came to an island which lay to the eastward of the land, and went up there, and looked round them in good weather, and observed that there was dew upon the grass; and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and raised the fingers to the mouth, and they thought that they had never before tasted anything so sweet.[1]

After that they went to the ship, and sailed into a sound, which lay between the island and a ness (promontory), which ran out to the eastward of the land; and then steered westwards past the ness. It was very shallow at ebb tide, and their ship stood up, so that it was far to see from the ship to the water.

But so much did they desire to land that they did not give themselves time to wait until the water again rose under their ship, but ran at once on shore, at a place where a river flows out of a lake: but so soon as the waters rose up under the ship, then took they boats, and rowed to the ship, and floated it up to the river, and thence into the lake, and there cast anchor, and brought up from the ship their skin cots, and made their booths.[2]

After this took they counsel, and formed the resolution of remaining there for the winter, and built there large houses. There was no want of salmon either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had before seen. The nature of the country was, as they thought, so good that cattle would not require house feeding in winter, for there came no frost in winter, and little did the grass wither there. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland, for on the shortest day was the sun above the horizon from half past seven in the forenoon till half past four in the afternoon.[3]

But when they had done with the house building, Leif said to his comrades: "Now will I divide our men into two parts, and have land explored,

[[1] This island appears to have been Nantucket, where honey dew is known to abound, and Helluland and Markland are clearly shown by Rafn—on the authority of modern voyagers and hydrographers, the chief of whom are quoted in the preceding notes—to be Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.—BEAMISH.]

[[2] From these details Rafn thinks it evident that Leif and his companions shaped their course through Nantucket Bay, beyond the southwestern extremity of the peninsula of Cape Cod; thence across the mouth of Buzzard's Bay to Seaconnet Passage, and thus up the Pocasset river to Mount Hope Bay, which they seem to have taken for a lake.]

[[3] This would give very nearly the latitude of Mount Hope Bay, which locality is previously pointed out by the details relating to the soil and climate, and fully corresponds with the descriptions of modern travellers.]

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and the half of the men shall remain at home at the house, while the other explore the land; but, however, not go further than that they can come home in the evening, and they should not separate." Now they did so for a time, and Leif changed about, so that the one day he went with them, and the other remained at home in the house. Leif was a great and strong man, grave and well favoured, therewith sensible and moderate in all things.

It happened one evening that a man of the party was missing, and this was Tyrker the German. This took Leif much to heart, for Tyrker had been long with his father and him, and loved Leif much in his childhood. Leif now took his people severely to task, and prepared to seek for Tyrker, and took twelve men with him. But when they had gotten a short way from the house, then came Tyrker towards them, and was joyfully received. Leif soon saw that his foster-father was not in his right senses. Tyrker had a high forehead, and unsteady eyes, was freckled in the face, small and mean in stature, but excellent in all kinds of artifice. Then said Leif to him: "Why were thou so late, my fosterer, and separated from the party?"

He now spoke first, for a long time, in German, and rolled his eyes about to different sides, and twisted his mouth, but they did not understand what he said. After a time he spoke Norsk: "I have not been much further off, but still have I something new to tell of; I found vines and grapes." "But is that true, my fosterer?" quoth Leif. "Surely is it true," replied he, "for I was bred up in a land where there is no want of either vines or grapes." They slept now for the night, but in the morning Leif said to his sailors: "We will now set about two things, in that the one day we gather grapes, and the other day cut vines and fell trees, so from thence will be a loading for my ship," and that was the counsel taken, and it is said their long boat was filled with grapes. Now was a cargo cut down for the ship, and when the spring came, they got ready, and sailed away, and Leif gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it Vinland.[1] They sailed now into the open sea, and had a fair wind until they saw Greenland, and the mountains below the jöklers.

Leif was, after that, called Leif the Lucky. Leif had now earned both riches and respect. This winter died also Eric the Red. Now was there much talk about Leif's voyage to Vinland, and Thorvald, his brother, thought that the land had been much too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald: "Thou canst go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt, to Vinland."

Now Thorvald made ready for this voyage with thirty men, and took counsel thereon with Leif his brother. Then made they their ship ready, and put to sea, and nothing is told of their voyage until they came to Leif's booths in Vinland. There they laid up their ship, and spent a pleasant winter, and caught fish for their support. But in the spring said Thorvald that they should make ready the ship, and that some of the men should take the ship's long boat round the western part of the land, and explore there during the summer. To them appeared the land fair and woody, and but a short distance between the wood and the sea, and white sands; there were many islands, and much shallow water. They found neither dwellings of men nor beasts except upon an island, to the westward, where they found a corn-shed

[[1] It appears by a communication from Dr. Webb, secretary to the Rhode Island Historical Society, which is given in that part of Rafn's[r] work entitled *Monumentum vetustum in Massachussetts*, that wild grape vines of several varieties, as well as maize or Indian corn, and other esculents, were found growing in that district, in great profusion, when it was first visited by the Europeans. Hence the name of Vinland (Vineland), given to the country by Leif, a name mentioned by Adam of Bremen,[t] and Torfæus,[u] as well as by Pinkerton[v] and Malte Brun,[w] as designating a country frequently visited by the Northmen.[p]]

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of wood, but many works of men they found not; and they then went back and came to Leif's booths in the autumn.

But the next summer went Thorvald eastward with the ship, and round the land to the northward. Here came a heavy storm upon them when off a ness, so that they were driven on shore, and the keel broke off from the ship and they remained here a long time, and repaired their ship. Then said Thorvald to his companions: "Now will I that we fix up the keel here upon the ness, and call it Keelness" (Kjarlness), and so did they. After that they sailed away round the eastern shores of the land, and into the mouths of the friths, which lay nearest thereto, and to a point of land which stretched out, and was covered all over with wood. There they came-to with the ship and shoved out a plank to the land, and Thorvald went up the country, with all his companions. He then said: "Here it is beautiful, and here would I like to raise my dwelling." Then went they to the ship, and saw upon the sands within the promontory three elevations, and went thither, and saw there three skin boats (canoes) and three men under each.

Then divided they their people, and caught them all, except one, who got away with his boat. They killed the other eight, and then went back to the cape, and looked round them, and saw some heights inside of the frith, and supposed that these were dwellings. After that, so great a drowsiness came upon them, that they could not keep awake, and they all fell asleep. Then came a shout over them, so that they all awoke. Thus said the shout: "Wake thou! Thorvald! and all thy companions, if thou wilt preserve life, and return thou to thy ship, with all thy men, and leave the land without delay."

Then rushed out from the interior of the frith an innumerable crowd of skin boats, and made towards them. Thorvald said then: "We will put out the battle-screen, and defend ourselves as well as we can, but fight little against them." So did they, and the Skrælings[1] shot at them for a time, but afterwards ran away, each as fast as he could. Then asked Thorvald his men if they had gotten any wounds; they answered that no one was wounded.

"I have gotten a wound under the arm," said he, "for an arrow fled between the edge of the ship and the shield, in under my arm, and here is the arrow, and it will prove a mortal wound to me. Now counsel I ye that ye get ready instantly to depart, but ye shall bear me to that cape, where I thought it best to dwell; it may be that a true word fell from my mouth, that I should dwell there for a time; there shall ye bury me, and set up crosses at my head and feet, and call the place Krossaness[2] forever in all time to come." Greenland was then christianised, but Eric the Red died before Christianity was introduced. Now Thorvald died, but they did all things according to his directions, and then went away, and returned to their companions, and told to each other the tidings which they knew, and dwelt there for the winter, and gathered grapes and vines to load the ship. But in the spring they made ready to sail to Greenland and came with their ship in Eriksfjord, and could now tell great tidings to Leif.[x]

In the season following these events (1005–6), Thornstein, the third son of Eric, embarked with his wife Gudrida, in search of the body of Thorvald, which they wished to bring back to Greenland. The voyage was unsuccessful. They were tossed about all summer, and knew not whither they were driven.

[[1] Of *Skrælinger*, various definitions have been given, some authors attributing it to the low stature of the Eskimos, who are also called Smælingar (diminutive men) by Icelandic authors, and others deducing it from *skræla*, to make dry, in allusion to their withered appearance. The word *skrækja*, to cry out, has also been given as the etymology of the term, from their habit of shouting.[p]]

[[2] This appears to have been Cape or Point Aldeeton, according to Rafn.[r]]

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It was winter before they made the western coast of Greenland, where Thornstein died. In the spring, Gudrida, his wife, returned to the family seat at Eriksfjord.

The following year, 1006, is of importance in the history of these expeditions. In the summer of this year, there arrived in Greenland two ships from Iceland. The one was commanded by Thorfinn, surnamed Karlsefne, that is, the Hopeful, a wealthy and powerful personage, of illustrious lineage, descended from Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, and Scottish ancestors, some of whom were of royal rank. The other ship was commanded by Bjarni Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason. They kept the festival of Yule (Christmas) at Eriksfjord. Here Thorfinn became enamoured of Gudrida, and espoused her in the course of the winter.

The discoveries in Vinland were the subject of great interest in the family of Eric. Thorfinn was urged by his wife and the other members of the family to undertake a voyage to the newly-discovered country. Accordingly, in the spring of 1007, he and his associates embarked in their two vessels; and a third ship, commanded by Thorvald (who had married Freydisa, a natural daughter of Eric), was joined to the expedition. The party consisted, in the whole, of one hundred and forty men. They took with them all kinds of live stock, intending, if possible, to colonise the country. They touched at Helluland, on their way southward, and found many foxes there. Markland also they found stocked with wild animals.

Proceeding southward, the voyagers made Kjarlness (Cape Cod?)[1], and passed trackless deserts and long tracts of sandy beach, which they called Furdustrandir. They continued their course until they came to a place, where a frith penetrated far into the country. Off the mouth of it was an island, past which there ran strong currents, which was also the case farther up the frith. On the island there was an immense number of eider-ducks, so that it was scarcely possible to walk without treading upon their eggs. They called the island Straumey or Stream Isle (Martha's Vineyard?), and the frith, Straum Fjords or Stream Frith (Buzzard's Bay?); and on its shores they landed and made preparations for a winter's residence. They found the country extremely beautiful, and set themselves to explore it in all directions.

Thorhall, with a party of eight men, took a course northward, in search of the settlements of Leif, at Vinland; but they were driven by westerly gales to the coast of Ireland, and there made slaves. Thorfinn, with the rest of the company, in all one hundred and thirty-one men, sailed southward, and arrived at a place where a river falls into the sea from a lake. Opposite to the mouth of the river were large islands. They steered into the lake and called the place Hop (Mount Hope Bay?). On the low grounds they found fields covered with wheat growing wild, and on the rising grounds, vines. Here they were visited by great numbers of the natives in canoes. These people are described as sallow-coloured, ill-looking, with unsightly heads of hair, large eyes, and broad cheeks. Thorfinn and his company erected their houses a little above the bay and passed the winter there. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open field.

In the following spring, 1008, the natives began to assemble in numbers, and open a trade with the strangers. The articles exchanged were furs on the one side, and strips of cloth on the other. In the course of the season, Gudrida, the wife of Thorfinn, gave birth to a son, who was called Snorre, and who was the first child, of European descent, born in America, and the ancestor of many

[[1] The suggestions in parentheses are by Rafn.]

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distinguished personages at the present day, whose descent is lineally traced to Thorfinn and Gudrida, in the Icelandic genealogical tables. Among these is Thorvaldsen, the great sculptor.

After other adventures and contests with the natives, Thorfinn returned to Greenland, leaving a part of his company established in the new country. After a few years spent in Greenland, Thorfinn purchased an estate in Iceland, in 1015, where he passed the rest of his life, as did Snorre, his American son. After the death of Thorfinn, and the marriage of her son, Gudrida made a pilgrimage to Rome. The family remained distinguished for wealth, influence, and intelligence. Thorlak, the grandson of Snorre, was raised to the Episcopal rank, and was of great repute for his learning. He compiled a code of the ecclesiastical law of Iceland, which is still extant; and he is very likely to have been the person who committed to writing the *Sagas*, or traditions of the voyages and adventures of which the foregoing narrative is an abstract.

In the year 1011, the colony in Vinland left by Thorfinn, was joined by Helge and Finnboge, two brothers from Iceland, who were accompanied in their voyage by Thorvald, and his wife Freydisa, a daughter of Eric the Red. This woman excited a quarrel, which proved fatal to about thirty of the colonists. Detested for her vices, she was constrained to return to Greenland, where she lived despised and died unlamented.

From this period, we hear no more of the northern colony in America till the year 1059, when an Irish or Saxon priest, named Jon or John, who had preached some time as a missionary in Iceland, went to Vinland for the purpose of converting the colonists to Christianity, where he was murdered by the heathen. A bishop of Greenland, Erik Upsa, afterwards (1121) undertook the same voyage, for the same purpose, but his success is uncertain. The authenticity of the Icelandic accounts of the discovery and settlement of Vinland, were recognised in Denmark, shortly after this period, by King Sweyn Estrithson, Sweno II, in a conversation which Adam of Bremen[t] had with this monarch.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century, two Venetian navigators, sailing in the service of a Norman prince of the Orcades, are said to have visited Vinland, and to have found traces of the colony left by the Northmen. From that time to the discovery of the New World by Columbus, there was no communication — none at least that is known — between it and the north of Europe.

This circumstance has induced many to doubt of facts which have already been related. If, they contend, North America were really discovered and repeatedly visited by the Icelanders, how came a country so fertile in comparison with that island or with Greenland, or even Norway, to be so suddenly abandoned? This is certainly a difficulty, but a greater one in our opinion is involved in the rejection of all the evidence that has been adduced. The history is not founded upon one tradition or record, but upon many; and it is confirmed by a variety of collateral and incidental facts, as well established as any of the contemporary relations upon which historical inquirers are accustomed to rely. For relations so numerous and so uniform, for circumstances so naturally and so graphically described, there must have been some foundation. Even fiction does not invent, it only exaggerates. There is nothing improbable in the alleged voyages. The Scandinavians were the best navigators in the world.[1] From authentic and indubitable testimony, we

[[1] That their eager and daring nature should have deserted them at this point is hardly conceivable. We may consider that the weight of probability is in favour of a Northman descent upon the coast of the American mainland at some point or at several, but the evidence

know that their ships visited every sea, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, from the extremity of the Finland Gulf to the entrance of Davis Strait.

Men thus familiar with distant seas must have made a greater progress in the science of navigation than we generally allow. The voyage from Reykjavik, in Iceland, to Cape Farewell, is not longer than that from the south-western extremity of Iceland — once well colonised — to the eastern coast of Labrador.

But does the latter country itself exhibit in modern times any vestiges of a higher civilisation than we should expect to find if no Europeans had ever visited it? So at least the Jesuit missionaries inform us. They found the cross, a knowledge of the stars, a superior kind of worship, a more ingenious mind among the inhabitants of the coast which is thought to have been colonised from Greenland. They even assure us that many Norwegian words are to be found in the dialect of the people. The causes which led to the destruction of the settlement were probably similar to those which produced the same effect in Greenland.

A handful of colonists, cut off from all communication with the mother country, and consequently deprived of the means for repressing their savage neighbours, could not be expected to preserve always their original characteristics. They would either be exterminated by hostilities or driven to amalgamate with the natives: probably both causes led to the unfortunate result. The only difficulty in this subject is that which we have before mentioned, *viz.*: the sudden and total cessation of all intercourse with Iceland or Greenland; and even this must diminish when we remember that in the fourteenth century the Norwegian colony in Greenland disappeared in the same manner, after a residence in the country of more than three hundred years.

On weighing the preceding circumstances and the simple and natural language in which they are recorded, few men not born in Italy or Spain will deny to the Scandinavians the claim of having been the original discoverers of the New World.[y]

WHAT CREDIT IS DUE TO COLUMBUS?

In many of the cases of alleged discovery, historians can only say: "This is not impossible. It is even probable. But it is not supported by genuine evidence, except in the case of the Scandinavians. The one certain thing is that Columbus brought America into general European cognisance, and made possible the great flow of colonisation over seas.

Discovery was indeed the fashion of the time. The Portuguese began it with the support of Prince Henry, "the navigator." Their wonderful prowess has been discussed in our history of Portugal. Had Columbus not discovered America, someone else would certainly have done so soon. But this should not be allowed to diminish his credit. Had Newton not made his generalisation on gravitation, someone else would eventually have reached it. Just as Darwin was about to present to the world his life-thesis on evolution he received an elaborate presentation of the same idea from Alfred Russel Wallace, then in the Antipodes. Immediately upon the publication of the two works a deluge of citations appeared showing how ancient the idea was. But whereas philosophers, poets, and modern scientists had recorded their opinions, dreams, and theories only as so much learned guess-work, Charles Darwin

is hardly that which establishes well-established records. The archæological traces which are lacking further south are abundant in Greenland, and confirm in the most positive way the Norse occupation.—WINSOR.[h]]

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spent ten years piling up evidence based on actual experiment and investigation. So it is with Columbus; ancient Greek theories, old-time poetry, the adventures of voyagers unwillingly blown to strange lands and eager only to get home again — these were but the smoke that precedes every cannon ball.

The theory that the world is round dates at least from Pythagoras. It was Columbus alone that determined to prove the sphericity of the globe by actual travel: it was he that spent eighteen long years of travel from court to court, suggesting, imploring, bribing, threatening, wrangling, haggling, cajoling, till he secured his three ships. It was he that went forth to see what lay beyond the western horizon. It was he that held a mutinous, hysterical, superstitious crew under his will by threats, lies, prayers, and bribery. It was he that found land, and brought back natives, fruits, metals, maps, facts, allurements.

Columbus could not, of course, explore all he had discovered; but he was the forerunner of the swarm of exploration that became almost the chief industry of the time. It was pitiable that he should have died in the belief that he had found India; but his mistake was soon discovered by the rest of mankind.

The personal character of Columbus has been a battle-ground, men like Irving[z] smoothing over his defects and enlarging upon the no greater defects of men like Bobadilla; historians like Winsor[bb] dealing with his faults unsparingly. But it was the old truth that a man has "the defects of his qualities." If Columbus had been less mercenary, he would not have haggled with the queen, or denied the seaman who first saw land his pension, or begun the slave trade as a means of wringing profit from the goldless islands; but neither would his dream of the wealth that would accrue from finding a waterway to India have upheld him in his long poverty and deferment. If he had been more rigidly honest and more merciful he would not have butchered the wretched natives and earned the bitter hatred of his subordinates and the suspicion of his superiors as he did; but neither would he have kept two log-books, one of them false, to deceive his crew as to the distance they had gone — he would have listened to their prayers, had pity for their anguish of terror, and turned back to Spain. His vices were but the other side of the pendulum swing of the fierce, unending energy that made him the man he was, and led him to the deed he did.

If mercy is shown to his faults, it should also be shown to the faults of his enemies and his well-meaning opponents. It must be remembered that Columbus promised Spain the vast trade of India and China; and gave Spain a savage wilderness of naked paupers living in jungles that absorbed vast sums of Spain's money and great numbers of Spain's sons. The disappointment was bitter, and as Columbus had made his appeal to Spanish cupidity, by Spanish cupidity he was judged. The adventurers returning in rags and sickness became beggars for the king's charity. When they saw the children of Columbus go about in splendour, they jeered at them as "the sons of the admiral of Mosquitoland — that man who discovered the lands of deceit and regret — a region of graves and misery for the hidalgos of Spain."

To them Columbus was a failure as a discoverer. Even to us his failure as a governor was absolute and dire. He was the fanatic that does one great service to the world and with it outweighs a myriad mistakes and crimes equally fanatic.

In this connection occurs a speculation of some importance as indicating that there is actually some progress in human affairs. What would have been the result for the world if America had not been discovered till two or three

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centuries later? It would undoubtedly have been the worse for Europe in many ways, particularly for the poor and the oppressed who would have been denied the loophole of escape into freedom and ambition and work that was in the largest sense constructive. It would have delayed the uplifting of the common people and the bringing down at least to some extent of the self-declared anointed royalties. It would have held back the establishment of English liberties, to which as before mentioned, the American Revolution contributed largely. It would have at least altered the character, and perhaps prevented the possibility of the French Revolution, which, for all its excesses, was conceived in the spirit of liberty and mercy, and which, after the reaction had taken the Napoleonic form and again subsided, undoubtedly contributed enormously to the betterment of all European and colonial conditions. The later discovery of America after the idea of slavery had been discarded in Europe would have meant much in the history of the United States; it would have made unnecessary the war of the Rebellion, with its destruction of American sea-trade and its loss of at least a million men disabled, killed or dead of disease.

The other side of the picture is the fate of the wretched aboriginals found in America by Europeans. The wrongs they suffered can never be atoned for to them; the atrocities wrought against them by the old-world civilisation (and later in some degree by the new-world civilisation) are an indelible stain on the history of mankind.

It was in many senses a disaster to the world that America was discovered at a period when the Inquisition was filling hearts with a blood-thirst for inflicting pain, taking life, and suppressing thought. It was a double disaster that America should have been discovered by the Spanish in the very midst of their devotion to torture as a fine art, to the revenging of Christ's crucifixion upon the Jews of their own day, and to the waging upon the swart and heretic race of Moors of a ruthless feud under the alias of a holy war. As great good and great evil fought bitterly in the soul of Columbus, so they have fought in the results of his discovery. We may now take up in some detail the account of his origin, his theories, voyages, and their results, without pausing over the voluminous controversies that qualify almost every possible statement concerning his motives and his achievements.[a]

STATE OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE; THE SPIRIT OF MARITIME DISCOVERY

A thousand years had passed away since the barbarous nations of the north of Europe overthrew the Roman Empire of the West, and erected new institutions upon its ruins; yet the science of geography had made but little progress. The western world was still unknown, and the intercourse between Europe and India was carried on through the Red Sea. The spirit of maritime discovery received its first impulse from the kings of Castile, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. These monarchs, in following up their conquests and settlements in the Canary Islands, led the way to further navigations into the Atlantic, in search of new islands in the west. Hence, also, arose the traffic with the African coast, and the splendour and wealth of the city of Seville, the great mart for slaves and other African productions; and hence the extraordinary zeal for nautical adventure along the coast of Andalusia.

The Portuguese, emulous of the glory of their neighbours, entered into the same career, and pursued it with such vigour and perseverance, as to outstrip their precursors, by improving naval science and extending their commerce in a surprising manner. Their ships sailed along the western coast of Africa, and

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at length reached the Cape of Good Hope. Curiosity received a new stimulus from these discoveries; the boundless ocean of the west offered a wide field for speculation. The annals of the Egyptians, contemporary with the most ancient human records; the marvellous narratives of Plato, concerning the Atlantic island, and its mighty monarchs and nations in the western ocean, regained their lost reputation; and the credit which Alexander the Great gave to the opinion of Anaxarchus, respecting the existence of a new world, was now deemed to be well founded.

These notions spread themselves over Europe, from the period of the Spanish conquest of the Canary Islands, as literature and nautical science shed mutual light on each other. A number of ancient manuscripts were brought to light, in which many sayings were found relative to several countries, formerly seen or conjectured to exist in the Atlantic Ocean. What chiefly impressed the minds of men, however, was the large island, abounding with navigable rivers, which, it was said, the Carthaginians had discovered at a distance from the continent, the extraordinary fertility of which had induced them to inhabit it; but the government, afraid that this happy colony might eclipse the mother country, ordered the settlers to evacuate it, and never to return thither under pain of death.

SPANISH EXPLORER

The book in which this account was found bore the name of Aristotle, and its authenticity no person dared to doubt. To the narration of this philosopher several embellishments were added: for instance, that seven Spanish bishops, with a number of Christians, had fled thither, and found an asylum from the persecution of the Moors, the conquerors of Spain, in the eighth century. There were also fabulous, but still credited accounts of Portuguese voyagers who had sailed to that island; and the settlements were soon represented in books and maps under the name of the Seven Towns. At last it was reported that of a quantity of earth, brought from one of these western harbours, the third part was pure gold. This idle legend stimulated several mariners to set out in pursuit of the ore; and though they persisted in vain yet their disappointment was not sufficient to discredit the story; on the contrary, it spread still wider, and the island was actually represented under the name of Antilla on most of the maps of the fifteenth century.

The island of Brandon was not less renowned and stood higher in fable. This name was given to a meteoric appearance which had been observed westward of the Canary Islands; and which induced the inhabitants of the Azores and Madeira, as well as the mariners who sailed to the coast of Africa, to fancy that they saw a country, which, however, only existed in their own imagination. This gave rise to a number of voyages of discovery in the

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western ocean, and not a few by the orders of the court of Portugal. Various pretended discoveries were soon represented on the maps as realities. General maps of the unknown ocean were drawn, and filled with painted islands and continents which no person had really visited or even seen. Notwithstanding this, after the mature consideration of all authorities, maps, and traditions, so little certainty could be attained, nay, even so little probability, that no person would venture to seek discoveries in such a boundless sea, unless he had yielded himself up wholly to the influence of rash credulity.

The ancient Carthaginians, the Arabs of the Middle Ages, and the later adventurers of Portugal and Spain, had made researches in vain for this purpose. The unsuccessful perseverance of the latter seemed to be an evident proof that, if those pretended western countries were really in existence, they were not, however, situated at a convenient distance from those shores to which the seamen, in the existing state of navigation, were under the necessity of returning. As long as this necessity existed, adventurers dared not risk a distant voyage on the Atlantic wave; nor could they be expected to persevere long enough in fruitless, hazardous, and expensive efforts. But now a man appeared, who was born for the achievement of discoveries of incalculable importance to mankind.[cc]

THE EARLY LIFE OF COLUMBUS

Of the early life of Columbus[1] little is known. He was born in Genoa. He was sent by his father, Dominico Colombo, to Pavia, the chief seat of learning in Italy, to prosecute his studies; but these he broke off at the age of fourteen, to commence his naval career — not, however, before he had made extraordinary progress and imbibed a taste for literary cultivation which he preserved during his life. He surpassed his contemporaries in geometry, astronomy, and cosmography, studies which appear to have been peculiarly congenial to his enterprising character. He took part, it seems, in a naval expedition, fitted out at Genoa, by John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, in 1459, against Naples. He subsequently went to Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew found a profitable occupation in constructing sailing-charts for navigators. Portugal was at that time engaged in promoting geographical discovery; and Columbus soon embarked in an arduous voyage to the north, in which he reached the 73rd degree of north latitude, or, as he expresses it, one hundred degrees beyond the Thule of Ptolemy. He made several other voyages to England, it seems, and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal in the Western Ocean; he soon became, in consequence, the most experienced navigator of his time. By taking notes of everything he saw, comparing them with the existing systems of cosmography, and by drawing maps and constructing globes he kept his mind intently fixed on the studies in which he was destined to effect so great a revolution.

While a resident in Lisbon, he married Donna Felipa, the daughter of Bartolomeo Munnis de Perestrello, an Italian cavalier, who had been one of the most distinguished navigators under Prince Henry of Portugal, and had colonised and governed the island of Porto Santo. By this marriage Columbus

[[1] The family name in Italian is Colombo; it was latinised into Columbus by himself, in his earlier letters. He is better known, in Spanish history, as Christoval Colon, having altered his name when he removed to Spain. The date of his birth is uncertain; it was formerly placed about 1436, but most recent investigators incline to a later date. Sixteen towns claim the honor of his nativity, but he named Genoa himself. His father was probably a wool comber. But all his career before his first voyage is rendered vague by the radical discrepancies in the various records.]

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procured access to the charts and papers of Perestrello, and of other experienced navigators connected with his wife's family. In his conversations with the able geographers and pilots whom he found in Lisbon, he consulted them on the possibility of discovering a western passage to the countries of Cathay and Zipangu or Cipango, described by Marco Polo. The theory which he had already formed on this subject received confirmation by certain facts which came to his knowledge.[y]

Pedro Torrea, his wife's relation, had found, on the coast of Porto Santo, pieces of carved wood, evidently not cut with a knife, and which had been carried thither by strong westerly winds; other navigators had picked up in the Atlantic canes of an extraordinary size, and many plants not apparently belonging to the Old World. The bodies of men were found, thrown by the waves on the shore of one of the Azores, who had features differing essentially from those of Africans or Europeans, and who had evidently come from the West.[y]

WASHINGTON IRVING'S ACCOUNT OF COLUMBUS' TRIALS

It is impossible to determine the precise time when Columbus first conceived the design of seeking a western route to India. It is certain, however, that he meditated it as early as the year 1474, though as yet it lay crude and unmatured in his mind. This fact, which is of some importance, is sufficiently established by the correspondence with the learned Toscanelli of Florence, which took place in the summer of that year. The letter of Toscanelli is in reply to one from Columbus, and applauds the design which he had expressed of making a voyage to the west. To demonstrate more clearly the facility of arriving at India in that direction, he sent him a map, projected partly according to Ptolemy, and partly according to the descriptions of Marco Polo, the Venetian. The eastern coast of Asia was depicted in front of the western coasts of Africa and Europe, with a moderate space of ocean between them, in which were placed at convenient distances Cipango, Antilla, and the other islands. This map, by which Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery, Las Casas[dd] says he had in his possession at the time of writing his history. It is greatly to be regretted that so interesting a document should be lost. It may yet exist among the chaotic lumber of the Spanish archives. Few documents of mere curiosity would be more precious.

Columbus was greatly animated by the letter and chart of Toscanelli, who was considered one of the ablest cosmographers of the day. He appears to have procured the work of Marco Polo, which had been translated into various languages, and existed in manuscript in most libraries. This author gives marvellous accounts of the riches of the realms of Cathay and Mangi, or Mangu, since ascertained to be northern and southern China, on the coast of which, according to the map of Toscanelli, a voyager sailing directly west would be sure to arrive. The work of Marco Polo is a key to many parts of Columbus' history. In his applications to the various courts, he represented the countries he expected to discover as those regions of inexhaustible wealth which the Venetian had described. The territories of the grand khan were the objects of inquiry in all his voyages; and in his cruisings among the Antilles, he was continually flattering himself with the hopes of arriving at the opulent island of Cipango, and the coasts of Mangi and Cathay.

While the design of attempting the discovery in the west was maturing in the mind of Columbus, he made a voyage to the north of Europe. Of this we have no other memorial than the following passage, extracted by his son,

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Fernando,[ee] from one of his letters: "In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule, the southern part of which is seventy-three degrees distant from the equator, and not sixty-three, as some pretend: neither is it situated within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. The English, principally those of Bristol, go with their merchandise to this island, which is as large as England. When I was there, the sea was not frozen, and the tides were so great as to rise and fall twenty-six fathoms." The island thus mentioned is generally supposed to have been Iceland, which is far to the west of the Ultima Thule of the ancients, as laid down in the map of Ptolemy.

Columbus is Duped by the Portuguese Court

Several more years elapsed, without any decided efforts on the part of Columbus to carry his design into execution. He was too poor to fit out the armament necessary for so important an expedition. Indeed it was an enterprise only to be undertaken in the employ of some sovereign state, which could assume dominion over the territories he might discover, and reward him with dignities and privileges commensurate to his services. It is asserted that he at one time endeavoured to engage his native country, Genoa, in the undertaking, but without success. No record remains of such an attempt, though it is generally believed, and has strong probability in its favour. His residence in Portugal placed him at hand to solicit the patronage of that power, but Alfonso, who was then on the throne, was too much engrossed in the latter part of his reign with a war with Spain, for the succession of the princess Juana to the crown of Castile, to engage in peaceful enterprises of an expensive nature; the public mind, also, was not prepared for so perilous an undertaking. Notwithstanding the many recent voyages to the coast of Africa and the adjacent islands, and the introduction of the compass into more general use, navigation was still shackled with impediments, and the mariner rarely ventured far out of sight of land.

Discovery advanced slowly along the coasts of Africa, and the mariners feared to cruise far into the southern hemisphere, with the stars of which they were totally unacquainted. To such men, the project of a voyage directly westward, into the midst of that boundless waste, to seek some visionary land, appeared as extravagant as it would be at the present day to launch forth in a balloon into the regions of space, in quest of some distant star. The time, however, was at hand that was to extend the sphere of navigation. The era was propitious to the quick advancement of knowledge. The recent invention of the art of printing enabled men to communicate rapidly and extensively their ideas and discoveries. It drew forth learning from libraries and convents, and brought it familiarly to the reading desk of the student. There was, henceforth, to be no retrogression in knowledge, nor any pause in its career. Every step in advance was immediately, and simultaneously, and widely promulgated, recorded in a thousand forms, and fixed forever. There could never again be a dark age; nations might shut their eyes to the light, and sit in wilful darkness, but they could not trample it out; it would still shine on, dispensed to happier parts of the world, by the diffusive powers of the press.

At this juncture, in 1481, a monarch ascended the throne of Portugal, of different ambition from Alfonso. John II, or João, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age, had imbibed the passion for discovery from his grand-uncle, Prince Henry, and with his reign all its activity revived. The African dis-

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coveries had conferred great glory upon Portugal, but as yet they had been expensive rather than profitable. The accomplishment of the route to India, however, it was expected would repay all cost and toil, and open a source of incalculable wealth to the nation. The project of Prince Henry, which had now been tardily prosecuted for half a century, had excited a curiosity about the remote parts of Asia, and revived all the accounts, true and fabulous, of travellers.

Impatient of the slowness with which his discoveries advanced along the coast of Africa, and of the impediments which every cape and promontory presented to nautical enterprise, João II called in the aid of science to devise some means by which greater scope and certainty might be given to navigation. His two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph, the latter a Jew, the most able astronomers and cosmographers of his kingdom, together with the celebrated Martin Behaim, entered into a learned consultation on the subject. The result of their conferences and labours was the application of the astrolabe to navigation, enabling the seaman, by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain his distance from the equator. This instrument has since been improved and modified into the modern quadrant, of which, even at its first introduction, it possessed all the essential advantages.

It is impossible to describe the effect produced upon navigation by this invention. It cast it loose at once from its long bondage to the land, and set it free to rove the deep. The mariner now, instead of coasting the shores like the ancient navigators, and, if driven from the land, groping his way back in doubt and apprehension by the uncertain guidance of the stars, might adventure boldly into unknown seas, confident of being able to trace his course by means of the compass and the astrolabe.

It was shortly after this event, which had prepared guides for discovery across the trackless ocean, that Columbus made the first attempt, of which we have any clear and indisputable record, to procure royal patronage for his enterprise. Encouraged by the liberality, and by the anxiety evinced by King João II to accomplish a passage by sea to India, Columbus obtained an audience of that monarch, and proposed, in case the king would furnish him with ships and men, to undertake a shorter and more direct route than that along the coast of Africa. His plan was to strike directly to the west, across the Atlantic. He then unfolded his hypothesis with respect to the extent of Asia, describing also the immense riches of the island of Cipango, the first land at which he expected to arrive. Of this audience we have two accounts, written in somewhat of an opposite spirit; one[1] by his son Fernando,[ee] the other by João de Barros[gg] the Portuguese historiographer. It is curious to notice the different views taken of the same transaction by the enthusiastic son, and by the cool, perhaps prejudiced, historian.

The king, according to Fernando, listened to his father with great attention, but was discouraged from engaging in any new scheme of the kind, by the cost and trouble already sustained in exploring the route by the African coast, which as yet remained unaccomplished. His father, however, supported his proposition by such excellent reasons that the king was induced to give his consent. The only difficulty that remained was the terms; for Columbus, being a man of lofty and noble sentiments, demanded high and honourable titles and rewards, to the end, says Fernando, that he might leave behind him a name and family worthy of his deeds and merits.

Barros, on the other hand, attributes the seeming acquiescence of the king

[[1] It is to be noted that there is dispute as to the authenticity of this life of Columbus by his son. Many critics, such as Harrisse,[ff] have claimed that he did not write it. This scepticism is not, however, by any means universal.]

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merely to the importunities of Columbus. He considered him, says the historian, a vain-glorious man, fond of displaying his abilities, and given to fantastic fancies, such as that respecting the island of Cipango. But in fact, this idea of Columbus being vain, was taken up by the Portuguese writers in after years; and as to the island of Cipango, it was far from being considered chimerical by the king, who, as shown by his mission in search of Prester John, was a ready believer in these travellers' tales concerning the East. The reasoning of Columbus must have produced an effect on the mind of the monarch, since it is certain that he referred the proposition to a learned *junto*, charged with all matters relating to maritime discovery.

This scientific body treated the project as extravagant and visionary. Still the king does not appear to have been satisfied. According to his historian Vasconcellos,[hh] he convoked his council, composed of prelates and persons of the greatest learning in the kingdom, and asked their advice, whether to adopt this new route of discovery, or to pursue that which they had already opened. The project of circumnavigating Africa was prosecuted with new ardour and triumphant success: the proposition of Columbus, however, was generally condemned by the council.

Seeing that King João still manifested an inclination for the enterprise, it was suggested to him by the bishop of Ceuta that Columbus might be kept in suspense while a vessel, secretly dispatched in the direction he should point out, might ascertain whether there were any foundation for his theory. By this means all its advantages might be secured, without committing the dignity of the crown by formal negotiations about what might prove a mere chimera. King João, in an evil hour, had the weakness to permit a stratagem so inconsistent with his usual justice and magnanimity. Columbus was required to furnish, for the consideration of the council, a detailed plan of his proposed voyage, with the charts and documents according to which he intended to shape his course. These being procured, a caravel was dispatched with the ostensible design of carrying provisions to the Cape Verd islands; but with private instructions to pursue the designated route. Departing from those islands, the caravel stood westward for several days, until the weather became stormy; when the pilots, seeing nothing but an immeasurable waste of wild tumbling waves still extending before them, lost all courage, and put back, ridiculing the project of Columbus as extravagant and irrational.

This unworthy attempt to defraud him of his enterprise roused the indignation of Columbus, and he declined all offers of King Joao to renew the negotiation. The death of his wife, which had occurred sometime previously, had dissolved the domestic tie which bound him to Portugal; he determined, therefore, to abandon a country where he had been treated with so little faith, and to look elsewhere for patronage. Before his departure, he engaged his brother Bartholomew to carry proposals to the king of England, though he does not appear to have entertained great hope from that quarter — England by no means possessing at the time the spirit of nautical enterprise which has since distinguished her. The great reliance of Columbus was on his own personal exertions.

It was towards the end of 1484 that he left Lisbon, taking with him his son Diego. His departure had to be conducted with secrecy, lest, as some assert, it should be prevented by King João; but lest, as others surmise, it should be prevented by his creditors.[1] Like many other great projectors, while engaged

[[1] This surmise is founded on a letter from King João to Columbus, written some years afterwards, inviting him to return to Portugal, and assuring him against arrest on account of any process, civil or criminal, that might be pending against him. See Navarrete.[ii]]

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upon schemes of vast benefit to mankind, he had suffered his own affairs to go to ruin, and was reduced to struggle hard with poverty; nor is it one of the least interesting circumstances in his eventful life that he had, in a manner, to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world.

Columbus in Spain (1485–1492 A.D.)

The immediate movements of Columbus on leaving Portugal are involved in uncertainty. It is said that about this time he made a proposition of his enterprise, in person, as he had formerly done by letter, to the government of Genoa. The republic, however, was in a languishing decline, and embarrassed by a foreign war. Thus Genoa, disheartened by her reverses, shut her ears to the proposition of Columbus, which might have elevated her to tenfold splendour, and perpetuated within her grasp the golden wand of commerce. While at Genoa, Columbus is said to have made arrangements, out of his scanty means, for the comfort of his aged father. It is also affirmed that about this time he carried his proposal to Venice, where it was declined on account of the critical state of national affairs. This, however, is merely traditional, and unsupported by documentary evidence. The first firm and indisputable trace we have of Columbus after leaving Portugal, is in the south of Spain, in 1485, where we find him seeking his fortune among the Spanish nobles, several of whom had vast possessions, and exercised almost independent sovereignty in their domains.

Columbus had many interviews with the duke of Medina Sidonia, who was tempted, for a time, by the splendid prospects held out; but their very splendour threw a colouring of improbability over the enterprise, and he finally rejected it as the dream of an Italian visionary. The duke of Medina Celi was likewise favourable at the outset, but he suddenly changed his mind. Finding, however, that Columbus intended to make his next application to the king of France, and loth that an enterprise of such importance should be lost to Spain, the duke wrote to Queen Isabella, recommending it strongly to her attention. The queen made a favourable reply, and requested that Columbus might be sent to her. He accordingly set out for the Spanish court, then at Cordova, bearing a letter to the queen from the duke, soliciting that, in case the expedition should be carried into effect, he might have a share in it, and the fitting out of the armament from his port of St. Mary, as a recompense for having waived the enterprise in favour of the crown.

The time when Columbus thus sought his fortunes at the court of Spain coincided with one of the most brilliant periods of the Spanish monarchy. The union of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, had consolidated the Christian power in the peninsula, and put an end to those internal feuds, which had so long distracted the country, and insured the domination of the Moslems. The whole force of united Spain was now exerted in the chivalrous enterprise of the Moorish conquest. Ferdinand and Isabella, it has been remarked, lived together not like man and wife, whose estates are common, under the orders of the husband, but like two monarchs strictly allied. They had separate claims to sovereignty, in virtue of their respective kingdoms; they had separate councils, and were often distant from each other in different parts of their empire, each exercising the royal authority. Yet they were so happily united by common views, common interests, and a great deference for each other, that this double administration never prevented a unity of purpose and of action. All acts of sovereignty were

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executed in both their names; all public writings were subscribed with both their signatures; their likenesses were stamped together on the public coin; and the royal seal displayed the united arms of Castile and Aragon.

When Columbus arrived at Cordova, he was given in charge to Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the treasury of Castile. This was an unpropitious moment to urge a suit like that of Columbus. In fact the sovereigns had not a moment of leisure throughout this eventful year.

While thus lingering in idle suspense in Cordova, he became attached to a lady of the city, Beatrix Enriquez by name, of a noble family, though in reduced circumstances. Their connection was not sanctioned by marriage; yet he cherished sentiments of respect and tenderness for her to his dying day. She was the mother of his second son, Fernando, born in the following year (1487), whom he always treated on terms of perfect equality with his legitimate son Diego, and who after his death became his historian.

In the winter, Columbus followed the court to Salamanca. Here his zealous friend, Alonzo de Quintanilla, exerted his influence to obtain for him the countenance of the celebrated Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo and grand cardinal of Spain. This was the most important personage about the court; and was facetiously called by Peter Martyr, the "third king of Spain." Through his representations Columbus at length obtained admission to the royal presence. We have but scanty particulars of this audience, nor can we ascertain whether Queen Isabella was present on the occasion; the contrary seems to be most probably the case.

Ferdinand was cool and wary, and would not trust his own judgment. He determined to take the opinion of the most learned men in the kingdom, and to be guided by their decision. Fernando de Talavera, prior of the monastery of Prado and confessor of the queen, one of the most erudite men of Spain, and high in the royal confidence, was commanded to assemble the most learned astronomers and cosmographers for the purpose of holding a conference with Columbus, and examining him as to the grounds on which he founded his proposition. After they had informed themselves fully on the subject, they were to consult together, and make a report to the sovereign of their collective opinion.

Columbus Before the Council of Salamanca

The interesting conference relative to the proposition of Columbus took place in Salamanca, the great seat of learning in Spain. It was held in the Dominican convent of St. Stephen, in which he was lodged and entertained with great hospitality during the course of the examination. Religion and science were at that time, and more especially in that country, closely associated. The treasures of learning were immured in monasteries, and the professors' chairs were exclusively filled from the cloister. The domination of the clergy extended over the state as well as the church, and posts of honour and influence at court, with the exception of hereditary nobles, were almost entirely confined to ecclesiastics. The era was distinguished for the revival of learning, but still more for the prevalence of religious zeal, and Spain surpassed all other countries of Christendom in the fervour of her devotion. The Inquisition had just been established in that kingdom, and every opinion that savoured of heresy exposed its owner to odium and persecution.

Such was the period when a council of clerical sages was convened in the collegiate convent of St. Stephen, to investigate the new theory of Columbus. It was composed of professors of astronomy, geography, mathematics, and

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other branches of science, together with various dignitaries of the church, and learned friars. Before this erudite assembly, Columbus presented himself to propound and defend his conclusions. Columbus appeared in a most unfavourable light before a scholastic body: an obscure navigator, a member of no learned institution, destitute of all the trappings and circumstances which sometimes give oracular authority to dulness, and depending upon the mere force of natural genius. Some of the *junto* entertained the popular notion that he was an adventurer, or at best a visionary; and others had that morbid impatience of any innovation upon established doctrine, which is apt to grow upon dull and pedantic men in cloistered life. What a striking spectacle must the hall of the old convent have presented at this memorable conference! A simple mariner, standing forth in the midst of an imposing array of professors, friars, and dignitaries of the church; maintaining his theory with natural eloquence, and, as it were, pleading the cause of the New World.

Several of the objections proposed by this learned body have been handed down to us, and have provoked many a sneer at the expense of the University of Salamanca; but they are proofs, not so much of the peculiar deficiency of that institution, as of the imperfect state of science at the time, and the manner in which knowledge, though rapidly extending, was still impeded in its progress by monastic bigotry.

Thus, at the very threshold of the discussion, instead of geographical objections, Columbus was assailed with citations from the Bible and the Testament: the book of Genesis, the psalms of David, the prophets, the epistles, and the gospels. To these were added the expositions of various saints and reverend commentators: St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Gregory, St. Basil and St. Ambrose, and Lactantius Firmianus, a redoubted champion of the faith. Doctrinal points were mixed up with philosophical discussions, and a mathematical demonstration was allowed no weight, if it appeared to clash with a text of Scripture, or a commentary of one of the fathers. Thus the possibility of antipodes, in the southern hemisphere, an opinion so generally maintained by the wisest of the ancients, as to be pronounced by Pliny[jj] the great contest between the learned and the ignorant, became a stumbling-block with some of the sages of Salamanca. Several of them stoutly contradicted this fundamental position of Columbus, supporting themselves by quotations from Lactantius and St. Augustine, who were considered in those days as almost evangelical authority. But, though these writers were men of consummate erudition, and two of the greatest luminaries of what has been called the golden age of ecclesiastical learning, yet their writings were calculated to perpetuate darkness in respect to the sciences.

The passage cited from Lactantius[kk] to confute Columbus, is in a strain of gross ridicule, unworthy of so grave a theologian. "Is there any one so foolish," he asks, "as to believe that there are antipodes with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upward, and their heads hanging down? That there is a part of the world in which all things are topsy-turvy: where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward? The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes, with their heels in the air; for these philosophers having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another."

Objections of a graver nature were advanced on the authority of St. Augustine. He pronounces the doctrine of antipodes to be incompatible with the historical foundations of our faith; since to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe would be to maintain that

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there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean. This would be, therefore, to discredit the Bible, which expressly declares that all men are descended from one common parent. Such were the unlooked-for prejudices which Columbus had to encounter at the very outset of his conference. To his simplest proposition, the spherical form of the earth, were opposed figurative texts of Scripture. They observed that in *Psalm* 104, verse 3, the heavens are said to be extended like a hide, that is, according to commentators, the curtain or covering of a tent which, among the ancient pastoral nations, was formed of the hides of animals; and that St. Paul, in his *Epistle to the Hebrews*, compares the heavens to a tabernacle, or tent, extended over the earth, which they thence inferred must be flat.

Columbus, who was a devoutly religious man, found that he was in danger of being convicted not merely of error but of heterodoxy. Others more versed in science admitted the globular form of the earth, and the possibility of an opposite and habitable hemisphere; but they brought up the chimera of the ancients, and maintained that it would be impossible to arrive there, in consequence of the insupportable heat of the torrid zone. Even granting this could be passed, they observed that the circumference of the earth must be so great as to require at least three years to the voyage, and those who should undertake it must perish of hunger and thirst, from the impossibility of carrying provisions for so long a period. He was told, on the authority of Epicurus, that admitting the earth to be spherical, it was only inhabitable in the northern hemisphere, and in that section only was canopied by the heavens; that the opposite half was a chaos, a gulf, or a mere waste of water. Not the least absurd objection advanced was, that should a ship even succeed in reaching in this way, the extremity of India, she could never get back again; for the rotundity of the globe would present a kind of mountain, up which it would be impossible for her to sail with the most favourable wind. Such are specimens of the errors and prejudices, the mingled ignorance and erudition, and the pedantic bigotry, with which Columbus had to contend throughout the examination of his theory. Can we wonder at the difficulties and delays which he experienced at courts, when such vague and crude notions were entertained by the learned men of a university?

There were no doubt objections advanced more cogent in their nature, and more worthy of that distinguished university. It is but justice to add, also, that the replies of Columbus had great weight with many of his learned examiners. In answer to the Scriptural objections, he submitted that the inspired writers were not speaking technically as cosmographers, but figuratively, in language addressed to all comprehensions. The commentaries of the fathers he treated with deference as pious homilies, but not as philosophical propositions which it was necessary either to admit or refute. The objections drawn from ancient philosophers he met boldly and ably upon equal terms; for he was deeply studied on all points of cosmography. He showed that the most illustrious of those sages believed both hemispheres to be inhabitable, though they imagined that the torrid zone precluded communication; and he obviated conclusively that difficulty; for he had voyaged to St. George la Miña in Guinea, almost under the equinoctial line, and had found that region not merely traversable, but abounding in population, in fruits and pasturage.

When Columbus took his stand before this learned body, he had appeared the plain and simple navigator; somewhat daunted, perhaps, by the greatness of his task, and the august nature of his auditory. But he had a degree of religious feeling which gave him a confidence in the execution of what he con-

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ceived his great errand, and he was of an ardent temperament that became heated in action by its own generous fires. Las Casas,[dd] and others of his contemporaries, have spoken of his commanding person, his elevated demeanour, his air of authority, his kindling eye, and the persuasive intonations of his voice. How must they have given majesty and force to his words, as, casting aside his maps and charts, and discarding for a time his practical and scientific lore, his visionary spirit took fire at the doctrinal objections of his opponents, and he met them upon their own ground, pouring forth those magnificent texts of Scripture, and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which, in his enthusiastic moments, he considered as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed! One great difficulty was to reconcile the plan of Columbus with the cosmography of Ptolemy, to which all scholars yielded implicit faith. How would the most enlightened of those sages have been astonished, had any one apprised them that the man, Copernicus, was then in existence, whose solar system should reverse the grand theory of Ptolemy, which stationed the earth in the centre of the universe.

Columbus the Victim of Spanish Procrastination

The Castilian court departed from Salamanca early in the spring of 1487 and repaired to Cordova, to prepare for the memorable campaign against Malaga. Fernando de Talavera, later Bishop of Avila, accompanied the queen as her confessor, and as one of her spiritual counsellors in the concerns of the war. The consultations of the board at Salamanca were interrupted by this event, before that learned body could come to a decision, and for a long time Columbus was kept in suspense, vainly awaiting the report that was to decide the fate of his application.

It has generally been supposed that the several years which he wasted in irksome solicitation, were spent in the drowsy and monotonous attendance of antechambers; but it appears on the contrary, that they were often passed amidst scenes of peril and adventure, and that, in following up his suit, he was led into some of the most striking situations of this wild, rugged, and mountainous war. Several times he was summoned to attend conferences in the vicinity of the sovereigns, when besieging cities in the very heart of the Moorish dominions; but the tempest of warlike affairs, which hurried the court from place to place and gave it all the bustle and confusion of a camp, prevented those conferences from taking place, and swept away all concerns that were not immediately connected with the war. Whenever the court had an interval of leisure and repose, there would again be manifested a disposition to consider his proposal, but the hurry and tempest would again return and the question be again swept away.

Wearied and discouraged by these delays, he began to think of applying elsewhere for patronage, and appears to have commenced negotiations with King João II for a return to Portugal. He wrote to that monarch on the subject, and received a letter in reply dated the 20th of March, 1488, inviting him to return to his court, and assuring him of protection from any suits of either a civil or criminal nature, that might be pending against him. He received, also, a letter from Henry VII of England, inviting him to that country, and holding out promises of encouragement. There must have been strong hopes, authorised about this time by the conduct of the Spanish sovereigns, to induce Columbus to neglect these invitations; and we find ground for such a supposition in a memorandum of a sum of money paid to him by the

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treasurer Gonzalez, to enable him to comply with a summons to attend the Castilian court.

During this long course of solicitation he supported himself, in part, by making maps and charts, and was occasionally assisted by the purse of the worthy friar Diego de Deza. It is due to the sovereigns to say, also, that whenever he was summoned to follow the movements of the court, or to attend any appointed consultation, he was attached to the royal suite, and lodgings were provided for him and sums issued to defray his expenses. During all this time he was exposed to continual scoffs and indignities, being ridiculed by the light and ignorant as a mere dreamer, and stigmatised by the illiberal as an adventurer. The very children, it is said, pointed to their foreheads as he passed, being taught to regard him as a kind of madman. The summer of 1490 passed away, but still Columbus was kept in tantalising and tormenting suspense. The subsequent winter was not more propitious. He was wearied, if not incensed, at the repeated postponements he had experienced, by which several years had been consumed. He now pressed for a decisive reply with an earnestness that would not admit of evasion. Fernando de Talavera, therefore, was called upon by the sovereigns to hold a definitive conference with the scientific men to whom the project had been referred, and to make a report of their decision. The bishop tardily complied, and at length reported to their majesties, as the general opinion of the *junto*, that the proposed scheme was vain and impossible, and that it did not become such great princes to engage in an enterprise of the kind on such weak grounds as had been advanced.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable report, the sovereigns were unwilling to close the door upon a project which might be productive of such important advantages. Fernando de Talavera was commanded to inform Columbus, who was still at Cordova, that the great cares and expenses of the wars rendered it impossible for the sovereigns to engage in any new enterprise; but that when the war was concluded they would have both time and inclination to treat with him about what he proposed. This was but a starved reply to receive after so many days of weary attendance, anxious expectations, and deferred hope; Columbus was unwilling to receive it at second hand, and repaired to the court at Seville to learn his fate from the lips of the sovereigns. Their reply was virtually the same, declining to engage in the enterprise for the present, but holding out hopes of patronage when relieved from the cares and expenses of the war. Renouncing all further confidence, therefore, in vague promises, which had so often led to disappointment, and giving up all hopes of countenance from the throne, he turned his back upon Seville, indignant at the thoughts of having been beguiled out of so many precious years of waning existence.

Columbus Turns His Back on the Court

About half a league from the little sea-port of Palos de Moguer in Andalusia there stood, and continues to stand at the present day, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida. One day a stranger on foot, in humble guise, but of a distinguished air, accompanied by a small boy, stopped at the gate of the convent, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. While receiving this humble refreshment, the prior of the convent, Juan Perez de Marchena, happening to pass by, was struck with the appearance of the stranger, and observing from his air and accent that he was a foreigner, entered into conversation with him, and soon

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learned the particulars of his story. That stranger was Columbus. He was on his way to the neighbouring town of Huelva, to seek his brother-in-law, who had married a sister of his deceased wife.

The prior was a man of extensive information. He was greatly interested by the conversation of Columbus, and struck with the grandeur of his views. When he found, however, that the voyager was on the point of abandoning Spain to seek patronage in the court of France, and that so important an enterprise was about to be lost forever to the country, the patriotism of the good friar took the alarm. Several conferences took place at the convent, at which several of the veteran mariners of Palos were present. Among these was Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the head of a family of wealthy and experienced navigators of the place, celebrated for their adventurous expeditions. Facts were related by some of these navigators in support of the theory of Columbus. In a word, his project was treated with a deference in the quiet cloisters of La Rabida and among the seafaring men of Palos which had been sought in vain among the sages and philosophers of the court. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, especially, was so convinced of its feasibility that he offered to engage in it with purse and person, and to bear the expenses of Columbus in a renewed application to the court.

Isabella had always been favourably disposed to the proposition of Columbus. She wrote in reply to a letter from Juan Perez, requesting that he would repair immediately to the court, leaving Christopher Columbus in confident hope until he should hear further from her. She was moved by the representations of Juan Perez. The queen requested that Columbus might be again sent to her, and, with the kind considerateness which characterised her, bethinking herself of his poverty, and his humble plight, ordered that twenty thousand maravedies [about £14 and equivalent to £43 to-day] in florins should be forwarded to him, to bear his travelling expenses, to provide him with a mule for his journey, and to furnish him with decent raiment, that he might make a respectable appearance at the court.

When Columbus arrived at the court, he experienced a favourable reception, and was given in hospitable charge to his steady friend Alonzo de Quintanilla, the accountant-general. The moment, however, was too eventful for his business to receive immediate attention. He arrived in time to witness the memorable surrender of Granada to the Spanish arms. He beheld Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, sally forth from the Alhambra, and yield up the keys of that favourite seat of Moorish power; while the king and queen, with all the chivalry, and rank, and magnificence of Spain, moved forward in proud and solemn procession, to receive this token of submission. It was one of the most brilliant triumphs in Spanish history. After nearly eight hundred years of painful struggle, the crescent was completely cast down, the cross exalted in its place, and the standard of Spain was seen floating on the highest tower of the Alhambra. The whole court and army were abandoned to jubilee.

The war with the Moors was at an end, Spain was delivered from its intruders, and its sovereigns might securely turn their views to foreign enterprise. They kept their word with Columbus. Persons of confidence were appointed to negotiate with him, among whom was Fernando de Talavera, who, by the recent conquest, had risen to be archbishop of Granada. At the very outset of their negotiation, however, unexpected difficulties arose. So fully imbued was Columbus with the grandeur of his enterprise that he would listen to none but princely conditions. His principal stipulation was, that he should be invested with the titles and privileges of admiral and viceroy over

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ISABELLA OFFERING TO PLEDGE HER JEWELS TO AID COLUMBUS
(From the painting by A. Muñoz Degrain)

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the countries he should discover, with one-tenth of all gains, either by trade or conquest. The courtiers who treated with him were indignant at such a demand. Their pride was shocked to see one, whom they had considered as a needy adventurer, aspiring to rank and dignities superior to their own. One observed with a sneer that it was a shrewd arrangement which he proposed, whereby he was secure, at all events, of the honour of a command, and had nothing to lose in case of failure. To this Columbus promptly replied by offering to furnish one-eighth of the cost, on condition of enjoying an eighth of the profits. To do this, he no doubt calculated on the proffered assistance of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the wealthy navigator of Palos.

His terms, however, were pronounced inadmissible. Fernando de Talavera had always considered Columbus a dreaming speculator, or a needy applicant for bread; but to see this man, who had for years been an indigent and threadbare solicitor in his antechamber, assuming so lofty a tone, and claiming an office that approached to the awful dignity of the throne, excited the astonishment as well as the indignation of the prelate. More moderate conditions were offered to Columbus, and such as appeared highly honourable and advantageous. It was all in vain; he would not cede one point of his demands, and the negotiation was broken off.

It is impossible not to admire the great constancy of purpose and loftiness of spirit displayed by Columbus, ever since he had conceived the sublime idea of his discovery. More than eighteen years had elapsed since his correspondence with Paulo Toscanelli of Florence, wherein he had announced his design. The greatest part of that time had been consumed in applications at various courts. During that period what poverty, neglect, ridicule, contumely, and disappointment had he not suffered! Nothing, however, could shake his perseverance, nor make him descend to terms which he considered beneath the dignity of his enterprise. In all his negotiations he forgot his present obscurity, he forgot his present indigence; his ardent imagination realised the magnitude of his contemplated discoveries, and he felt himself negotiating about empire.

Though so large a portion of his life had worn away in fruitless solicitings; though there was no certainty that the same weary career was not to be entered upon at any other court; yet so indignant was he at the repeated disappointments he had experienced in Spain, that he determined to abandon it for ever, rather than compromise his demands. Taking leave of his friends, therefore, he mounted his mule, and sallied forth from Santa Fé in the beginning of February, 1492, on his way to Cordova, whence he intended to depart immediately for France.[z]

COLUMBUS' FIRST VOYAGE (1492 A.D.)

St. Angel and Quintanilla, by their earnest and powerful intercessions with Queen Isabella, induced her to despatch a messenger for Columbus' recall. The queen, moved by the eloquence of St. Angel, adopted the scheme with enthusiasm, and even offered to pledge her jewels to raise the necessary funds. It was an act every way worthy of her noble character. But the funds were raised without having recourse to Isabella's generosity; and arrangements were speedily entered into for fitting out the expedition.

On the 17th of April, 1492, were signed the articles of agreement by which Columbus received from the sovereigns the hereditary titles of admiral and viceroy, in all the seas, lands, and islands which he should discover. He was entitled also to reserve for himself one tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other articles and merchandises, in whatever manner found,

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bought, bartered, or gained within his admiralty, the costs being first deducted; and he was permitted to contribute an eighth part of the expense of the expedition, and to receive an eighth part of the profits.

On the 12th of May, he proceeded to the port of Palos, to fit out the armament. Three vessels were prepared for the voyage. The largest, which was decked, was called the *Santa Maria*, and on board of this ship Columbus hoisted his flag. The second, called the *Pinta*, was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The third, called the *Niña*, had lateen sails, and was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Yanez Pinzon. There were three other pilots, an inspector-general of the armament, a chief *alguazil*, and a royal notary. The expedition was also provided with a physician and a surgeon, and was accompanied by various private adventurers, together with several servants, and ninety mariners — making, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.

On Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, the expedition sailed. They directed their course to the Canary Islands, where they were delayed for some time in consequence of an injury done to the rudder of the *Pinta*. On the 6th of September, they left the Canaries; and that may be regarded as the first day of the most memorable voyage which has ever been undertaken. The winds were at first light, and little way was made; the second day, the fleet lost sight of land. The companions of Columbus, who were now advancing over the ocean, unable to conjecture the termination of their voyage, began to feel astonished at the boldness of the enterprise. Many of them shed tears and broke into loud lamentations, believing that they should never return. Columbus endeavoured to console them and inspire them with new courage.

On the 11th of September, when they were a hundred and fifty leagues from the island of Ferro, they found the mast of a ship, which seemed to have been brought there by the current. Columbus made daily observations on the meridian altitude of the sun, and he was the first to observe the variation of the magnetic needle, a phenomenon which occasioned considerable alarm among his people, and which he found himself under the necessity of explaining by a plausible theory of his own, in order to calm their apprehensions. On the 15th, three hundred leagues from the island of Ferro, during a dead calm, they saw a fire-ball strike the sea, about five leagues ahead of the fleet, one of the meteors of very common occurrence in the tropical regions.

Hitherto the wind had blown constantly from the east; the seamen, observing this fact, thought that it would be impossible for them ever to return to Spain. On the following day they saw some birds, which revived their hopes, as they were supposed to be of a species that never went more than twenty leagues from the land. The sea soon after seemed covered with marine plants, which had the appearance of having been recently detached from the rocks on which they had grown; and the men were convinced that land could not be far distant. On the 18th, Alonzo Pinzon, who sailed ahead told Columbus that he had seen a multitude of birds in the west, and that he thought he had discerned land towards the north. As his vessel was a fast sailer, he crowded canvas and kept in the advance.

Columbus had taken the precaution of keeping secret the true reckoning of the distance passed over, while he kept a false reckoning for the inspection of his companions, which made the distance considerably less; but, notwithstanding this deception, the people were now growing extremely uneasy at the length of the voyage. The admiral endeavoured in every way to soothe their rising fears, sometimes by arguments and expostulations, sometimes by awakening fresh hopes, and pointing out new signs of land. Light breezes

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from the southwest springing up on the 20th of September, had a cheering effect on the people, as they proved that the wind did not always prevail in the same direction. Three days later a whale was observed, heaving up his huge form at a distance, which Columbus pointed out as an indication of the proximity of land. The prevalence of calms, however, and the great quantities of sea-weed which they encountered, retarding the course of the ships, occasioned fresh alarm. Columbus reasoned, expostulated, and promised in vain. The men were too much under the influence of terror to listen to reason. The more Columbus argued the more boisterous became their murmurs, until there came a heavy swell of the sea unaccompanied by wind. This, fortunately, dispelled the terrors occasioned by the previous dead calm.

On the 25th of September, while Columbus, with his officers, was studying a map and endeavouring to make out from it their position, they were aroused by a shout from the *Pinta*, and looking up, beheld Martin Alonzo Pinzon, mounted on the stern of his vessel, who cried with a loud voice, "Land! land! Señor, I claim my reward!"[1] pointing at the same time to the southwest, where there was indeed an appearance of land, at about twenty-five leagues distance. Columbus threw himself upon his knees and returned thanks to God, and Martin Alonzo repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in which he was loudly joined by the crews of the ships. They changed their course, and sailed all night in the same direction. At daylight all eyes were turned in that quarter; but the supposed land, which had caused so much joy, had disappeared, and they found that they had been deceived by the appearance of clouds on the horizon. The direct course to the west was again resumed.

The crews soon relapsed into their former despondency. Nevertheless, the multitude of birds which they saw continually flying about the ships, the pieces of wood which they picked up, and many other symptoms of land prevented them from giving themselves wholly up to despair. Columbus, in the midst of so much uneasiness and dejection, remained calm and self-possessed.

After the 1st of October, the birds having been observed to fly directly across their course, the sailors supposed them to have been passing from one island to another, and they wished to turn to the right or the left, to find the shores which they supposed to lie in those directions; but Columbus refused to abandon his theory, and held on his western course. His firmness excited among the men a spirit of revolt more formidable than ever; but on the 4th of October the indications of land increased, the birds flew so near the ships that a seaman killed one with a stone, and their hopes again revived.y Eager to obtain the promised pension, the seamen were continually giving the cry of land, on the least appearance of the kind. To put a stop to these false alarms, which produced continual disappointments, Columbus declared that should any one give such notice, and land not be discovered within three days afterwards, he should thenceforth forfeit all claim to the reward.

On the morning of the 7th of October, at sunrise, several of the admiral's crew thought they beheld land in the west, but so indistinctly that no one ventured to proclaim it, lest he should be mistaken, and forfeit all chance of the reward: the *Niña*, however, being a good sailer, pressed forward to ascertain the fact. In a little while a flag was hoisted at her mast-head, and a gun discharged, being the preconcerted signals for land. New joy was awakened throughout the little squadron, and every eye was turned to the west. As they advanced, however, their cloud-built hopes faded away, and before evening the fancied land had again melted into air.

[[1] A pension of 30 crowns had been promised by the sovereigns to the first man who should discover land.]

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The crews now sank into a degree of dejection proportioned to their recent excitement; but new circumstances occurred to arouse them. Columbus, having observed great flights of small field-birds going towards the southwest, concluded they must be secure of some neighbouring land, where they would find food and a resting place. He knew the importance which the Portuguese voyagers attached to the flight of birds, by following which they had discovered most of their islands. He had now come seven hundred and fifty leagues, the distance at which he had computed to find the island of Cipango; as there was no appearance of it, he might have missed it through some mistake in the latitude. He determined, therefore, on the evening of the 7th of October, to alter his course to the west southwest, the direction in which the birds generally flew, and continue that direction for at least two days. After all, it was no great deviation from his main course, and would meet the wishes of the Pinzons, as well as be inspiriting to his followers generally.

For three days they stood in this direction, and the further they went the more frequent and encouraging were the signs of land. Flights of small birds of various colours, some of them such as sing in the fields, came flying about the ships, and then continued towards the southwest, and others were heard also flying by in the night. Tunny fish played about the smooth sea, and a heron, a pelican, and a duck were seen, all bound in the same direction. The herbage which floated by was fresh and green, as if recently from land, and the air, Columbus observes, was sweet and fragrant as April breezes in Seville.

All these, however, were regarded by the crews as so many delusions beguiling them on to destruction; and when, on the evening of the third day, they beheld the sun go down upon a shoreless horizon, they broke forth into turbulent clamour: They exclaimed against his obstinacy in tempting fate by continuing on into a boundless sea. They insisted upon turning home, and abandoning the voyage as hopeless. Columbus endeavoured to pacify them by gentle words and promises of large rewards; but finding that they only increased in clamour, he assumed a decided tone. He told them it was useless to murmur, the expedition had been sent by the sovereigns to seek the Indies, and, happen what might, he was determined to persevere, until, by the blessing of God, he should accomplish the enterprise.[1]

[1] It has been asserted by various historians, that Columbus, a day or two previous to coming in sight of the New World, capitulated with his mutinous crew, promising, if he did not discover land within three days, to abandon the voyage. There is no authority for such an assertion, either in the history of his son Fernando[cc] or that of the bishop Las Casas,[dd] each of whom had the admiral's papers before him. There is no mention of such a circumstance in the extracts made from the journal by Las Casas, which have recently been brought to light; nor is it asserted by either Peter Martyr[ll] or the curate of Los Palacios, Bernaldez,[mm] both contemporaries and acquaintances of Columbus, who could scarcely have failed to mention so striking a fact, if true. It rests merely upon the authority of Oviedo[nn] who is of inferior credit to either of the authors above cited, and was grossly misled as to many of the particulars of this voyage by a pilot of the name of Hernan Perez Matheo, who was hostile to Columbus. In the manuscript process of the memorable lawsuit between Don Diego, son of the admiral, and the fiscal of the crown, is the evidence of one Pedro de Bilbao, who testifies that he heard many times that some of the pilots and mariners wished to turn back, but that the admiral promised them presents, and entreated them to wait two or three days, before which time he should discover land. ("Pedro de Bilbao oyo muchas veces que algunos pilotos y marineros querian volverse sino fuerra por el Almirante que les prometio donos, les rogó esperasen dos ó tres dias I que antes del termino descubriera tierra.") This, if true, implies no capitulation to relinquish the enterprise. On the other hand, it was asserted by some of the witnesses in the above-mentioned suit that Columbus, after having proceeded some few hundred leagues without finding land, lost confidence and wished to turn back; but was persuaded and even piqued to continue by the Pinzons. This assertion carries falsehood on its very face. It is in total contradiction to that persevering constancy and undaunted resolution displayed by Columbus, not merely in the present voyage, but from first to last of his difficult and dangerous career. This testimony was given by some of the mutinous men, anxious to exaggerate the merits of the

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Columbus was now at open defiance with his crew, and his situation became desperate. Fortunately the manifestations of the vicinity of land were such on the following day as no longer to admit a doubt. Beside a quantity of fresh weeds, such as grow in rivers, they saw a green fish of a kind which keeps about rocks; then a branch of thorn with berries on it, and recently separated from the tree, floated by them; then they picked up a reed, a small board, and, above all, a staff artificially carved. All gloom and mutiny now gave way to sanguine expectation; and throughout the day each one was eagerly on the watch, in hopes of being the first to discover the long-sought-for land.

In the evening, when, according to invariable custom on board of the admiral's ship, the mariners had sung the *Salve regina*, or vesper hymn to the Virgin, he made an impressive address to his crew. He thought it probable they would make land that very night; he ordered, therefore, a vigilant look-out to be kept from the forecastle, promising to whosoever should make the discovery a doublet of velvet, in addition to the pension to be given by the sovereigns.

The breeze had been fresh all day, with more sea than usual, and they had made great progress. At sunset they had stood again to the west, and were ploughing the waves at a rapid rate, the *Pinta* keeping the lead from her superior sailing. The greatest animation prevailed throughout the ships; not an eye was closed that night. As the evening darkened, Columbus took his station on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel, ranging his eye along the dusky horizon, and maintaining an intense and unremitting watch. About ten o'clock he thought he beheld a light glimmering at a great distance. Fearing his eager hopes might deceive him, he called to Pedro Gutierrez, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and inquired whether he saw such a light; the latter replied in the affirmative. Doubtful whether it might not yet be some delusion of the fancy, Columbus called Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and made the same inquiry. By the time the latter had ascended the round-house, the light had disappeared. They saw it once or twice afterwards in sudden and passing gleams, as if it were a torch in the bark of a fisherman, rising and sinking with the waves, or in the hand of some person on shore, borne up and down as he walked from house to house. So transient and uncertain were these gleams that few attached any importtance to them; Columbus, however, considered them as certain signs of land, and, moreover, that the land was inhabited.

They continued their course until two in the morning, when a gun from the *Pinta* gave the joyful signal of land. It was first descried by a mariner named Rodrigo de Triana; but the reward was afterwards adjudged to the admiral, for having previously perceived the light. The land was now clearly seen about two leagues distant, whereupon they took in sail, and lay-to, waiting impatiently for the dawn.

The thoughts and feeling of Columbus in this little space of time must have been tumultuous and intense. At length, in spite of every difficulty and danger, he had accomplished his object. The great mystery of the ocean was revealed; his theory, which had been the scoff of sages, was triumphantly established; he had secured to himself a glory durable as the world itself.

It is difficult to conceive the feelings of such a man, at such a moment, or the conjectures which must have thronged upon his mind, as to the land

Pinzons, and to depreciate that of Columbus. Fortunately, the extracts from the journal of the latter, written from day to day with guileless simplicity, and all the air of truth, disprove these fables, and show that on the very day previous to his discovery he expressed a peremptory determination to persevere. in defiance of all dangers and difficulties.

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before him, covered with darkness. That it was fruitful, was evident from the vegetables which floated from its shores. He thought, too, that he perceived the fragrance of aromatic groves. The moving light he had beheld proved it the residence of man. But what were its inhabitants? Were they like those of the other parts of the globe, or were they some strange and monstrous race, such as the imagination was prone in those times to give to all remote and unknown regions? Had he come upon some wild island far in the Indian Sea, or was this the famed Cipango itself, the object of his golden fancies? A thousand speculations of the kind must have swarmed upon him, as, with his anxious crews, he waited for the night to pass away; wondering whether the morning light would reveal a savage wilderness, or dawn upon spicy groves, and glittering fanes, and gilded cities, and all the splendour of oriental civilisation.

It was on Friday morning, the 12th of October, that Columbus first beheld the New World. As the day dawned he saw before him a level island, several leagues in extent, and covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though apparently uncultivated, it was populous, for the inhabitants were seen issuing from all parts of the woods and running to the shore. They were perfectly naked, and, as they stood gazing at the ships, appeared by their attitudes and gestures to be lost in astonishment. Columbus made signal for the ships to cast anchor, and the boats to be manned and armed. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and holding the royal standard; whilst Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vincent Yañez his brother, put off in company in their boats, each with a banner of the enterprise emblazoned with a green cross, having on either side the letters F and Y, the initials of the Castilian monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, surmounted by crowns.

As he approached the shore, Columbus, who was disposed for all kinds of agreeable impressions, was delighted with the purity and suavity of the atmosphere, the crystal transparency of the sea, and the extraordinary beauty of the vegetation. He beheld, also, fruits of an unknown kind upon the trees which overhung the shores. On landing he threw himself on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, whose hearts indeed overflowed with the same feelings of gratitude. Columbus then rising drew his sword, displayed the royal standard and assembling round him the two captains, with Rodrigo de Escobedo, notary ot the armament, Rodrigo Sanchez, and the rest who had landed, he took solemn possession in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. Having complied with the requisite forms and ceremonies, he called upon all present to take the oath of obedience to him, as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns.[1]

The feelings of the crew now burst forth in the most extravagant transports. They had recently considered themselves devoted men, hurrying forward to destruction; they now looked upon themselves as favourites of fortune, and gave themselves up to the most unbounded joy. They thronged around the admiral with overflowing zeal, some embracing him, others kissing his hands. Those who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage, were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favours of him, as if he had already wealth and honours in his gift. Many abject spirits,

[1] Claudio Clemente[oo] has conserved a form of prayer, said to have been used by Columbus on this occasion, and which, by order of the Castilian sovereigns, was afterwards used by Balboa, Cortez, and Pizarro in their discoveries: "*Domine Deus æterne et omnipotens, sacro tuo verbo cœlum, et terrum, et marc creasti; benedicatur et glorificetur nomen tuum, laudetur tua majestas, quæ dignita est per humilem servum tuum, ut ejus sacrum nomen agnoscatur, et prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte.*"

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who had outraged him by their insolence, now crouched at his feet, begging pardon for all the trouble they had caused him, and promising the blindest obedience for the future.

The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they had beheld the ships hovering on their coast, had supposed them monsters which had issued from the deep during the night. They had crowded to the beach, and watched their movements with awful anxiety. Their veering about, apparently without effort, and the shifting and furling of their sails, resembling huge wings, filled them with astonishment. When they beheld their boats approach the shore, and a number of strange beings clad in glittering steel, or raiment of various colours, landing upon the beach, they fled in affright to the woods. Finding, however, that there was no attempt to pursue nor molest them, they gradually recovered from their terror, and approached the Spaniards with great awe; frequently prostrating themselves on the earth, and making signs of adoration. During the ceremonies of taking possession, they remained gazing in timid admiration of the complexion, the beards, the shining armour, and splendid dress of the Spaniards. The admiral particularly attracted their attention, from his commanding height, his air of authority, his dress of scarlet, and the deference which was paid him by his companions; all which pointed him out to be the commander. When they had still further recovered from their fears, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus was pleased with their gentleness and confiding simplicity, and suffered their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence, winning them by his benignity. They now supposed that the ships had sailed out of the crystal firmament which bounded their horizon, or had descended from above on their ample wings, and that these marvellous beings were inhabitants of the skies.

The natives of the island were no less objects of curiosity to the Spaniards, differing, as they did, from any race of men they had ever seen. Their appearance gave no promise of either wealth or civilisation, for they were entirely naked, and painted with a variety of colours. Their features, though obscured and disfigured by paint, were agreeable; they had lofty foreheads and remarkably fine eyes. They were of moderate stature and well-shaped; most of them appeared to be under thirty years of age: there was but one female with them, quite young, naked like her companions, and beautifully formed.

As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which was universally adopted before the true nature of his discovery was known, and has since been extended to all the aboriginals of the New World.

The islanders were friendly and gentle. Their only arms were lances, hardened at the end by fire, or pointed with a flint, or the teeth or bone of a fish. There was no iron to be seen, nor did they appear acquainted with its properties; for when a drawn sword was presented to them, they unguardedly took it by the edge. Columbus distributed among them coloured caps, glass beads, hawks' bells, and other trifles, such as the Portuguese were accustomed to trade with among the nations of the gold coast of Africa. They received them eagerly, hung the beads round their necks, and were wonderfully pleased with their finery, and with the sound of the bells. The Spaniards remained all day on shore refreshing themselves after their anxious voyage amidst the beautiful groves of the island; and returned on board late in the evening, delighted with all they had seen.

On the following morning, at break of day, the shore was thronged with the natives; some swam off to the ships, others came in light barks which they

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called canoes, formed of a single tree, hollowed, and capable of holding from one man to the number of forty or fifty. These they managed dexterously with paddles, and, if overturned, swam about in the water with perfect unconcern, as if in their natural element, righting their canoes with great facility, and baling them with calabashes.

The avarice of the discoverers was quickly excited by the sight of small ornaments of gold, worn by some of the natives in their noses. These the latter gladly exchanged for glass beads and hawks' bells; and both parties exulted in the bargain, no doubt admiring each other's simplicity. As gold, however, was an object of royal monopoly in all enterprises of discovery, Columbus forbade any traffic in it without his express sanction; and he put the same prohibition on the traffic for cotton, reserving to the crown all trade for it, wherever it should be found in any quantity.

He inquired of the natives where this gold was procured. They answered him by signs, pointing to the south, where, he understood them, dwelt a king of such wealth that he was served in vessels of wrought gold. He understood, also, that there was land to the south, the southwest, and the northwest; and that the people from the last-mentioned quarter frequently proceeded to the southwest in quest of gold and precious stones, making in their way descent upon the islands, and carrying off the inhabitants. Several of the natives showed him scars of wounds received in battles with these invaders. It is evident that a great part of this fancied intelligence was self-delusion on the part of Columbus; for he was under a spell of the imagination, which gave its own shapes and colours to every object. He was persuaded that he had arrived among the islands described by Marco Polo, as lying opposite Cathay, in the Chinese sea, and he construed everything to accord with the account given of those opulent regions. Thus the enemies which the natives spoke of as coming from the northwest he concluded to be the people of the mainland of Asia, the subjects of the great khan of Tatary, who were represented by the Venetian traveller as accustomed to make war upon the islands, and to enslave their inhabitants. The country to the south, abounding in gold, could be no other than the famous island of Cipango; and the king who was served out of vessels of gold must be the monarch whose magnificent city and gorgeous palace, covered with plates of gold, had been extolled in such splendid terms by Marco Polo.

The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World, was called by the natives Guanahanè.[1] It still retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave to it, though called by the English Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land, may have been on Watling's Island, which lies a few leagues to the east. San Salvador is one of the great cluster of the Lucayos, or Bahama Islands, which stretch southeast and northwest, from the coast of Florida to Hispaniola, covering the northern coast of Cuba.

On the morning of the 14th of October the admiral set off at daybreak with the boats of the ships to reconnoitre the island, directing his course to the northeast. The coast was surrounded by a reef or rocks, within which there was depth of water and sufficient harbour to receive all the ships in Christendom. The entrance was very narrow; within there were several sand-banks, but the water was as still as in a pool. Having taken in a supply of wood and

[[1] Later readings make this Guanahani. As to its exact identity, there has been some dispute. Rudolf Cronau,pp who made a special study of the ground asserts that Columbus landed on Watling's Island, and on its west coast, not its eastern. With this Adams ee agrees.]

water, they left the island the same evening, the admiral being impatient to arrive at the wealthy country to the south, which he flattered himself, would prove the famous island of Cipango.[z]

COLUMBUS' OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS DISCOVERY

A letter, addressed to the noble Lord Raphael Sanchez, treasurer of their most invincible majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, by which Christopher Columbus to whom our age is greatly indebted, treating of the islands of India recently discovered beyond the Ganges, to explore which he had been sent eight months before under the auspices and at the expense of their said majesties:

Knowing that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you of all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries which have resulted from it. Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz I reached the Indian sea, where I discovered many islands without resistance in the name of our most illustrious monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands; to each of these I also gave the name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion, another Fernandina, the third Isabella, the fourth Juana, and so with all the rest respectively.

As soon as we arrived at that which as I have said was named Juana, I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently without termination, that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay. Seeing, however, no towns or populous places on the sea coast, but only a few detached houses and cottages, with whose inhabitants I was unable to communicate, because they fled as soon as they saw us, I went further on, thinking that in my progress I should certainly find some city or village. At length, after proceeding a great way and finding that nothing new presented itself, and that the line of coast was leading us northwards (which I wished to avoid, because it was winter, and it was my intention to move southwards; and because, moreover, the winds were contrary), I resolved not to attempt any further progress, but rather to turn back and retrace my course to a certain bay that I had observed, and from which I afterwards despatched two of our men to ascertain whether there were a king or any cities in that province. These men reconnoitred the country for three days, and found a most numerous population, and great numbers of houses, though small and built without any regard to order, and with which information they returned to us.

In the meantime I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized that that country was certainly an island; and therefore I sailed towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty-two miles, and brought us to the extremity of it; from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I have gave the name of Hispaniola: I went thither, and steered my course eastward as I had done at Juana, even to the distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles along the north coast. This said island of Juana is exceedingly fertile, as indeed are all others; it is surrounded with many bays, spacious, very secure, and surpassing any that I have ever seen; numerous large and healthful rivers intersect it, and it also contains many very lofty mountains.

All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by a diversity of

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scenery; they are filled with a great variety of trees of immense height, which I believe to retain their foliage in all seasons; for when I saw them they were as verdant and luxuriant as they usually are in Spain in the month of May —some of them were blossoming, some bearing fruit, and all flourishing in the greatest perfection, according to their respective stages of growth, and the nature and quality of each: yet the islands are not so thickly wooded as to be impassable. The nightingale and various birds were singing in countless numbers, and that in November, the month in which I arrived there. There are besides in the same island of Juana seven or eight kinds of palm trees, which like all the other trees, herbs, and fruits, considerably surpass ours in height and beauty. The pines also are very handsome, and there are very extensive fields and meadows, a variety of birds, different kinds of honey, and many sorts of metals, but no iron. In that island also I have before said we named Hispaniola, there are mountains of very great size and beauty, vast plains, groves, and very fruitful fields, admirably adapted for tillage, pasture, and habitation. The convenience and excellence of the harbours in this island, and the abundance of the rivers, so indispensable to the health of man, surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen it. The trees, herbage, and fruits of Hispaniola are very different from those of Juana, and moreover it abounds in various kinds of spices, gold, and other metals.

The inhabitants of both sexes in this island, and in all the others which I have seen, or of which I have received information, go always naked as they were born, with the exception of some women, who use the covering of a leaf, or small bough, or an apron of cotton which they prepare for that purpose. None of them, as I have already said, are possessed of any iron, neither have they weapons, being unacquainted with and indeed incompetent to use them, not from any deformity of body (for they are well formed), but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry, however, in lieu of arms, canes dried in the sun, on the ends of which they fix heads of dried wood sharpened to a point, and even these they dare not use habitually; for it has often occurred when I have sent two or three of my men to any of the villages to speak with the natives, that they have come in a disorderly troop, and have fled in such haste at the approach of our men that the fathers forsook their children and the children their fathers.

This timidity did not arise from any loss or injury that they had received from us, for, on the contrary, I gave to all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth and many other things, taking nothing of theirs in return; but they are naturally timid and fearful. As soon, however, as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary, inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves; they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I, however, forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass, keys and leather straps) should be given them, although if they could obtain them they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles, and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined blancas, or any gold coins, the Indians would give whatever the seller required, as, for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton, with which commodity they were already acquainted.

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Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars: which I forbade as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the king and queen, our princes, and all Spaniards, and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting and delivering to us such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed.

They practise no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighbouring islands give an admirable description of everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours.

On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they knew respecting the country, which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs or by words, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still travelling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven; and on our arrival at any new place they published this, crying out immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "Come, come and look upon beings of a celestial race"; upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness.

Each of these islands has a great number of canoes, built of solid wood, narrow and not unlike our double-banked boats in length and shape, but swifter in their motion: they steer them only by the oar. These canoes are of various sizes, but the greater number are constructed with eighteen banks of oars, and with these they cross to the other islands, which are of countless number, to carry on traffic with the people. I saw some of these canoes that held as many as seventy-eight rowers. In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language, but they all clearly understand each other, a circumstance very propitious for the realisation of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene king, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ, to which, indeed, as far as I can judge, they are very favourable and well-disposed.

I said before that I went three hundred and twenty-two miles in a direct line from west to east, along the coast of the island of Juana, judging by which voyage, and the length of the passage, I can assert that it is larger than England and Scotland united; for independent of the said three hundred and twenty-two miles, there are in the western part of the island, two provinces which I did not visit; one of these is called by the Indians Avan, and its inhabitants are born with tails. These provinces extend to one hundred and fifty-three miles in length, as I have learned from the Indians whom I have brought with me, and who are well acquainted with the country. But the extent of Hispaniola is greater than all Spain from Catalonia to Fuenterrabia, which is easily proved, because one of its four sides which I myself coasted in a direct line, from west to east, measures five hundred and

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forty miles. This island is to be regarded with especial interest, and not to be slighted; for although, as I have said, I took possession of these islands in the name of our invincible king, and the government of them is unreservedly committed to his majesty, yet there was one large town in Hispaniola of which especially I took possession, situated in a remarkably favourable spot, and in every way convenient for the purposes of gain and commerce.

To this town I gave the name of Navidad de Señor, and ordered a fortress to be built there, which must by this time be completed, in which I left as many men as I thought necessary, with all sorts of arms, and enough provisions for more than a year. I also left them one caravel, and skilful workmen both in shipbuilding and other arts, and engaged the favour and friendship of the king of the island in their behalf, to a degree that would not be believed, for these people are so amiable and friendly that even the king took a pride in calling me his brother. But supposing their feelings should become changed, and they should wish to injure those who have remained in the fortress, they could not do so, for they have no arms, they go naked, and are moreover too cowardly; so that those who hold the said fortress can easily keep the whole island in check, without any pressing danger to themselves, provided they do not transgress the directions and regulations which I have given them.

As far as I have learned, every man throughout these islands is united to but one wife, with the exception of the kings and princes, who are allowed to have twenty: the women seem to work more than the men. I could not clearly understand whether the people possess any private property, for I observed that one man had the charge of distributing various things to the rest, but especially meat and provisions and the like. I did not find, as some of us had expected, any cannibals amongst them, but on the contrary, men of great deference and kindness. Neither are they black, like the Ethiopians, their hair is smooth and straight: for they do not dwell where the rays of the sun strike most vividly — and the sun has intense power there, the distance from the equinoctial line being, it appears, but six-and-twenty degrees. On the tops of the mountains the cold is very great, but the effect of this upon the Indians is lessened by their being accustomed to the climate and by their frequently indulging in the use of very hot meats and drinks.

Thus, as I have already said, I saw no cannibals [monsters], nor did I hear of any, except in a certain island called Charis, which is the second from Hispaniola on the side towards India, where dwell a people who are considered by the neighbouring islanders as most ferocious: and these feed upon human flesh. The same people have many kinds of canoes, in which they cross to all the surrounding islands and rob and plunder wherever they can; they are not different from the other islands, except that they wear their hair long, like women, and make use of the bows and javelins of cane, with sharpened spear-points fixed on the thickest end, which I have before described, and therefore they are looked upon as ferocious, and regarded by the other Indians with unbounded fear; but I think no more of them than of the rest. These are the men who form unions with certain women, who dwell alone in the island Matenin, which lies next to Hispaniola on the side towards India; these latter employ themselves in no labour suitable to their own sex, for they use bows and javelins, as I have already described their paramours as doing, and for defensive armour have plates of brass, of which metal they possess great abundance. They assure me that there is another island larger than Hispaniola, whose inhabitants have no hair, and which abounds in gold, more than any of the rest.

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I bring with me individuals of this island and of the others that I have seen, who are proofs of the facts which I state. Finally, to compress into few words the entire summary of my voyage and speedy return, and of the advantages derivable therefrom, I promise that with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, of cotton, and mastic (which is only found in Chios), and as many men for the service of the navy as their majesties may require. I promise also rhubarb and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already and will continue to find; for I myself have tarried nowhere longer than I was compelled to do by the winds except in the city of Navidad, while I provided for the building of the fortress and took the necessary precautions for the perfect security of the men I left there.

Although all I have related may appear to be wonderful and unheard of, yet the results of my voyage would have been more astonishing if I had had at my disposal such ships as I required. But these great and marvellous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith and to the piety and religion of our sovereigns; for that which the unaided intellect of man could not compass, the spirit of God had granted to human exertions, for God is wont to hear the prayers of his servants who love his precepts even to the performance of apparent impossibilities. Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal men have never hitherto attained; for if there have been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures, and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables.

Therefore, let the king and queen, our princes, and their happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. Let processions be made and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven, in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost. Let us all rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith as on account of the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain but all Christendom will be partakers.

Such are the events which I have briefly described. Farewell.

Lisbon, the 14th of March. Christopher Columbus,
Admiral of the Fleet of the Ocean.[r]

THE RETURN OF COLUMBUS (1493 A.D.)

In pursuit of Cathay and Cipango, Columbus prosecuted his researches until he discovered Cuba. The interpreters whom he had brought from San Salvador learned here that some gold was found in Cuba, but that it was much more abundant in another country farther to the east. The prospect of obtaining gold inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards, and Alonzo Pinzon, the commander of the *Pinta*, which was the best sailer in the fleet, wishing to arrive first at the land where the precious metal abounded, crowded all sail, and was soon out of sight.

On the 5th of December Columbus, with the remaining ships, sailed from the eastern point of Cuba, and soon arrived at the rich country of which he had received such a glowing description. It was called by the natives Haiti;

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Columbus [as we have seen from his letter], gave it the name of Hispaniola. They anchored first at Port St. Nicholas, and shortly after at a little distance from Cape François. Guanacanagari, the prince of the country, or cacique, as he was called by his people, received Columbus with much kindness, and in return was treated by him with great distinction. They contracted a friendship, which continued ever afterwards undiminished. He was loaded with ornaments of gold, which he informed the Spaniards came from a country farther to the east, called Cibao. Columbus, deceived by the resemblance of the names, believed at first that it was Cipango; but he afterwards learned that Cibao was the name of a mountain in the centre of the island.

The fleet now proceeded to the east, for the purpose of approaching the gold mines of Cibao. On the night of the 24th of December Columbus' vessel, the *Santa Maria*, struck upon a reef, and he was compelled to abandon her, and take refuge with his crew on board the *Niña*. The cacique and his people assisted the Spaniards in saving their effects, and consented to their erecting a fort with the timber of the wreck. It was named La Navidad, and garrisoned with thirty-eight men, the first colony in Spanish America. The admiral left provisions in the fort [as we have seen from his letter], articles to barter with the natives, and whatever was necessary for its defence. He then took leave of the friendly cacique, with the promise to return soon.

On the 4th of January, 1493, Columbus set sail, proceeding a little to the east, in order to complete the examination of the north coast of the island, and on his way met the *Pinta*, near Monte Christo. He affected to be satisfied with the excuses made by Alonzo Pinzon to explain his parting company.

At length, on the 16th, the two ships directed their course for Spain. The weather was favourable at the commencement of the voyage; but heavy gales came on when the ships were near the Azores, and the *Pinta* was a second time lost sight of. The admiral's vessel was in such imminent danger that he despaired of ever reaching land. He was fearful that the knowledge of his discovery would perish with him; and to prevent this he wrote a brief account of his voyage on two leaves of parchment, and put each of these leaves into a tight cask. One of these casks was thrown overboard immediately; the other was allowed to remain on deck to await the foundering of the vessel. But the storm subsided. They arrived at the Azores on the 15th of February.[y]

February 24th Columbus resumed his course, but was again assailed by such stress of weather that he feared the supreme irony of perishing in the moment of his return, or, as he said, of "being repulsed from the very door of the house." On the 4th of March he reached the Portuguese coast where his ship was forced to take shelter in the Tagus. Here he was detained. He sent a courier by land to the queen of Spain and a message to the king of Portugal, by whom he was invited to the court at Valparaiso. So great was the jealousy of the Portuguese at the discovery which placed their previously unrivalled achievements in the second rank, that, it is said, the monarch was advised to have Columbus assassinated and to send a fleet to occupy his discoveries. The king disdained such baseness, however, and Columbus was allowed to sail on the 13th of March, arriving at Palos at noon of the 15th, after an absence of about seven months and a half.[a]

IRVING'S PICTURE OF COLUMBUS' TRIUMPH

The triumphant return of Columbus was a prodigious event in the history of the little port of Palos, where everybody was more or less interested in the

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fate of his expedition. The most important and wealthy sea captains of the place had engaged in it, and scarcely a family but had some relative or friend among the navigators. The departure of the ships upon what appeared a chimerical and desperate cruise had spread gloom and dismay over the place, and the storms which had raged throughout the winter had heightened the public despondency. Many lamented their friends as lost, while imagination lent mysterious horrors to their fate, picturing them as driven about over wild and desert wastes of water without a shore, or as perishing amidst rocks, and quicksands, and whirlpools, or a prey to those monsters of the deep with which credulity peopled every distant and unfrequented sea. There was something more awful in such a mysterious fate than in death itself, under any defined and ordinary form.

Great was the agitation of the inhabitants, therefore, when they beheld one of the ships standing up the river; but when they learned that she returned in triumph from the discovery of a world, the whole community broke forth into transports of joy. The bells were rung, the shops shut, all business was suspended; for a time there was nothing but hurry and tumult. When Columbus landed the multitude thronged to see and welcome him, and a grand procession was formed to the principal church, to return thanks to God for so signal a discovery made by the people of that place — forgetting, in their exultation, the thousand difficulties they had thrown in the way of the enterprise. Wherever Columbus passed he was hailed with shouts and acclamations. What a contrast to his departure a few months before, followed by murmurs and execrations; or, rather, what a contrast to his first arrival at Palos, a poor pedestrian, craving bread and water for his child at the gate of a convent!

Understanding that the court was at Barcelona, he felt disposed to proceed thither immediately in his caravel; reflecting, however, on the dangers and disasters he had already experienced on the seas, he resolved to proceed by land. He despatched a letter to the king and queen, informing them of his arrival, and soon after departed for Seville to await their orders, taking with him six of the natives whom he had brought from the New World. One had died at sea, and three were left ill at Palos.

It is a singular coincidence, which appears to be well authenticated, that on the very evening of the arrival of Columbus at Palos, and while the peals of triumph were still ringing from its towers, the *Pinta*, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, likewise entered the river. After her separation from the admiral in the storm she had been driven before the gale into the bay of Biscay, and had made the port of Bayonne. Doubting whether Columbus had survived the tempest, Pinzon had immediately written to the sovereigns, giving information of the discovery he had made, and had requested permission to come to court and communicate the particulars in person. As soon as the weather permitted, he had again set sail, anticipating a triumphant reception in his native port of Palos. When, on entering the harbour, he beheld the vessel of the admiral riding at anchor, and learned the enthusiasm with which he had been received, the heart of Pinzon died within him. It is said that he feared to meet Columbus in this hour of his triumph, lest he should put him under arrest for his desertion on the coast of Cuba; but he was a man of too much resolution to indulge in such a fear. It is more probable that a consciousness of his misconduct made him unwilling to appear before the public in the midst of their enthusiasm for Columbus, and perhaps he sickened at the honours heaped upon a man whose superiority he had been so unwilling to acknowledge. Getting into his boat, therefore, he landed

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privately, and kept out of sight until he heard of the admiral's departure. He then returned to his home, broken in health and deeply dejected, considering all the honours and eulogiums heaped upon Columbus as so many reproaches on himself. The reply of the sovereigns to his letter at length arrived. It was of a reproachful tenor, and forbade his appearance at court. This letter completed his humiliation; the anguish of his feelings gave virulence to his bodily malady, and in a few days he died, a victim to deep chagrin.

Let no one, however, indulge in harsh censures over the grave of Pinzon! His merits and services are entitled to the highest praise; his errors should be regarded with indulgence. He was one of the foremost in Spain to appreciate the project of Columbus, animating him by his concurrence, and aiding him with his purse when poor and unknown at Palos. He afterwards enabled him to procure and fit out ships when even the mandates of the sovereigns were ineffectual, and finally embarked in the expedition with his brothers and his friends, staking life, property, everything, upon the event. He thus entitled himself to participate largely in the glory of this immortal enterprise; but unfortunately, forgetting for a moment the grandeur of the cause, and the implicit obedience due to his commander, he yielded to the incitements of self-interest, and committed that act of insubordination which has cast a shade upon his name. His story shows how one lapse from duty may counterbalance the merits of a thousand services; how one moment of weakness may mar the beauty of a whole life of virtue; and how important it is for a man, under all circumstances, to be true, not merely to others, but to himself.

After a lapse of years the descendants of the Pinzons made strenuous representations to the crown of the merits and services of their family, endeavouring to prove, among other things, that but for the aid and encouragement of Martin Alonzo and his brothers, Columbus would never have made his discovery. Some of the testimony rendered on this and another occasion was rather extravagant and absurd. The emperor Charles V, however, taking into consideration the real services of the brothers in the first voyage, and the subsequent expeditions and discoveries of that able and intrepid navigator Vincente Yanez Pinzon, granted to the family the well-merited rank and privileges of *hidalguia*, a degree of nobility which constituted them noble hidalgos, with the right of prefixing the title Don to their names. A coat-of-arms was also given them, emblematical of their services as discoverers. These privileges and arms are carefully preserved by the family at the present day.

The letter of Columbus to the Spanish monarchs had produced the greatest sensation at court. The event he announced was considered the most extraordinary of their prosperous reign, and following so close upon the conquest of Granada, was pronounced a signal mark of divine favour for that triumph achieved in the cause of the true faith. The sovereigns themselves were for a time dazzled by this sudden and easy acquisition of a new empire, of indefinite extent, and apparently boundless wealth; and their first idea was to secure it beyond the reach of dispute. Shortly after his arrival in Seville, Columbus received a letter from them expressing their great delight, and requesting him to repair immediately to court, to concert plans for a second and more extensive expedition. This letter was addressed to him by the title "Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the Ocean sea, and viceroy and governor of the islands discovered in the Indies"; at the same time he was promised still further rewards. Columbus lost no time in complying with

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the commands of the sovereigns. He sent a memorandum of the ships, men, and munitions requisite, and having made such dispositions at Seville as circumstances permitted, set out for Barcelona, taking with him the six Indians and the various curiosities and productions brought from the New World.

The fame of his discovery had resounded throughout the nation, and as his route lay through several of the finest and most populous provinces of Spain, his journey appeared like the progress of a sovereign. Wherever he passed, the country poured forth its inhabitants, who lined the road and thronged the villages. The streets, windows, and balconies of the towns were filled with eager spectators, who rent the air with acclamations. His journey was continually impeded by the multitude pressing to gain a sight of him and of the Indians, who were regarded with as much astonishment as if they had been natives of another planet. It was impossible to satisfy the craving curiosity which assailed him and his attendants at every stage with innumerable questions; popular rumour, as usual, had exaggerated the truth, and had filled the newly found country with all kinds of wonders.

About the middle of April Columbus arrived at Barcelona, where every preparation had been made to give him a solemn and magnificent reception. The beauty and serenity of the weather in that genial season and favoured climate contributed to give splendour to this memorable ceremony. As he drew near the place, many of the youthful courtiers and hidalgos, together with a vast concourse of the populace, came forth to meet and welcome him. His entrance into this noble city has been compared to one of those triumphs which the Romans were accustomed to decree to conquerors. First were paraded the Indians, painted according to their savage fashion, and decorated with their national ornaments of gold. After these were borne various kinds of live parrots, together with stuffed birds and animals of unknown species, and rare plants supposed to be of precious qualities; while great care was taken to make a conspicuous display of Indian coronets, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the wealth of the newly discovered regions. After this followed Columbus on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Spanish chivalry. The streets were almost impassable from the countless multitude; the windows and balconies were crowded with the fair; the very roofs were covered with spectators. It seemed as if the public eye could not be sated with gazing on these trophies of an unknown world, or on the remarkable man by whom it had been discovered. There was a sublimity in this event that mingled a solemn feeling with the public joy. It was looked upon as a vast and signal dispensation of Providence in reward for the piety of the monarchs; and the majestic and venerable appearance of the discoverer, so different from the youth and buoyancy generally expected from roving enterprise, seemed in harmony with the grandeur and dignity of his achievement.

To receive him with suitable pomp and distinction, the sovereigns had ordered their throne to be placed in public under a rich canopy of brocade of gold, in a vast and splendid saloon. Here the king and queen awaited his arrival, seated in state, with the prince Juan beside them, and attended by the dignitaries of their court, and the principal nobility of Castile, Valentia, Catalonia, and Arragon, all impatient to behold the man who had conferred so incalculable a benefit upon the nation. At length Columbus entered the hall, surrounded by a brilliant crowd of cavaliers, among whom, says Las Casas,[dd] he was conspicuous for his stately and commanding person, which with his countenance, rendered venerable by his gray hairs, gave him the august

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appearance of a senator of Rome. As Columbus approached, the sovereigns rose, as if receiving a person of the highest rank. Bending his knees, he offered to kiss their hands; but there was some hesitation on their part to permit this act of homage. Raising him in the most gracious manner, they ordered him to seat himself in their presence, a rare honour in this proud and punctilious court.

At their request he now gave an account of the most striking events of his voyage, and a description of the islands discovered. He displayed specimens of unknown birds, and other animals; of rare plants of medicinal and aromatic virtues; of native gold in dust, in crude masses, or laboured into barbaric ornaments; and, above all, the natives of these countries, who were objects of intense and inexhaustible interest. All these he pronounced mere harbingers of greater discoveries yet to be made, which would add realms of incalculable wealth to the dominions of their majesties, and whole nations of proselytes to the true faith.

When he had finished, the sovereigns sank on their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, their eyes filled with tears of joy and gratitude, poured forth thanks and praises to God for so great a providence: all present followed their example; a deep and solemn enthusiasm pervaded that splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph. The anthem *Te Deum Laudamus*, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel, with the accompaniment of instruments, rose in full body of sacred harmony, bearing up, as it were, the feelings and thoughts of the auditors to heaven, "so that," says the venerable Las Casas,[dd] "it seemed as if in that hour they communicated with celestial delights." Such was the solemn and pious manner in which the brilliant court of Spain celebrated this sublime event; offering up a grateful tribute of melody and praise, and giving glory to God for the discovery of another world. When Columbus retired from the royal presence he was attended to his residence by all the court, and followed by the shouting populace. For many days he was the object of universal curiosity, and wherever he appeared was surrounded by an admiring multitude.

While his mind was teeming with glorious anticipations, his pious scheme for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre was not forgotten. It has been shown that he suggested it to the Spanish sovereigns at the time of first making his propositions, holding it forth as the great object to be effected by the profits of his discoveries. Flushed with the idea of the vast wealth now to accrue to himself, he made a vow to furnish within seven years an army, consisting of four thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, and a similar force within the five following years. This vow was recorded in one of his letters to the sovereigns, to which he refers, but which is no longer extant; nor is it certain whether it was made at the end of his first voyage or at a subsequent date, when the magnitude and wealthy result of his discoveries became more fully manifest. He often alludes to it vaguely in his writings, and he refers to it expressly in a letter to Pope Alexander VI, written in 1502, in which he accounts also for its non-fulfilment. It is essential to a full comprehension of the character and motives of Columbus that this visionary project should be borne in recollection. It will be found to have entwined itself in his mind with his enterprise of discovery, and that a holy crusade was to be the consummation of those divine purposes, for which he considered himself selected by heaven as an agent. It shows how much his mind was elevated above selfish and mercenary views — how it was filled with those devout and heroic schemes which in the time of the crusades had inflamed the thoughts

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COLUMBUS RECEIVED BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA ON HIS RETURN FROM HIS FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA
(From the painting by Ricardo Balaca)

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and directed the enterprises of the bravest warriors and most illustrious princes.

The joy occasioned by the great discovery of Columbus was not confined to Spain; the tidings were spread far and wide by the communications of ambassadors, the correspondence of the learned, the negotiations of merchants, and the reports of travellers, and the whole civilised world was filled with wonder and delight. How gratifying would it have been, had the press at that time, as at present, poured forth its daily tide of speculation on every passing occurrence! With what eagerness should we seek to know the first ideas and emotions of the public on an event so unlooked for and sublime! Even the first announcements of it by contemporary writers, though brief and incidental, derive interest from being written at the time; and from showing the casual way in which such great tidings were conveyed about the world. Allegretto Allegretti,[ss] in his annals of Sienna for 1493, mentions it as just made known there by the letters of their merchants who were in Spain, and by the mouths of various travellers. The news was brought to Genoa by the return of her ambassadors, Francisco Marchesi and Giovanni Antonio Grimaldi, and was recorded among the triumphant events of the year: for the republic, though she may have slighted the opportunity of making herself mistress of the discovery, has ever since been tenacious of the glory of having given birth to the discoverer. The tidings were soon carried to England, which as yet was but a maritime power of inferior importance. They caused, however, much wonder in London, and great talk and admiration in the court of Henry VII, where the discovery was pronounced "a thing more divine than human." We have this [as quoted from memory by Ramusio[tt]] on the authority of Sebastian Cabot himself, the future discoverer of the northern continent of America, who was in London at the time, and was inspired by the event with a generous spirit of emulation.

Every member of civilised society, in fact, rejoiced in the occurrence, as one in which he was more or less interested. To some it opened a new and unbounded field of inquiry; to others of enterprise; and everyone awaited with intense eagerness the further development of this unknown world, still covered with mystery, the partial glimpses of which were so full of wonder. We have a brief testimony of the emotions of the learned in a letter, written at the time, by Peter Martyr[uu] to his friend Pomponius Lætus. "You tell me, my amiable Pomponius," he writes, "that you leaped for joy, and that your delight was mingled with tears, when you read my epistle, certifying to you the hitherto hidden world of the antipodes. You have felt and acted as became a man eminent for learning, for I can conceive no aliment more delicious than such tidings to a cultivated and ingenuous mind. I feel a wonderful exultation of spirits when I converse with intelligent men who have returned from these regions. It is like an accession of wealth to a miser. Our minds, soiled and debased by the common concerns of life and the vices of society, become elevated and ameliorated by contemplating such glorious events."

Notwithstanding this universal enthusiasm, however, no one was aware of the real importance of the discovery. No one had an idea that this was a totally distinct portion of the globe, separated by oceans from the ancient world. The opinion of Columbus was universally adopted, that Cuba was the end of the Asiatic continent, and that the adjacent islands were in the Indian seas. This agreed with the opinions of the ancients, about the moderate distance from Spain to the extremity of India, sailing westwardly. The parrots were also thought to resemble those described by Pliny, as abounding

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in the remote parts of Asia. The lands, therefore, which Columbus had visited were called the West Indies; and as he seemed to have entered upon a vast region of unexplored countries, existing in a state of nature, the whole received the comprehensive appellation of the New World.

During the whole of his sojourn at Barcelona, the sovereigns took every occasion to bestow on Columbus personal marks of their high consideration. He was admitted at all times to the royal presence, and the queen delighted to converse with him on the subject of his enterprises. The king, too, appeared occasionally on horseback, with Prince Juan on one side, and Columbus on the other. To perpetuate in his family the glory of his achievement, a coat-of-arms was assigned him, in which the royal arms, the castle and lion, were quartered with his proper bearings, which were a group of islands surrounded by waves. To these arms was afterwards annexed the motto:

A Castilla y á Leon,
Nuevo mundo dio Colon.

(To Castile and Leon
Columbus gave a new world.)

The pension which had been decreed by the sovereigns to him who in the first voyage should discover land, was adjudged to Columbus, for having first seen the light on the shore. It is said that the seaman who first descried the land was so incensed at being disappointed of what he conceived his merited reward, that he renounced his country and his faith, and going into Africa, turned Mussulman; an anecdote which rests merely on the authority of Oviedo,[nn] who is extremely incorrect in his narration of this voyage, and inserts many falsehoods told him by the enemies of the admiral.

It may, at first sight, appear but little accordant with the acknowledged magnanimity of Columbus, to have borne away the prize from this poor sailor, but this was a subject in which his whole ambition was involved, and he was doubtless proud of the honour of being personally the discoverer of the land as well as projector of the enterprise.

Thus honored by the sovereigns, courted by the great, idolised by the people, Columbus, for a time, drank the honeyed draught of popularity, before enmity and detraction had time to drug it with bitterness. His discovery burst with such splendour upon the world as to dazzle envy itself, and to call forth the general acclamations of mankind. Well would it be for the honour of human nature, could history, like romance, close with the consummation of the hero's wishes; we should then leave Columbus in the full fruition of great and well-merited prosperity. But his history is destined to furnish another proof, if proof be wanting, of the inconstancy of public favour, even when won by distinguished services. No greatness was ever acquired by more incontestable, unalloyed, and exalted benefits rendered to mankind, yet none ever drew on its possessor more unremitting jealousy and defamation, or involved him in more unmerited distress and difficulty.[s]

FURTHER VOYAGES AND DEATH OF COLUMBUS (1493–1506 A.D.)

Loaded with caresses, commendations, and honours, soon after Columbus re-embarked from Cadiz, September 25th, 1493, with seventeen sail, to make new discoveries and to establish colonies. He arrived at Hispaniola November 3rd, with twelve hundred men, soldiers, artificers, and missionaries, with provisions for their subsistence, with the seeds of all the plants

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that were thought likely to thrive in this hot and damp climate, and with the domestic animals of the old hemisphere, of which there was not one in the new. Columbus found nothing but ruins and carcasses upon the spot where he had left fortifications and Spaniards. These plunderers had occasioned their own destruction by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour. Columbus had the address to persuade his men, who were eager to glut their vengeance upon the natives, that it was good policy to postpone their revenge to another time. A fort, honoured with the name of Isabella, was now constructed on the borders of the ocean; and that of St. Thomas was erected on the mountains of Cibao, where the islanders gathered from the torrents the greatest part of the gold they used for their ornaments, and where the conquerors intended to open mines.

While these works were going on, the provisions that had been brought from Europe had been either consumed or were spoilt. The colony had received nothing to supply the deficiency; and soldiers, or sailors, neither possessed the leisure, knowledge, nor inclination to produce fresh articles of subsistence. It became necessary to have recourse to the natives of the country, who, cultivating but little, were unable to maintain strangers, even though they were the most moderate persons of the old hemisphere, for they yet consumed, each of them, as much as would have been sufficient for several Indians. These unfortunate people gave up all they had, and still more was required. Such continued exactions produced an alteration in their character, which was naturally timid; and all the caciques, except Guanacanagari, who had first received the Spaniards in his dominions, resolved to unite their forces, in order to break a yoke which was becoming every day more intolerable.

Columbus desisted from pursuing his discoveries, in order to prepare against this unexpected danger. Although two-thirds of his followers had been hurried to the grave by hardships, by the climate, and by debauchery; although sickness prevented many of those who had escaped these terrible scourges from joining him; and although he could not muster more than two hundred infantry and twenty horse to face the enemy, yet this extraordinary man was not afraid of attacking an army, assembled in the plains of Vega Real.

The unhappy islanders were, in fact, conquered before the action began. They considered the Spaniards as beings of a superior order; their admiration, respect, and fear were increased by the European armour; and the sight of the cavalry, in particular, astonished them beyond measure. Many of them were simple enough to believe that the man and the horse were but one animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof against these impressions of terror, they could have made but a faint resistance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a discipline to which they were strangers must have easily dispersed them. They fled on all sides. To punish them for their rebellion, as it was called, every Indian above fourteen years of age was subjected to a tribute in gold or in cotton, according to the district in which he lived.

This regulation, which required assiduous labour, appeared the greatest of evils to a people who were not used to constant employment. The desire of getting rid of their oppressors, therefore, became their ruling passion. As they entertained no further hope of being able to expel them by force, the idea occurred to them, in 1496, of reducing them by famine. In this view they sowed no more maize, they pulled up the cassava roots that were already planted, and fled for refuge to the mountains.

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Desperate resolutions are seldom attended with success; accordingly, that which the Indians had taken proved fatal to them. The products of rude and uncultivated nature were not sufficient for their support, as they had inconsiderately expected they would be; and their asylum, however difficult of access, was not a security from the pursuit of their incensed tyrants, who, during this total privation of local resources, accidentally received some provisions from the mother country. The rage of the Spaniards was excited to such a degree that they trained up dogs to hunt and devour these unhappy men; and it has even been said that some of the Castilians had made a vow to massacre twelve Indians every day in honour of the twelve apostles. Before this event the island was reckoned to contain a million of inhabitants. A third part of this considerable population perished in these campaigns, by fatigue, hunger, and the sword.

Scarcely had the remnant of these unfortunate people, who had escaped so many disasters, returned to their habitations, where calamities of another kind were preparing for them, when divisions arose among their persecutors. The removal of the capital of the colony from the north to the south, from Isabella to Santo Domingo, might possibly furnish a pretence for some complaints; but the dissensions had their chief origin in indulged passions, raised to an uncommon degree of fermentation beneath a burning sky, and not sufficiently restrained by an authority imperfectly established. When the business was to dethrone a cacique, to plunder a district, or extermine a village, the commands of the brother of Columbus, or of his representative, were readily obeyed. After sharing the booty, insubordination followed; and mutual jealousies and animosities became their sole occupation. The Spaniards at length took up arms against each other, and war was openly declared.

During the course of these divisions, Columbus was in Spain, whither he had returned in June, 1496, in order to answer the accusations that were incessantly renewed against him. The recital of the great actions he had performed and the exposition of the useful plans he meant to carry into execution easily regained him the confidence of Isabella. Ferdinand himself began to be a little reconciled to the idea of distant voyages. The plan of a regular form of government was traced, which was first to be tried at San Domingo, and afterwards adopted, with such alterations as experience might show to be necessary, in the several settlements, which in process of time might be founded in the other hemisphere. Men skilled in the working of mines were carefully selected, and the government agreed to pay and maintain them for several years.

On the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed on his third voyage, with six ships. He touched at the Canaries, and despatched from thence three of his squadron direct to Hispaniola. With the other three he steered toward the Cape Verd islands. Taking his departure from this point he held a southwesterly course till he came within five degrees of the equator, where the heat of the air burst the wine-pipes and water-casks, and caused the crews to fear that the ships would be burned. After eight days of calm weather and intolerable heat, the air became a little cooler, and on the 31st of July they discovered land, which proved to be the island of Trinidad, at the mouth of the Orinoco. Proceeding along the shore, he obtained a sight of some of the natives, who proved very hostile, and discharged showers of arrows at the ships. They had shields, the first defensive armour the Spaniards had seen in the New World. Columbus sailed through the gulf lying between Trinidad and the mouth of the Orinoco, struck with amazement at the moun-

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tainous billows which that great stream rolls into the ocean. On the coast of Paria they saw more of the natives, and held friendly intercourse with them. They offered the Spaniards provisions and a sort of wine. Considerable gold was discovered, and the natives directed them to a pearl fishery. From this coast they steered to Hispaniola. This was the voyage in which the Spaniards first saw the main land of America. The continent of North America had been discovered in June of the preceding year by John Cabot.

The third visit of Columbus succeeded no better than the preceding in securing good order and prosperity in the colony. The form of government projected in Spain had not the desired effect — that of establishing a peaceable community. The people thought differently from their sovereigns. Time, which brings on reflection when the first transports of enthusiasm are passed, had abated the desire, originally so ardent, of going to the New World. Its gold was no longer an object of irresistible temptation. On the contrary, the livid complexions of the Spaniards who returned home; the accounts of the insalubrity of the climate; of the numbers who had lost their lives, and the hardships they had undergone from the scarcity of provisions; an unwillingness to be under the command of a foreigner, the severity of whose discipline was generally censured; and perhaps the jealousy that was entertained of his growing reputation; all these reasons contributed to produce an insuperable prejudice against Santo Domingo in the subjects of the crown of Castile, the only Spaniards who, till the year 1593, were allowed to embark for that island.

The malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the Plunderers that infested Santo Domingo, formed one of the most unnatural kinds of society that had ever appeared upon the globe. Their mutual coalition enabled them to set all authority at defiance; and the impossibility of subduing them, made it necessary to resort to negotiation. Many attempts were made in vain. At length, in 1499, it was proposed that, to the lands which every Spaniard received, a certain number of islanders should be annexed, whose time and labour should be devoted to masters destitute alike of humanity and prudence. This act of weakness on the part of the government restored apparent tranquillity to the colony, but without gaining for Columbus the affection of those who profited by it. The complaints made against him grew more loud and violent, and ere long proved effectual.

This extraordinary man purchased upon very hard terms the fame which his genius and industry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual series of brilliant successes and deep misfortunes. He was continually exposed to the cabals, calumnies, and ingratitude of individuals; and obliged at the same time to submit to the caprices of a haughty and turbulent court, which by turns rewarded or punished — now mortified him by the most humiliating disgrace, and now restored him to its confidence.

The prejudice entertained by the Spanish ministry against the author of the greatest discovery the world had yet seen, grew to such a pitch, that an arbitrator was sent to the colonies to decide between Columbus and his soldiers. Bobadilla, the most ambitious, self-interested, unjust, and violent man that had yet visited the New World, arrived at Santo Domingo in 1500; he deprived the admiral of his property, his honours and his command, and sent him to Spain in irons. Surprise and indignation were everywhere excited by this act of atrocious ingratitude; and Ferdinand and Isabella, overwhelmed with shame by the expression of the public feelings, ordered the fetters of Columbus to be immediately taken off. They also recalled, with real or feigned resentment, the wretch Bobadilla, who had so infamously abused his

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authority. But to their disgrace it must be added that this was all the reparation made to Columbus for so atrocious an insult.

To crown the ingratitude of the Spanish court, they constantly resisted the petitions and applications of Columbus to be reinstated in his office. The reason alleged for this unkingly breach of faith was the great value and importance of the discoveries of Columbus, which would render the reward too magnificent! After a fruitless attendance at court for two years, he gave up his solicitations, and requested merely to be sent upon a fourth voyage. Ferdinand and Isabella, eager to get rid of a man whose presence was a reproach to them, granted his request with alacrity. Four small vessels were provided for him; and the discoverer of the western world, broken down by age, fatigues and mortification, set sail once more from Cadiz on May 9, 1502. His design was to proceed west, beyond the newly discovered continent, and to circumnavigate the globe. On reaching Hispaniola he found a fleet of eighteen ships ready to depart for Spain. Columbus was refused admission into the harbour of Santo Domingo, although his vessel was unseaworthy. His knowledge of these regions enabled him to perceive signs of an approaching hurricane. Although the governor, Ovando, had refused him a shelter in the harbour, Columbus warned him of the approaching danger; but his warning was disregarded; the fleet put to sea: and the ensuing night they were assailed by a furious hurricane, and the whole fleet, except three ships, went to the bottom. In this wreck perished the malignant Bobadilla, together with the greater part of the men who had been most active in persecuting Columbus and oppressing the Indians. The treasure lost in the ships surpassed the value of two hundred thousand dollars.

Columbus, by his prudent precautions, escaped the danger, and departed for the continent. He proceeded along the coast from the eastern point of Honduras to the isthmus of Darien, searching in vain for a passage to the South Sea. Attracted by the appearance of gold, he attempted to form a settlement at the river Belem, in Veragua; but the natives, a more hardy and warlike race than the islanders, killed many of the settlers and drove the remnant away. This unexpected repulse was followed by a long train of disasters. Storms, hurricanes, terrible thunder and lightning, and all the calamities that can befall the explorers of an unknown sea, kept Columbus in a continual state of anxiety and suffering. At last he was shipwrecked on the coast of Jamaica. No settlement had been made here, and Columbus despatched a few of his men in Indian canoes to Hispaniola for relief. The insolent Ovando, from a mean jealousy of the great discoverer, delayed to grant him any assistance. Columbus remained in Jamaica, perpetually harassed by the mutinous conduct of his men. The natives, tired of the long stay of the Spaniards in their island, intercepted their supplies of provisions. Columbus, however, intimidated them by an artifice. An eclipse was at hand: he assembled the chief Indians, and informed them that the Great Spirit was angry at their behaviour toward their visitors, and on that night the moon would be turned blood-red. They listened with incredulity, but when the moon began to change her hue they were all struck with terror. They loaded themselves with provisions, and brought them to Columbus, entreating him to intercede with the Deity in their behalf. From that time their superstitious apprehensions kept them in implicit obedience to the Spaniards.

After about a year's detention on the island, three vessels came to their relief, and the crews passed over to Hispaniola, where the once arrogant Ovando received his distinguished visitor with fawning sycophancy, and

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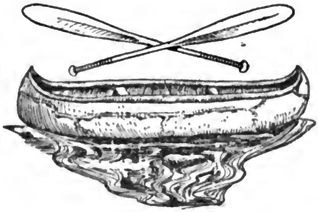
affected to treat him with every mark of honour and esteem. His complaisance, however, went no further than outward show. Columbus, finding no means of prosecuting his enterprise in this part of the world, returned to Spain, September 12th, 1504, where his miseries were crowned by the intelligence of the death of Isabella, whose favour and protection he had always considered his last resource. This was a blow from which he never recovered. Overwhelmed with calamities, disgusted with the ingratitude of those whom he had faithfully and successfully served, declining in age, and broken in health, he lingered a few years longer in poverty and neglect, making from time to time a fruitless appeal to the honour and justice of those who had given him "chains for a crown, a prison for a world"; and finally closed his life at Valladolid, May 20th, 1506, in the 59th year of his age.

Such was the end of this remarkable man, who, to the astonishment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been so long desolate and so little known. It might reasonably be expected that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid seaman to the new hemisphere, the first discovery of which was owing to his enterprising genius. This was the smallest homage of respect that could be paid to his memory; but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune even in the distribution of fame, this honour was reserved for a Florentine adventurer, who did nothing more than follow the footsteps of a man whose name ought to stand foremost in the list of great characters.[c]



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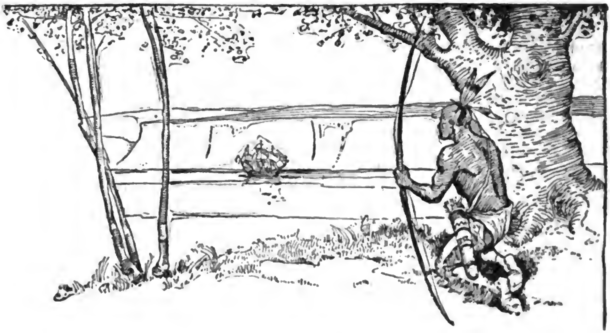

CHAPTER II

THE ARMY OF EXPLORERS

Sometimes in Wagner's musical dramas the introduction of a few notes from some leading melody foretells the inevitable catastrophe toward which the action is moving, as when in Lohengrin's bridal chamber the well-known sound of the distant Grail motive steals suddenly upon the ear, and the heart of the rapt listener is smitten with a sense of impending doom. So in the drama of maritime discovery, as glimpses of new worlds were beginning to reward the enterprising crowns of Spain and Portugal, for a moment there came from the North a few brief notes fraught with ominous portent. The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire of which these Southern nations — so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy — were dreaming stretched forth her hand in quiet disregard of papal bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English supremacy was sounded when John Cabot's tiny craft sailed out from the Bristol channel on a bright May morning of 1497. — John Fiske.[b]

It is a curious fact that most of the discoveries made concerning America were made indirectly and unintentionally. Even the Norse and other traditions say that their heroes were blown to America by storm; Columbus sought India and stumbled across the West Indies; John Cabot happened upon North America and thought he had found the realm of the great khan of Tatary; Sebastian Cabot sought the Northwest Passage to Cathay and India; the Portuguese Cortereal came for slaves; the French flocked to the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland as early as 1525, little caring where they were.

Verrazano (whose very existence has been questioned), Cartier, and a few others indeed went exploring for the sake of acquiring information and territory, but these were the exceptions.

The veteran Ponce de Leon sought the Fountain of Youth and found a mortal wound in Florida. Pineda in seeking a strait found the Mississippi. Gomez was another Northwest Passager. Coronado made his wonderful Anab-

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asis in search of the seven golden cities of Cibola and found the mud huts of New Mexico, the plains of Kansas, and the gorge of the Colorado. Soto was hunting a Peru in North America and found instead of gold only nakedness, fever, and a secret burial in the great river which he was not even the first to reach. Frobisher sought the Northwest Passage and went on a fool's errand to Labrador for gold. Drake circumnavigated the world on a piratical cruise for Spanish galleons. Hudson explored the river and the bay that perpetuate in their names his vain hope of probing his way through the continent that lay like a bar across the path to India. The passage through this continent is yet to be made and artificially, and it can only lead as we know now into an ocean far wider than the Atlantic.

It is interesting to note the division of the labour of discovery among the maritime nations of Europe. The Norse made the first approaches but did not improve their opportunity; as someone has said, "their visit was as profitable as the visit of a flock of sea-gulls." The Portuguese began the great passion for discovery, and Columbus, as we have seen, spent his first ten years of pleading at their court before he turned to Spain. When he returned with his prize, Pope Alexander VI, the Borgia, in his famous bull of May 3rd and 4th, 1493, drew a magnificent line down through the Atlantic ocean and gave Portugal all the un-Christian world east of it; Spain all that lay to the west.

This demarcation restrained the enthusiasm of the English, then a Catholic nation, temporarily, but not long. Rapidly — for a time when there were no newspapers and telegraph systems to spread news — all the seafaring peoples of the Atlantic coast felt the impetus for exploration, and turned their prows and their hopes westward. The Spanish took the lead in enthusiasm and in numbers, till, as Galvano[c] said in Hakluyt's version, "there grew such a common desire of travaile among the Spanyards, that they were ready to leape into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, into those new-found parts." Once the first voyage had been made imitation was so easy that, as Columbus wrote, "Now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg permission to be a discoverer."

But Italy had furnished the inspiration, through Marco Polo and Toscanelli, as well as the men, for many of the best discoveries, though she did not get the credit. In Genoa were born Colombo (known to the Spanish as Colon) and Giovanni or Zuan Cabot (known to his English employers as John Cabot) though he was a naturalised citizen of Venice, whence came also Polo and Cadamosto. In Florence was born the unjustly maligned Amerigo Vespucci (whose name though given only to the part of the continent which he explored soon spread to the whole new world). Florence also lent to France the true discoverer of the Hudson river, Verrazano.

To Spain belong by birth and service the brilliantly fearless and bloodily ruthless cohort of the brothers Pinzon, Ojeda, Solis, Cortes, Pizarro, Ponce de Leon, Grijalva, Cordova, Pineda, Valdivia, Coronado, Lepe, Alamagro, Alvarado, La Cosa, Ayllon, Gil Gonzalez Gasca, Perrelo, and others.

Portugal gave the world not only its splendid explorers of the East, but also Cortereal; Magelãhes (known to us as Magellan), who sailed under the Spanish flag in the most wonderful of all ocean voyages; Cabral, who gave Brazil to Portugal; Gomez, de Cintra, Jacques, and Coelho.

From France came Jean Cousin of Dieppe, who is claimed as a preceder of Columbus, the plucky Breton and Normandy fishermen who swarmed over to Newfoundland immediately after its discovery was rumoured; Fray Marcos of Nice, Léry, Cartier, Roberval, Champlain, Villegagnon, Ribaut, Laudon-

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nière, La Salle, Marquette, Joliet, Gourgues, Hennepin, Frontenac, La Vérendrez.

In return for borrowing Cabot from Italy, England lent Hudson to the Dutch when he rediscovered the river, but bought him back for the fatal bay voyage. She furnished also Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, Raleigh, John Smith, Gosnold, Pring, Weymouth, John Davis, Willoughby, and William Baffin.

Holland furnished Barentz and Van Horn, while Juan de la Fuca was a Greek. As a final settlement of the theory that America was part of Asia, the Russian Guosdjeff and the Danish Bering proved in the eighteenth century that Asia and America were not anywhere joined by land.

The rewards of the discoverers make a sad catalogue. Among those who died in obscurity and disgrace were Columbus, Gonzalez, and Cortes. The death penalty was meted out to Pinzon, Grijalva, Balboa, and Pizarro. Among those who perished in battle or died from the hardships of their career were Cordova, De Soto, Magellan, Valdura, Narvaez, Ayllon, Solis, Ribaut, Roberval, Gilbert, and Hudson. When Bering perished in 1741 he was — with the exception of those names on the still unfinished death-roll of Arctic exploration — the last martyr to the costly cause of the discovery of America. But never have lives and gold been lavished with more profit to posterity, and never have cruelty, avarice, theft, and oppression borne so liberally the fruit of happiness, riches, and liberty. We may now take up in some detail the voyages of discovery and exploration that became the most notable industry of the age.[a]

THE VOYAGES OF THE CABOTS

In the new career of western adventure, the American continent was first discovered under the auspices of the English. In the history of maritime enterprise in the New World, the achievements of John and Sebastian Cabot are, in boldness, success, and results, second only to those of Columbus. The wars of the houses of York and Lancaster had ceased; tranquillity and thrifty industry had been restored by the prudent severity of Henry VII; the spirit of commercial activity began to be successfully fostered; and the marts of England were thronged with Lombard adventurers. The fisheries of the north had long tempted the merchants of Bristol to an intercourse with Iceland; and the nautical skill necessary to buffet the storms of the Atlantic had been acquired in this branch of northern commerce. Nor is it impossible that some uncertain traditions respecting the remote discoveries which Icelanders had made in Greenland towards the northwest, "where the lands did nearest meet," as Bacon[d] says, should have excited "firm and pregnant conjectures." The magnificent achievement of Columbus, revealing the wonderful truth, of which the germs may have existed in the imagination of every thoughtful mariner, won the admiration which was due to an enterprise that seemed more divine than human, and kindled in the breasts of the emulous a vehement desire to gain as signal renown in the same career of daring; while the politic king of England desired to share in the large returns which were promised by maritime adventure.

It was, therefore, not difficult for John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, residing at Bristol, to engage Henry VII in plans for discovery. He obtained from that monarch a patent (March 5th, 1496), empowering himself and his three sons, or any of them, their heirs, or their deputies, to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea, with a fleet of five ships, at their own proper expense

and charges; to search for islands, countries, provinces, or regions, hitherto unseen by Christian people; to affix the banners of England on any city, island, or continent, that they might find; and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories that might be discovered. It was further stipulated, in what Chalmers[e] has called "the most ancient American state paper of England," that the patentees should be strictly bound in their voyages to land at the port of Bristol, and to pay to the king one fifth part of the emoluments of the navigation; while the exclusive right of frequenting all the countries that might be found was reserved, unconditionally and without limit of time, to the family of the Cabots and their assigns. Under this patent, containing the worst features of colonial monopoly and commercial restriction, John Cabot and [perhaps] his celebrated son Sebastian embarked for the west [May, 1497]. Of what tempests they encountered, what mutinies they calmed, no record has been preserved. The discovery of the American continent (June 24, 1497), probably in the latitude of fifty-six degrees, far, therefore, to the north of the straits of Belle Isle, among the polar bears, the rude savages, and the dismal cliffs of Labrador, was the fruit of the voyage.

It has been attempted to deprive the father of the glory of having led the expedition. The surest documentary evidence confirms his claims.[1] The navigators hastened homewards to announce their success. Thus the discovery of the continent was an exploit of private mercantile adventure; and the possession of the new-found "land and isles" was a right vested by an exclusive patent in the family of a Bristol merchant. Yet the Cabots derived little benefit from the expedition which their genius had suggested, and of which they alone had defrayed the expense. Posterity hardly remembered that they had reached the American continent nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the mainland, and almost two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries. But England acquired through their energy such a right to North America as this indisputable priority could confer. Henry VII and his successors recognised the claims of Spain and Portugal, only so far as they actually occupied the territories to which they laid pretension; and, at a later day, the English parliament and the English courts derided a title founded, not upon occupancy, but upon a grant from the Roman pontiff.

Confidence and zeal awakened; and Henry grew circumspect in the concession of rights which now seemed to become of immense value. A new patent was issued (February 3rd, 1498) to John Cabot, less ample in the privileges which it conferred. A voyage was again undertaken; purposes of traffic were connected with it; and the frugal king was himself a partner in the expenditure. The object of this new expedition was, in part, to explore "what manner of landes those Indies were to inhabit"; and perhaps, also, a hope was entertained of reaching the rich empire of Cathay. Embarking in

[[1] We tell the story of the Cabots as it is generally accepted. It is impossible to enter here into the controversies on every point, and we can only caution the reader to remember that we have not even an allusion, in the narrative form, to the voyages of the Cabots till twenty years after they are said to have occurred, and that much of what information we have is based on the reported conversations of Sebastian Cabot of a far later date. How uncertain these are may be seen from the fact that Eden[f] says: "Sebastian Cabot tolde me that he was borne in Bryston," while there is much stronger proof, and his own statement to Contarini, to prove that he was born in Venice about 1478. The first printed account of the Cabots' discovery was in the *Decades* of Peter Martyr,[g] who was Sebastian's friend, and whose account does not even mention John Cabot. On the other hand there are evidences that lead certain scholars to doubt that Sebastian was present on the first voyage at all. His name is not mentioned in the contemporary documents lately discovered, and there seems to be in the reports of his conversations a hopeless confusion of the first and second voyages.]

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May, Sebastian Cabot,[1] with a company of three hundred men, sailed for Labrador, by way of Iceland; and reached the continent in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees. The severity of the cold, the strangeness of the unknown land, and his declared purpose of exploring the country, induced him to turn to the south; and, having proceeded along the shores of the United States to the southern boundary of Maryland, or perhaps to the latitude of Albemarle Sound, want of provisions induced him to return to England.

Curiosity desires to trace the further career of the great seaman, who, with his father, gave a continent to England. The maps which he sketched of his discoveries, and the accounts which he wrote of his adventures, have perished, and the history of the next years of his life is involved in obscurity. Yet it does not admit of a reasonable doubt, that, perhaps in 1517, after he had been in the employment of Ferdinand of Spain, and before he received the appointment of pilot-major from Charles V, he sailed once more from England to discover the Northwest Passage. The testimony respecting this expedition is confused and difficult of explanation; the circumstances which attended it, are variously related, and are assigned to other and earlier voyages. Sebastian Cabot passed through the straits and entered the bay, which, after the lapse of nearly a century, took their name from Hudson. He himself wrote a "discourse of navigation," in which the entrance of the strait was laid down with great precision "on a card, drawn by his own hand." He boldly prosecuted his design, making his way through regions, into which it was, long afterwards, esteemed an act of the most intrepid maritime adventure to penetrate, till, on June 11th, 1517, as we are informed from a letter written by the navigator himself, he had attained the altitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees, ever in the hope of finding a passage into the Indian Ocean. The sea was still open; but the cowardice of a naval officer [Sir Thomas Pert or Spert], and the mutiny of the mariners, compelled him to return, though his own confidence in the possibility of effecting the passage remained unimpaired.

(1474–1557)

The career of Sebastian Cabot was in the issue as honourable as it had in the opening been glorious. For sixty years, during a period when maritime adventure engaged the most intense public curiosity, he was reverenced for his achievements and his skill. He sailed to South America in 1526 under the auspices of Charles V, though not with entire success.[2] On his return to England in 1548 he advanced the commerce of England by opposing a mercantile monopoly, and was pensioned and rewarded for his merits as the Great Sea-

[[1] Hakluyt[h] quotes Fabian to the effect that John Cabot went also on this second voyage. It seems improbable, indeed, that he was not in command. All evidence of him was lacking, however, till as late as 1897, when the Customs Roll of Bristol for 1496–1499 was discovered in Westminster Abbey and published; it tends to prove that John Cabot returned from his second voyage before September 29, 1498, and was alive at that date.]

[[2] While in Spain he was ordered into banishment for this failure, though it is not known if the sentence was executed.]

man in 1549. It was also he who framed the instructions for the expedition which discovered the passage to Archangel in 1553. He lived to an extreme old age, and so loved his profession to the last, that in the hour of death his wandering thoughts were upon the ocean. There is deep cause for regret, that time has spared so few memorials of his career. Himself incapable of jealousy, he did not escape detraction. He gave England a continent, and no one knows his burial place.

THE PORTUGUESE CORTEREAL

The king of Portugal, grieved at having neglected Columbus, readily favoured an expedition for northern discovery. Gaspar Cortereal was appointed commander of the enterprise. [He sailed with three ships on May 15th, 1501.] He reached the shores of North America, ranged the coast for a distance of six or seven hundred miles, and carefully observed the country and its inhabitants. The most northern point which he attained, was probably about the fiftieth degree. Of the country along which he sailed, he had occasion to admire the brilliant freshness of the verdure, and the density of the stately forests. The pines, well adapted for masts and yards, promised to become an object of gainful commerce. But men were already with the Portuguese an established article of traffic; the inhabitants of the American coast seemed well fitted for labour; and Cortereal freighted his ships with more than fifty Indians, whom, on his return, October 8th, he sold as slaves. It was soon resolved to renew the expedition; but the adventurer never returned. His death was ascribed to a combat with the natives, whom he desired to kidnap; the name of Labrador, transferred to a more northern coast, is, probably, a memorial of his crime; and is, perhaps, the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America.[1] In May of the next year, 1502, Gaspar's brother, Miguel, sailed to search for his brother. They found so many rivers and bays that they divided their fleet; two vessels returned, but Miguel, like his brother, was never heard of again. A new expedition sent by the king found no trace of either, and when the eldest of the family asked permission, the king said he had lost enough Cortereals.[a]

FRENCH DISCOVERIES: VERRAZANO

The French entered without delay into the competition for the commerce and the soil of America. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, in 1504, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy.[1] The island of Cape Breton acquired its name from their remembrance of home, and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of the country. A map of the gulf of St. Lawrence was drawn by Denys, a citizen of Honfleur; and the fishermen of the northwest of France derived wealth from the regions, which, it was reluctantly confessed, had been first visited by the Cabots.

The fisheries had for some years been successfully pursued; savages from the northeastern coast had been brought to France [by Thomas Aubert of Dieppe], in 1508; plans of colonisation in North America had been suggested. 1518 [and perhaps attempted], by De Léry and Saint-Just; when at length

[[1] If the archives of Dieppe had not been destroyed in the bombardment of 1694, and those of La Rochelle in the famous siege, France would doubtless occupy a higher place even than she now holds in the account of American exploration.]

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Francis I, a monarch who had invited Da Vinci and Cellini to transplant the fine arts into his kingdom, employed Giovanni Verrazano another Florentine, to explore the new regions, which had alike excited curiosity and hope. It was by way of the isle of Madeira that the Italian, parting from a fleet which had cruised successfully along the shores of Spain, sailed for America, January 17th, 1524, with a single caravel, resolute to make discovery of new countries.[i]

VERRAZANO'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE IN 1524

Captain Giovanni da Verrazano to his most serene majesty, the king of France, writes:

Since the tempests which we encountered on the northern coasts, I have not written to your most serene and Christian majesty concerning the four ships sent out by your orders on the ocean to discover new lands, because I thought you must have been before apprized of all that had happened to us — that we had been compelled by the impetuous violence of the winds to put into Brittany in distress with only the two ships *Normandy* and *Dolphin;* and that after having repaired these ships, we made a cruise in them, well armed, along the coast of Spain, as your majesty must have heard, and also of our new plan of continuing our begun voyage with the *Dolphin* [or *Dauphine*] alone; from this voyage being now returned, I proceed to give your majesty an account of our discoveries.

On the 17th of last January we set sail from a desolate rock near the island of Madeira, belonging to his most serene majesty, the king of Portugal, with fifty men, having provisions sufficient for eight months, arms and other warlike munition and naval stores. Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze, in twenty-five days we ran eight hundred leagues. On the 24th of February we encountered as violent a hurricane as any ship ever weathered from which we escaped unhurt by the divine assistance and goodness, to the praise of the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship, that had been able to support the violent tossing of the waves. Pursuing our voyage towards the west, a little northwardly, in twenty-four days more, having run four hundred leagues, we reached a new country, which had never before been seen by any one, either in ancient or modern times. At first it appeared to be very low, but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore we perceived, by the great fires near the coast, that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretches to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port, in which we might come to anchor, and examine into the nature of the country, but for fifty leagues we could find none in which we could lie securely.

Seeing the coast still stretch to the south, we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward, and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land and sent a boat on shore. Many people who were seen coming to the sea-side fled at our approach, but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some were at length induced, by various friendly signs, to come to us. These showed the greatest delight on beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenances and complexion. They then showed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. That your majesty may know all that we learned, while on shore, of their manners and customs of life, I will relate what we saw as briefly as possible. They go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals like martens fastened by a girdle of plaited

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grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals hanging down to the knees; all other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to birds' feathers.

The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians; their hair is black and thick, and not very long, it is worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail. In person they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own, broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body; the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces, but not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these last two particulars they resemble the people of the east, especially those of the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages on account of our short stay among them, and the distance of our ship from the shore.

As the "East" stretches around this country, I think it cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the colour of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer, stags, hares, and many other similar, and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water, and being in the latitude of 34 the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold.

We set sail from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the west (east?); the inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbour to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men to obtain water, but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating by various friendly signs that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat, but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them that he lay as it were dead upon the beach. When these people saw him in this situation, they ran and took him up by the head, legs and arms, and carried him to a distance from the surf; the young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear.

Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trousers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat seeing a great fire made up, and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore, then leaving him, that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that

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these people were black like the others, that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs, and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds; this is all that he observed of them.

Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched to the north, we came, in the space of fifty leagues, to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of the largest forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around we discovered in the grass a very old woman and a young girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason; the old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age; when we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight, but the girl would not touch any; everything we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away; having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only. We found them fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants, which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp; their heads are without covering and of the same shape as the others.

We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which entwine about the trees, and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy. These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own.

After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbour we determined to depart, and coast along the shore to the northeast, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colours. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit,[1] upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of

[[1] This is universally admitted to be the harbour of New York, and the mouth of the Hudson, where Verrazano preceded Henry Hudson by several years. The triangular island is recognised as Block Island.]

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minerals. Weighing anchor, we sailed fifty leagues toward the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the mainland, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your majesty's illustrious mother.

We did not land there, as the weather was unfavourable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbour. Before entering it, we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss to them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear. Among them were two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described: one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its colour, but it is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals—yellow being the colour especially disliked by them; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of these things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made; the same was the case of the looking-glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous, giving away whatever they have. We formed a great friendship with them.

This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being 41° 40′ of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbour is half a league broad; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues, and then enlarging itself it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands, of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbour, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance, there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbour.

Having supplied ourselves with everything necessary, on the 5th of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight; the nature of the country appeared much the same as before, but the mountains were a little higher, and all in appearance rich in minerals. We did not stop to land as the weather was very favourable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle, but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals, and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwel-

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lings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation; the land appears sterile and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffick with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord to our boats beneath whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us, not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange; they took from us only knives, fish hooks, and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies; when we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible.

Against their will we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men; when we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wore copper earrings. Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering northeast, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods, and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main land, small and of pleasant appearance, but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbours and channels, as we see in the Adriatic gulf, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people, but we judge that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water and determined to return to France, having discovered 502, that is 700 (sic) leagues of unknown lands.

As to the religious faith of all these tribes, not understanding their language, we could not discover either by sign or gestures anything certain. It seemed to us that they had no religion nor laws, nor any knowledge of a First Cause or Mover, that they worshipped neither the heavens, stars, sun, moon, nor other planets; nor could we learn if they were given to any kind of idolatry, or offered any sacrifices or supplications, or if they have temples or houses of prayer in their villages: our conclusion was that they have no religious belief whatever, but live in this respect entirely free. All which proceeds from ignorance, as they are very easy to be persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervour in all which they saw us do as Christians in our acts of worship.

My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such an obstacle, as they have proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean. It was the opinion of the ancients, that our oriental Indian Ocean is one, and without any interposing land; Aristotle supports it by arguments founded on various probabilities; but it is contrary to that of the moderns and shown to be erroneous by experience; the country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world compared with that before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe, together with Africa and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent. If the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of sea coast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients supposed, who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was

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less than the water, whereas actual experience proves the reverse, so that we judge in respect to extent of surface the land covers as much space as the water; and I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking. The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain, is joined to Europe to the north in Norway and Russia, which disproves the idea of the ancients that all this part had been navigated from the Cimbric Chersonesus, eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situated to the east and west of it, which seas in fact do not surround either of the two continents, for as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere at the latitude of 54 extends eastwardly an unknown distance, and that of the northern passing the 66th parallel turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the 70th. In a short time, I hope, we shall have more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid of your majesty, whom I pray Almighty God to prosper in lasting glory, that we may see the most important results of this our cosmography in the fulfilment of the holy words of the Gospel.

On board the ship *Dolphin*,[1] in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524.

Your humble servitor,

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO.[j]

JACQUES CARTIER (1534–1536 A.D.)

The account of Verrazano's voyage is taken from his letter to the French king sent from Dieppe July 8th, 1524. The original is lost, but two Italian translations exist and there are allusions to it of early date. In 1864, an American, Buckingham Smith,[k] cast doubts on the credibility of the letter. H. C. Murphy,[l] in 1875 took up the subject again, and denied Verrazano's voyage in toto. The brilliance of his argument made a sensation and led Bancroft[i] in his revision of his history to omit the pages concerning Verrazano which he had originally written. Murphy's onslaught, however, evoked a host of defenders, and the great majority of historians now give full credence and honour to Verrazano.[a]

In July, Verrazano was once more in France [arriving at Dieppe July 8th]. His own narrative of the voyage is the earliest original account, now extant, of the coast of the United States. He advanced the knowledge of the country; and he gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, on the pretext of discovery. The historians of maritime adventure agree that Verrazano again embarked upon an expedition, from which, it is usually added, he never returned. Did he sail once more under the auspices of France? When the monarch had just lost "everything but honour" in the disastrous battle of Pavia, is it probable that the impoverished government could have sent forth another expedition? Did he relinquish the service of France for that of England? It is hardly a safe conjecture, as advanced by Biddle,[m] that he was murdered in an encounter with savages, while on a voyage of discovery, which Henry VIII had favoured. Hakluyt[h] asserts that Verrazano was thrice on the coast of America, and that he gave a map of it to the English monarch. It is the common tradition that he perished at sea, having been engaged in an expedition of which no tidings were ever heard. Such a report might

[[1] The name of this famous ship is usually translated Dolphin from the French *Dauphine* or the Italian *Delfina*, but it more probably was chosen in honour of the Dauphin of France.]

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easily be spread respecting a great navigator who had disappeared from the public view. Yet such certainty cannot be established.

But the misfortunes of the French monarchy did not affect the industry of its fishermen; who, amidst the miseries of France, still resorted to Newfoundland. There exists a letter of August 3rd, 1527, to Henry VIII, from the haven of St. John, in Newfoundland, written by an English captain, in which he declares he found in that one harbour eleven sail of Normans and one Breton, engaged in the fishery. The French king, engrossed by the passionate and unsuccessful rivalry with Charles V, could hardly respect so humble an interest. But Chabot, admiral of France, a man of bravery and influence, acquainted by his office with the fishermen, on whose vessels he levied some small exactions for his private emolument, interested Francis in the design of exploring and colonising the New World.

Jacques Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition. His several voyages are of great moment; for they had a permanent effect in guiding the attention of France to the region of the St. Lawrence. It was April 20th, that the mariner, with two ships, left the harbour of St. Malo; and prosperous weather brought him May 10th upon the coasts of Newfoundland. Having almost circumnavigated the island, he turned to the south, and crossing the gulf, entered the bay, which he called Des Chaleurs, from the intense heats of midsummer. Finding no passage to the west, he sailed along the coast, as far as the smaller inlet of Gaspe. There, July 12th, upon a point of land, at the entrance of the haven, a lofty cross was raised, bearing a shield, with the lilies of France and an appropriate inscription. Henceforth the soil was to be esteemed a part of the dominions of the French king. Leaving the bay of Gaspe, Cartier discovered the great river of Canada, and sailed up its channel, till he could discern land on either side. As he was unprepared to remain during the winter, it then became necessary to return; the little fleet embarked August 9th, for Europe, and in less than thirty days, entered the harbour of St. Malo in security. His native city and France were filled with the tidings of his discoveries. The voyage had been easy and successful. Up to the day of steamships, the passage to and fro was not often made more rapidly or more safely.

The court listened to the urgency of the friends of Cartier; a new commission was issued; three well-furnished ships were provided by the king; and some of the young nobility of France volunteered to join the new expedition. The squadron sailed May 19th, 1535, for the New World, full of hopes of discoveries and plans of colonisation in the territory which now began to be known as New France.

It was after a stormy voyage that they arrived within sight of Newfoundland. Passing to the west of that island on the day of St. Lawrence, August 10th, 1535, they gave the name of that martyr to a portion of the noble gulf which opened before them; a name which has gradually extended to the whole gulf, and to the river. Sailing to the north of Anticosti, they ascended the stream in September, as far as a pleasant harbour in the isle, since called Orleans. The natives, Indians of Algonquin descent, received them with unsuspecting hospitality. Leaving his ships safely moored, Cartier, in a boat, sailed up the majestic stream to the chief Indian settlement on the island of Hochelaga. The language of its inhabitants proves them to have been of the Huron family of tribes. The town lay at the foot of a hill, which he climbed. As he reached the summit, he was moved to admiration by the prospect before him of woods, and waters, and mountains.

Imagination presented it as the future emporium of inland commerce,

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and the metropolis of a prosperous province; filled with bright anticipations, he called the hill Mont-Real, and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realising his visions. Cartier also gathered of the Indians some indistinct account of the countries now contained in the north of Vermont and New York. Rejoining his ships, the winter, rendered frightful by the ravages of the scurvy, was passed where they were anchored. At the approach of spring, a cross was solemnly erected upon land, and on it a shield was suspended, which bore the arms of France, and an inscription, declaring Francis to be the rightful king of these new-found regions. Having thus claimed possession of the territory, the Breton mariner returned to Europe, and July 6th, 1536, once more entered St. Malo in security.

THE SPANISH EXPLORERS

Extraordinary success had kindled in the Spanish nation an equally extraordinary enthusiasm. No sooner had the New World revealed itself to their enterprise than the valiant men, who had won laurels under Ferdinand among the mountains of Andalusia sought a new career of glory in more remote adventures. The weapons that had been tried in the battles with the Moors, and the military skill that had been acquired in the romantic conquest of Granada, were now turned against the feeble occupants of America. The passions of avarice and religious zeal were strangely blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the west, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, where infinite wealth was to reward their piety. The Spanish nation had become infatuated with a fondness for novelties; the "chivalry of the ocean" despised the range of Europe as too narrow, and offering to their extravagant ambition nothing beyond mediocrity. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runs of water, the sands sparkled with gold.

What way soever, says the historian of the ocean, the Spaniards are called, with a beck only, or a whispering voice, to anything rising above water, they speedily prepare themselves to fly, and forsake certainties under the hope of more brilliant success. To carve out provinces with the sword; to divide the spoils of empires; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynasty; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils — soon became the ordinary dreams in which the excited minds of the Spaniards delighted to indulge. Ease, fortune, life, all were squandered in the pursuit of a game, where, if the issue was uncertain, success was sometimes obtained, greater than the boldest imagination had dared to anticipate. Is it strange that these adventurers were often superstitious? The New World and its wealth were in themselves so wonderful, that why should credit be withheld from the wildest fictions? Why should not the hope be indulged, that the laws of nature themselves would yield to the desires of men so fortunate and so brave?[1]

THE DISPUTED VOYAGE OF VESPUCCI, AND THE NAME "AMERICA"

Few of the early names in American history have failed to be the subject of critical dispute. None have been the victims of more bitter controversy than Vespucci, the Florentine, whose first name has been latinised and femi-

[[1] His later activities as a colonist will be discussed in another chapter.]

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nised into the title of the entire New World. There exists a letter credited to Vespucci which says: "We sailed from the port of Cadiz, May 10, 1497." After spending a few days at the Canaries, the four ships proceeded and "arrived at the end of twenty-seven days upon a shore which we believed to be that of a continent."

If this letter is to be believed, Vespucci reached the continent a week or more before John Cabot, for whom June 24th, 1497, is the earliest date claimed; and fourteen months before the date when Columbus sighted the mainland in August 1498. Therefore there would be at least partial justice in giving the name America to the mainland. But this letter is in conflict with so much negative evidence that the 1497 voyage of Vespucci is not seriously accepted by the majority of historians, though, of course, it cannot be entirely disproved to have happened in a crowded time when, as Columbus said, "the very tailors" wanted to be discoverers. The letter however was not written till 1504, if then, and it distinctly states that Vespucci went under royal commission. Of this there is absolutely no confirmation, which is suspicious; there is indeed some proof that he could not have been out of Spain in the period indicated.

While Vespucci's voyage in 1497 is denied by almost all reputable historians with the exception of a few stalwart defenders like Varnhagen [a] and John Fiske,[b] there is little doubt that he made what he calls his "second" voyage, in 1499. Of this there is proof, for he is mentioned by Alonzo de Ojeda who was with Columbus in 1492 and who in 1499, made an independent voyage with four ships by royal commission and reached the Orinoco. In 1512 Columbus' son Diego, as heir to his father's rights, brought suit against the king of Spain for royalties from certain provinces. The king tried to prove that Columbus did not discover the provinces in question. Ojeda, called as a witness, mentioned his voyage in 1499 and stated that he took with him "Juan de la Cosa and Morigo Vespuche and other pilots." But he did not say that Vespucci had two years earlier discovered the mainland, though he did admit that his own voyage in 1499 was made possible by a surreptitious use of the maps and journals made by Columbus in 1498. Nor did Vespucci's nephew, who was at the trial, advance any family claims for priority.

The claim thus being further discredited, the question of Vespucci's intention to deceive is a new problem. The letters credited to him claim four voyages, two for the king of Spain, two for the king of Portugal. These letters appear as an appendix to the *Cosmographiæ introductio* published in the small town of St. Dié in 1507. In the text the author says, "The fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus, it may be called Amerige; *i.e.*, Americus' land or America," He later reiterates the suggestion and explains the form America by saying that "both Europe and Asia have chosen their names from the feminine form." The author of this book, Martin Waldzeemuller,[c] otherwise known as Hylacomylus, thus deliberately invented the word America in 1509. In 1522 it was placed on a map in an edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*.

From that time its convenience and gracefulness have given it permanence. The problem of Vespucci's assistance in foisting his name on the New World is also in dispute. If he wrote the letters in which he claims to have made four voyages of which the one he calls "the first" required seventeen months, while the one he calls "the second" was made in 1499; it seems hard to relieve him of a charge of intentional fraud. He deserves, however, the honour of planting the first colony of Europeans in South America, in 1503. In 1508

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he was made pilot-major to King Ferdinand and he died February 22nd, 1512, apparently in high honour. The contrast with Columbus is complete. Columbus spent years and years of land-travel and toil preparing the means to invade the unknown sea, found a world there, suffered, after a brief glory, ignominy, imprisonment, and neglect, and was buried with the chains he had worn.

The year after his death, a suggestion was obscurely made that a certain minor navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, should be chosen as the sponsor for the New World. In proof of his right to the naming of a quarter of the globe. certain letters of his own were cited to the effect that he saw a coast which he thought to be a continent; this was five years after Columbus had made his first voyage. At best the letter utterly lacks substantiation, but evidence which would in a law court hardly establish a claim to an acre of ground has sufficed to fasten the name of a subordinate pilot upon a hemisphere.[a]

OTHER SPANISH EXPLORERS (1499-1511 A.D.)

A voyage of discovery was undertaken in 1499 by Alonso Niño, who had served under the admiral in his last voyage. Having fitted out a single ship, in conjunction with Christobal Guerra, a merchant of Seville, they both sailed to the coast of Paria. Though their discoveries were unimportant, yet they carried home such a quantity of gold and pearls, as inflamed their countrymen with desire of engaging in similar enterprises.

Vincent Yañez Pinzon, having, in connection with Ariez Pinzon, built four caravels, sailed in December of the preceding year from Palos for America. Leaving the Cape Verd Islands on the 13th of January, he stood boldly toward the south, and was the first Spaniard who ventured to cross the equinoctial line. In February, he discovered a cape, in 8° north latitude, and called it Cabo de Consolacion; but it has since been called Cape Augustine. Here his men landed, who cut the names of the ships, and the date of the year and day upon the trees and rocks, and took possession of the country for the crown of Castile. They saw no natives, but they perceived footsteps upon the shore. During the following night they saw many fires. In the morning, they sent forty armed men to treat with the natives, thirty-two of whom, armed with bows and arrows, advanced to meet them, followed by others, armed in the same manner. The Spaniards endeavoured to allure them by gifts, but in vain; for, in the dead of night, they fled from the places which they had occupied. Sailing northwestward, they discovered the river of the Amazons. At the mouth of this great river, they found many islands, the inhabitants of which received them hospitably and unsuspiciously; but Pinzon, with barbarian cruelty, seized about thirty of them, and carried them away to sell for slaves. At the mouth of one of the rivers, Pinzon and his squadron were endangered; but, escaping thence, crossing the line, and continuing his course till he came to Orinoco and Trinidad, he then made for the islands, sailed homewards, and, losing two of his three ships by the way, returned to Spain.

THE PORTUGUESE CABRAL DISCOVERS BRAZIL (1500 A.D.)

Before Pinzon reached Europe, the coast which he had discovered, had been taken possession of by the nation to whom it was allotted. The fertile district of country, "on the confines of which Pinzon stopped short," was very soon more fully discovered. Pedro Alvarez Cabral, sent by Emanuel, king of

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Portugal, with thirteen ships, on a voyage from Lisbon to the East Indies, in order to avoid the calms on the Guinea shore, fetched a compass so far westward, as, by accid nt, to discover land in the 10th degree south of the equinoctial line. Proceeding along the coast several days, he was led from its extent to believe, that it must be a part of some great continent; and, on account of a cross which he erected there with much ceremony, he called it the Land of the Holy Cross; but it was afterward called Brazil. Having taken possession of it for the crown of Portugal, he despatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this important discovery, and pursued his voyage.

The Portuguese king, on receiving the intelligence, sent ships to discover the whole country, and found it to be the land of America. A controversy hence arose between him and the king of Spain; but they being kinsmen and near friends, it was ultimately agreed that the king of Portugal should hold all the country that he had discovered, which was from the river of Marañon, or Amazons, to the river of Plate.

Portugal, at that time still in her glory, disregarding the donation made by the pope, and the compromise for half the world, to which he had reluctantly agreed, viewed all the discoveries made by Spain in the New World as so many encroachments on her own rights and property. Under the influence of this national jealousy, Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, of respectable family, inspired with the resolution of discovering new countries, and a new route to India, sailed from Lisbon, as we have already seen, and discovered the land which he judged to be fit for cultivation, and named Terra de Lavradores.

The king of Portugal, on receiving intelligence of Cabral's discovery, fitted out three ships to explore the country, and gave the command to Amerigo Vespucci, whom he invited for that purpose from Seville. They sailed in May, 1501, and, after a very tempestuous voyage of three months, made land in 5° south latitude. Having coasted on northward till they advanced as far as 32°, they left the coast, and struck out to sea. Standing to the southward till they reached 52°, they found it expedient to return, and they reached Lisbon after a voyage of sixteen months.

FURTHER SPANISH DISCOVERIES

Rodigero de Bastidas, in partnership with John de la Cosa, fitted out two ships from Cadiz. Sailing toward the western continent, he arrived on the coast of Paria; and, proceeding to the west, discovered all the coast of the province since known by the name of Terra Firma, from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien. Ojeda, with his former associate Amerigo Vespucci, went on a second voyage. Unacquainted with the destination of Bastidas, he held the same course, touched at the same places, and proceeded to Hispaniola.

In 1508, Juan Diaz de Solis and Vincent Yañez Pinzon sailed from Seville, with two caravels, to the coast of Brazil, and went to the 35th degree, south latitude, where they found the great river Paranaguazu, afterward called Rio de Plata, or River of Silver. Proceeding to the 40th degree, they erected crosses wherever they landed, took formal possession, and returned to Spain. In this voyage they discovered an extensive province, known afterward by the name of Yucatan. This same year Sebastian de Ocampo, by command of Ovando, sailed around Cuba, and first discovered with certainty that this country, which Columbus once supposed to be a part of the continent, is a large island.

In 1509, Don Diego, son of Christopher Columbus, having for two years

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after the death of his father made incessant but fruitless application to King Ferdinand for the offices and rights to which he was legally entitled, at last commenced a suit against the king before the council of the Indies, and obtained a decree in confirmation of his claim of the viceroyalty, with all the privileges stipulated in the capitulation with his father. Succeeding Ovando in the government of Hispaniola, he now repaired to that island, accompanied by his wife, his brother, and uncles, and a numerous retinue of both sexes, of good parentage; and the colony acquired new lustre by the accession of so many respectable inhabitants. Agreeably to instructions from the king, he settled a colony in Cubagua, where large fortunes were soon acquired by the fishery of pearls. He also sent to Jamaica John de Esquibal with seventy men, who began a settlement on that island.

Alonso de Ojeda, having sailed from Hispaniola with a ship and two brigantines, carrying three hundred soldiers, to settle the continent, landed at Carthagena; but was beaten off by the natives. While he began a settlement at St. Sebastian, on the east side of the gulf of Darien, Diego Nicuesa with six vessels and 780 men began another at Nombre de Dios, on the west side. Both, however, were soon broken up by the natives. The early historians say that the natives of these countries were fierce and warlike; that their arrows were dipped in a poison so noxious that every wound was followed with certain death; that in one encounter they slew seventy of Ojeda's followers; and that the Spaniards, for the first time, were taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. This was the first attempt to take possession of Terra Firma; and it was by virtue of the pope's grant, made in a form prescribed by some of the most eminent divines and lawyers in Spain.

The greater part of those who had engaged with Ojeda and Nicuesa in the expedition for settling the continent having perished in less than a year, a few who survived now settled, as a feeble colony, at Santa Maria on the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

In 1511, Don Diego Columbus, proposing to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there, many persons of distinction in Hispaniola engaged in the enterprise. Three hundred men, destined for the service, were put under the command of Diego Velazquez, who had accompanied Christopher Columbus in his second voyage. With this inconsiderable number of troops, Velazquez conquered the island, without the loss of a man, and annexed it to the Spanish monarchy. The conqueror was now appointed governor and captain-general of the island.[p]

PONCE DE LEON IN FLORIDA (1513 A.D.)

Juan Ponce de Leon was the discoverer of Florida. His youth had been passed in military service in Spain, and during the wars in Granada he had shared in the wild exploits of predatory valour. No sooner had the return of the first voyage across the Altantic given an assurance of a New World, than he hastened to participate in the dangers and the spoils of adventure in America. He was a fellow voyager of Columbus in his second expedition. In the wars of Hispaniola he had been a gallant soldier; and Ovando had rewarded him with the government of the eastern province of that island. From the hills in his jurisdiction he could behold, across the clear waters of a placid sea, the magnificent vegetation of Porto Rico, which distance rendered still more admirable as it was seen through the transparent atmosphere of the tropics. A visit to the island stimulated the cupidity of avarice; and Ponce aspired to the government. He obtained the station in 1509: inured to

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sanguinary war, he was inexorably severe in his administration: he oppressed the natives; he amassed wealth. But his commission as governor of Porto Rico conflicted with the claims of the family of Columbus; and policy, as well as justice, required his removal. Ponce was displaced.

Yet, in the midst of an archipelago, and in the vicinity of a continent, what need was there for a brave soldier to pine at the loss of power over a wild though fertile island? Age had not tempered the love of enterprise: he longed to advance his fortunes by the conquest of a kingdom, and to retrieve a reputation which was not without a blemish.[1] Besides, the veteran soldier, whose cheeks had been furrowed by hard service as well as by years, had heard, and had believed the tale, of a fountain which possessed virtues to renovate the life of those who should bathe in its stream, or give a perpetuity of youth to the happy man who should drink of its ever-flowing waters. So universal was this tradition that it was credited in Spain, not by the people and the court only, but also by those who were distinguished for virtue and intelligence. Nature was to discover the secrets for which alchemy had toiled in vain; and the elixir of life was to flow from a perpetual fountain of the New World, in the midst of a country glittering with gems and gold.

Ponce embarked at Porto Rico, March 3rd, 1513, with a squadron of three ships, fitted out at his own expense, for his voyage to fairyland. He touched at Guanahani; he sailed among the Bahamas; but the laws of nature remained inexorable. On Easter Sunday, March 27th, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, land was seen. It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of Florida, from the day on which it was discovered and from the aspect of the forests, which were then brilliant with a profusion of blossoms and gay with the fresh verdure of early spring. Bad weather would not allow the squadron to approach land (April 2nd): at length the aged soldier was able to go on shore, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes; some miles, therefore, to the north of St. Augustine. The territory was claimed (April 8th) for Spain. Ponce remained for many weeks to investigate the coast which he had discovered; though the currents of the Gulf Stream, and the islands, between which the channel was yet unknown, threatened shipwreck. He doubled Cape Florida; he sailed among the group which he named Tortugas; and, despairing of entire success, he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the research. The Indians had everywhere displayed determined hostility. Ponce de Leon remained an old man; but Spanish commerce acquired a new channel through the gulf of Florida, and Spain a new province, which imagination could esteem immeasurably rich, since its interior was unknown.

The government of Florida was the reward which Ponce received from the king of Spain; but the dignity was accompanied with the onerous condition that he should colonise the country which he was appointed to rule. Preparations in Spain, and an expedition against the Caribbee Indians, delayed his return to Florida. When, after a long interval, he proceeded in 1521 with two ships to take possession of his province and select a site for a colony, his company was attacked by the Indians with implacable fury. Many Spaniards were killed; the survivors were forced to hurry to their ships; Ponce de Leon himself, mortally wounded by an arrow, returned to Cuba to die. So ended the

[[1] The Peter Martyr map of 1511 had already shown in the relative place of Florida an island called Bimini. Here the fountain of youth was generally supposed to exist, and its discovery was the ambition of various explorers, but only incidentally. The fountain of youth has no place in the official documents of that time, and Balboa like others was mainly seeking gold and power.]

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adventurer who had coveted immeasurable wealth and had hoped for perpetual youth. The discoverer of Florida had desired immortality on earth, and gained its shadow.

LATER EXPLORERS OF THE COAST

Meantime, commerce may have discovered a path to Florida; and Diego Miruelo, a careless sea-captain, sailing from Havana in 1516, is said to have approached the coast, and trafficked with the natives. He could not tell distinctly in what harbour he had anchored[1]; he brought home specimens of gold, obtained in exchange for toys; and his report swelled the rumours, already credited, of the wealth of the country. Florida had at once obtained a governor; it now constituted a part of a bishopric.[i]

BALBOA DISCOVERER OF THE PACIFIC (1513 A.D.)

Attempts were made, at this period, to conquer and settle on the coast of Carthagena and Darien. In 1509, John de Esquibel had been sent by Diego Columbus from Santo Domingo to form the first settlement in Jamaica, to which Alonzo de Ojeda laid a claim, and threatened to hang Esquibel.

During the following year, Ojeda and John de la Cosa, who had received a licence to capture and take possession of Veragua, Carthagena, and other western countries, sailed from Santo Domingo, landed on the continent, and had several conflicts with the natives, who were a bolder and more advanced race than the aborigines of Hayti. In one attack seventy Spaniards were killed, and the remainder wounded with poisoned arrows. Ojeda and Cosas were saved by the arrival of another adventurer, Nicuesa, with four ships. The latter attacked the natives, burned their town, in which they found a large store of gold, and taking a number of prisoners sent them as slaves to work in the mines of Hayti. Among the commanders of these vessels was Francis Pizarro, whom Ojeda left at St. Sebastian, the place where he fixed upon for a settlement. The latter entered into an agreement with an outlaw, or pirate, to take him in his vessel to Santo Domingo. The pirate's vessel was wrecked on the coast of Cuba, from whence they escaped to Jamaica in a canoe. The pirate was there apprehended and hanged. Pizarro was obliged to leave St. Sebastian, and escaped with a few men to Carthagena — where Enciso, with two ships, arrived from Santo Domingo. Pizarro and Enciso then proceeded to St. Sebastian, where they were shipwrecked, and, on landing, found the place entirely destroyed by the natives. They saved, from the wrecks, provisions, arms, and various articles, and proceeded to re-establish themselves at St. Sebastian, but they were reduced to great extremities by the attacks of the natives, and by the scanty supply of food.

One of the most remarkable men among the explorers of America accompanied this expedition. This person was Vasquez [or Vasco] Nuñez de Balboa, [a bankrupt farmer], who had formerly sailed with Bastidas on his voyage of discovery. He had obtained a settlement at Hayti; but having been accused of some excesses, for which he was to have been executed, he escaped by being concealed on board Enciso's ship in a bread cask. He ventured after a day to make his appearance. Enciso was enraged, as he had been warned not to take any one but those on his muster-roll, from Hayti; but the principal persons on board interceded for Nuñez, and he was consequently

[[1] It was probably Pensacola Bay.]

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protected. He was afterwards almost the only person at St. Sebastian who had not absolutely given himself up to despair. Enciso was rallied and encouraged by Nuñez, by whose energy the stranded vessels were at last got afloat, and they sailed, according to the advice of Nuñez, to where he had seen a town, when he had made the voyage with Bastidas. They, accordingly, steered for the river Darien, and found the place and country such as both were described by Nuñez. They marched against the cacique and his people, attacked and put them to flight — found in the town, which was immediately deserted, abundance of provisions, also cotton, spun and unspun, household goods of various kinds, and more than the value of $10,000 in gold plates. The success of this adventure being justly attributed to Nuñez, his reputation became great. He deprived Enciso, who bore him no good will from the first, of all authority; gained, by his boldness, the confidence of the Spaniards, and founded the settlement of Santa Maria. Nuñez established his authority and retained his power in Darien, and the country then called Castell d'Oro, by gaining over, or defeating, the chi fs of the country, by buying, with the gold he sent to Santo Domingo, the authorities there over to his interest, and by his superior fertility of resources under the most difficult circumstances.

In the middle of September, 1513, having been informed of rich and vast regions to the southwest, stretching along a great ocean which was not far distant, he departed from Santa Maria, accompanied by the afterwards celebrated Francis Pizarro,[1] on an expedition in which, after some desperate conflicts with the natives, he advanced so far, on the 25th of September, as to behold, lying broad in view, the great Pacific Ocean [which he named the South Sea, or *Mar del Sur* — it was Magellan who gave it its name of Pacific Ocean].

Nuñez possessed the manner and ability of making himself beloved by his companions and followers. He was kind to the sick and the wounded, and shared the same fatigues and the same food as the humblest soldier. Before reaching the shores of the Pacific, he was opposed by Chiapes, the cacique of the country; who, however, was soon routed, and several of the natives killed by fire-arms, or torn by blood-hounds, those powerful auxiliaries of the Spanish conquerors in America. Nuñez then made peace with them — exchanging trinkets of little cost for gold to the value of four thousand pieces. Pizarro was then sent in advance to view the coast, and two others proceeded, on different routes, to find the nearest way from the heights to the sea. Nuñez followed as soon as he could bring up the sick and wounded. On reaching the shore, he walked, with his armour on, into the sea, until the water reached his middle, and then performed solemnly the ceremony of taking possession, in the name of the crown of Castile, of the ocean which he had discovered.

Before attempting further discoveries, he considered it prudent to return from the Pacific, and arrived at Santa Maria about the end of January, 1513, with the gold and pearls he had collected, and which he distributed fairly among the soldiers, deducting one fifth for the king. He immediately sent the king's share of gold and pearls and all his own to Spain by an agent. On arriving at Seville, this agent applied first to the bishop of Burgos, who was delighted at the sight of the gold and pearls. The bishop sent him to the king, and used all his influence with Ferdinand, who entertained a strong aversion to Nuñez de Balboa.

The bishop of Burgos had, previous to the arrival of the agent with treasures from Nuñez, counselled the king to supersede him by one of the worst characters in Spain. Instead of confirming Nuñez de Balboa in the govern-

[[1] Pizarro's conquest of Peru will be found treated in our history of that country.]

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ment of the countries he discovered and annexed to the crown of Castile, Ferdinand appointed Pedro Arias d'Avila, or, as the Spanish writers, by contracting the first name, call him, Pedrarias, governor of Castell d'Oro. Haughty and ignorant, he was a master of the arts of oppression, violence, and fraud. He left Spain in April, 1514, with a fleet of fifteen ships, two thousand troops, a bishop, John de Quevedo, and numerous greedy and rapacious followers of noble birth; among others, Enciso, the enemy of Nuñez. On their arrival at Santa Maria, they were received by Nuñez with great respect. They found the latter inhabiting a small house, in simple attire, living on the most frugal diet, and drinking no other liquid than water; while he had, at the same time, a strong fort with four hundred and fifty brave soldiers faithfully attached to him. That he was ambitious, and did severe things to obtain that power which he was never known to abuse, is admitted. His accounts and statements were clear, and he had annexed the country, between the Atlantic and the sea which he had discovered, to the crown of Spain. Pedrarias imprisoned this great man, and sent strong representations against him to Spain.

There were, however, some honest men among those brought over by Pedrarias, who sent a true account of Nuñez to the king; and the latter formally expressed his approbation of the conduct of the late governor, and appointed him lord-lieutenant of the countries of the South Seas, directing also that Pedrarias should act by the advice of his predecessor.

On the king's letters arriving from Spain, they were suppressed by Pedrarias, who, in the meantime, by his perfidy and cruel exactions, brought the whole native population into hostility and revolt against the Spaniards. The bishop Quevedo then interfered, Nuñez was liberated, and, by his skill and demeanour, established tranquillity, and proceeded to the South Sea to build a town, which he in a short time accomplished, and was then recalled by Pedrarias. To the astonishment and horror of all the Spaniards, Nuñez was charged with treason[1] by Pedrarias, and publicly beheaded, on the charge that he had invaded the domains of the crown, merely by cutting down, without the governor's licence, the trees used in erecting the town which he built.

His execution was declared a murder by the royal audienza of Santo Domingo; yet Pedrarias, whom the bishop of Chiapa described as the most wicked monster who was ever sent to America, continued for many years, by the king's will, to exercise his cruelty and injustice. Thus perished Nuñez de Balboa, in 1517, at the age of forty-four years, for having served his king with more fidelity than any of the Spanish conquerors; of whom, if we may except Cortes, he was the ablest; and whose character stands far higher than any of those who added new territories to the dominions of Spain.

Pedrarias removed to Panama, where he erected a palace. In his hostilities and cruelties to the caciques and the native tribes, he caused great destruction of life; and so ill-judged and planned were his enterprises that, in subduing one cacique, Uracca of the mountains, more Spanish lives were lost than during the whole conquest of Mexico by Cortes. The only important conquest made under Pedrarias was by Francis Hernandez of the territory of Nicaragua, to which the governor immediately repaired to take possession for himself. Jealous of Hernandez, as he was of Nuñez, he charged the former

[[1] The charge of treason was not entirely false, as Balboa had planned to secede from the government and go on an independent voyage. He was also now re-accused of complicity in the murder of Nicuesa, who had been forced to go to sea in a rotten ship in 1511, and was never heard of again.]

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with a design to revolt; which the latter, confident in his innocence, boldly denied. Pedrarias immediately ordered him to be executed: power was to be upheld by the immediate death, according to the maxim of this tyrant, of conquerors who were suspected. For this murder, equally barbarous as that of Nuñez, Pedrarias was not called to account.q

HERNANDEZ, GRIJALVA, GARAY, GOMEZ, AND NARVAEZ

Hernandez [or Fernandez] de Cordova had discovered the province of Yucatan and the bay of Campeachy, in 1517. At a place where he had landed for supplies of water, his company was suddenly assailed, and he himself mortally wounded. The pilot whom Fernandez had employed conducted another squadron to the same shores in 1518. The knowledge already acquired was extended, and under happier auspices; and Grijalva, the commander of the fleet, explored the coast from Yucatan towards Panuco. The masses of gold which he collected, the rumours of the empire of Montezuma, its magnificence and its extent, heedlessly confirmed by the costly presents of the unsuspecting natives, were sufficient to inflame the coldest imagination, and excited the enterprise of Cortes. The voyage did not reach the shores of Florida.[1]

But while Grijalva was opening the way to the conquest of Mexico, the line of the American coast, from the Tortugas to Panuco, is said to have been examined, yet not with care, by an expedition which was planned, if not conducted, by Francisco Garay, the governor of Jamaica. The general outline of the gulf of Mexico now became known.[2] Garay encountered the determined hostility of the natives; a danger which eventually proved less disastrous to him than the rivalry of his own countrymen. The adventurers in New Spain would endure no independent neighbour: the governor of Jamaica became involved in a career which, as it ultimately tempted him to dispute the possession of a province with Cortes, led him to the loss of fortune and an inglorious death. The progress of discovery along the southern boundary of the United States was but little advanced by the expedition, of which the circumstances have been variously related.

A voyage for slaves brought the Spaniards still farther upon the northern coast. A company of seven, of whom the most distinguished was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, fitted out two slave ships from Santo Domingo, in 1520, in quest of labourers for their plantations and mines. From the Bahama Islands they passed to the coast of South Carolina, a country which was called Chicora. The Combahee river received the name of the Jordan: the name of St. Helena, given to a cape, now belongs to the sound. The natives of this region had not yet had cause to fear Europeans; they were invited to visit the ships; they came in cheerful throngs; the decks were covered. Immediately the ships weighed anchor; the sails were unfurled, and the prows turned towards Santo Domingo. Husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents. The crime was unprofitable, and was finally avenged. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished; many of the captives in the other sickened and died.

The events that followed mark the character of the times. Vasquez, repairing to Spain, boasted of his expedition, as if it entitled him to reward, and the emperor, Charles V, acknowledged his claim. In those days the

[[1] The account of Cortes in Mexico will be found in our history of that country.]

[[2] Garay's lieutenant Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda was in command, and in 1519 discovered the mouth of a great river, which is by many believed to be the Mississippi. It was at first called the Espiritu Santo on Garay's map of his province.]

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Spanish monarch conferred a kind of appointment [a *cedula*] which, however strange its character may appear, still has its parallel in history. Not only were provinces granted — countries were distributed to be subdued; and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon begged to be appointed to the conquest of Chicora. After long entreaty, he obtained his suit, June 12th, 1523.

The issue of the new and bolder enterprise was disastrous to the undertaker. He wasted his fortune in preparations; his largest ship was stranded in the river Jordan; many of his men were killed by the natives, whom wrongs had quickened to active resistance; he himself escaped only to suffer from wounded pride; and, conscious of having done nothing worthy of being remembered,[1] the sense of humiliation is said to have hastened his death, October 18th, 1526.

The love of adventure did not wholly extinguish the desire for maritime discovery. When Cortes was able to pause from his success in Mexico, and devise further schemes for ingratiating himself with the Spanish monarch, he proposed to solve the problem of a northwest passage — the secret which has so long baffled the enterprise of the most courageous and persevering navigators. He deemed the existence of the passage unquestionable, and, by simultaneous voyages along the American coast, on the Pacific, and on the Atlantic, he hoped to complete the discovery to which Sebastian Cabot had pointed the way.

The design of Cortes remained but the offer of loyalty. A voyage to the northwest was really undertaken in 1525 by Stephen Gomez, an experienced Portuguese naval officer, who had been with Magellan in the first memorable passage into the Pacific Ocean.[2] The expedition was decreed by the council for the Indies, in the hope of discovering the northern route to India, which, notwithstanding it had been sought for in vain, was yet universally believed to exist. His ship entered the bays of New York and New England; on old Spanish maps, that portion is marked as the land of Gomez. Failing to discover a passage, and fearful to return without success and without a freight, he filled his vessel with robust Indians, to be sold as slaves. Brilliant expectations had been raised; and the conclusion was esteemed despicably ludicrous. The Spaniards scorned to repeat their voyages to the cold and frozen north; in the south, and in the south only, they looked for, as Peter Martyr *g* said, "great and exceeding riches." The adventure of Gomez had no political results. It had been furthered by the enemies of Sebastian Cabot, who was, at that time, in the service of Spain; and it established the reputation of the Bristol mariner.

But neither the fondness of the Spanish monarch for extensive domains, nor the desire of the nobility for new governments, nor the passion of adventurers for undiscovered wealth would permit the abandonment of the conquest of Florida. Permission to invade that territory was next sought for and obtained by Pamphilo de Narvaez, the same person who had been sent by the jealous governor of Cuba to take Cortes prisoner, and who, after having declared him an outlaw, was himself easily defeated.

The territory, placed at the mercy of Narvaez, extended to the river of Palms; farther, therefore, to the west, than the territory which was afterwards included in Louisiana. His expedition was as unsuccessful as his

[1 His settlement of San Miguel was attempted in the region where the English later established Jamestown.]

[2 In our history of Portugal we have already described the first circumnavigation of the globe in 1519-21 by the companions of Fernão de Magelhães or Magellan, whose exploit belongs to Spanish glory as it was made by commission from the Spanish king.]

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attempt against Cortes, but it was memorable for its disasters. Of three hundred men, of whom eighty were mounted, but four or five returned. The valour of the natives, thirst, famine, and pestilence, the want of concert between the ships and the men set on shore, the errors of judgment in the commanders, rapidly melted away the unsuccessful company. It is not possible to ascertain, with exactness, the point where Narvaez first landed in Florida, April 15th, 1527; probably it was at a bay a little east of the meridian of Cape St. Antony, in Cuba; it may have been, therefore, not far from the bay now called Apalache. The party soon struck into the interior; they knew not where they were, nor whither they were going; and followed the directions of the natives. These, with a sagacity careful to save themselves from danger, described the distant territory as full of gold, and freed themselves from the presence of troublesome guests by exciting a hope that covetousness could elsewhere be amply gratified. The town of Apalache, which was thought to contain immense accumulations of wealth, proved to be an inconsiderable collection of wigwams. It was probably in the region of the bay of Pensacola that the remnant of the party, after a ramble of eight hundred miles, finally came again upon the sea, in a condition of extreme penury (September 22nd). Here they manufactured rude boats, in which none but desperate men would have embarked; and Narvaez and most of his companions, after having passed nearly six months in Florida, perished in a storm near the mouth of the Mississippi.[1] One ship's company was wrecked upon an island; most of those who were saved died of famine. The four who ultimately reached Mexico (1536) by land succeeded only after years of hardships. The simple narrative of their wanderings, their wretchedness, and their courageous enterprise could not but have been full of marvels; their rambles, extending across Louisiana and the northern part of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in Sonora, were almost as wide as those of Lewis and Clark to the sources of the Missouri and the mouth of the Columbia river; the story which one of them, Cabeza de Vaca, published, and of which the truth was affirmed, on oath, before a magistrate, is disfigured by bold exaggerations and the wildest fictions. The knowledge of the bays and rivers of Florida, on the gulf of Mexico, was not essentially increased; the strange tales of miraculous cures, of natural prodigies, and of the resuscitation of the dead were harmless falsehoods; the wanderers, on their return, persevered in the far more fatal assertion that Florida was the richest country in the world. The assertion was readily believed, even by those to whom the wealth of Mexico and Peru was familiarly known.

SOTO'S MARCH TO THE MISSISSIPPI

To no one was credulity more disastrous than to Ferdinand de Soto, a native of Xeres, and now an ambitious courtier. He had himself gained fame and fortune by military service in the New World. He had been the favourite companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, where he had distinguished himself for conduct and valour. Perceiving the angry divisions which were threatened by the jealousy of the Spaniards in Peru, Soto had seasonably withdrawn, with his share of the spoils, and now appeared in Spain to enjoy his reputation, to display his opulence, and to solicit advancement. His reception was triumphant; success of all kinds awaited him. The daughter

[[1] Cabeza de Vacar, one of the survivors described this river as sweetening the brine of the gulf of Mexico so that they were able to drink of its waters. Cabeza is by some thus credited with preceding De Soto in the discovery of the Mississippi.]

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of the distinguished nobleman under whom he had first served as a poor adventurer became his wife; and the special favour of Charles V invited his ambition to prefer a large request. It had ever been believed that the depths of the continent at the north concealed cities as magnificent and temples as richly endowed as any which had yet been plundered within the limits of the tropics. Soto desired to rival Cortes in glory, and surpass Pizarro in wealth. Blinded by avarice and the love of power, he repaired to Valladolid, and demanded permission to conquer Florida at his own cost; and Charles V readily conceded to so renowned a commander the government of the isle of Cuba, with absolute power over the immense territory to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied.

No sooner was the design of the new expedition published in Spain, than the wildest hopes were indulged. How brilliant must be the prospect, since even the conqueror of Peru was willing to hazard his fortune and the greatness of his name! Adventurers assembled as volunteers, many of them people of noble birth and good estates. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive trees in the Ajarrafe of Seville were sold, as in the times of the Crusades, to obtain the means of military equipments.

The fleet sailed as gaily as if it had been but a holiday excursion of a bridal party. In Cuba, the precaution was used to send vessels to Florida to explore a harbour; and two Indians, brought as captives to Havana, invented such falsehoods as they perceived would be acceptable. They conversed by signs; and the signs were interpreted as affirming that Florida abounded in gold. The news spread great contentment; Soto and his troops were restless with longing for the hour of their departure to the conquest of [what the gentleman of Elvas[a] called] "the richest country which had yet been discovered."

Soto had been welcomed in Cuba (May, 1539) by long and brilliant festivals and rejoicings. At length, all preparations were completed; leaving his wife to govern the island, he and his company, full of unbounded expectations, embarked for Florida, and in about a fortnight his fleet anchored in the bay of Espiritu Santo. The soldiers went on shore; the horses, between two and three hundred in number, were disembarked; and the men of the expedition stood upon the soil which they had so eagerly desired to tread. Soto would listen to no augury but that of success; and, like Cortes, he refused to retain his ships, lest they should afford a temptation to retreat. Most of them were sent to Havana.

And now began the nomadic march of the adventurers; a numerous body of horsemen, besides infantry, completely armed; a force exceeding in numbers and equipments the famous expeditions against the empires of Mexico and Peru. Everything was provided that experience in former invasions and the cruelty of avarice could suggest; chains for captives, and the instruments of a forge; arms of all kinds then in use, and bloodhounds as auxiliaries against the feeble natives; ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs which would soon swarm in the favouring climate, where the forests and the Indian maize furnished abundant sustenance. It was a roving expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune. It was a romantic stroll of men whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths; wherever rumour might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-interpreted signs of the ignorant natives might seem to promise a harvest of gold. Religious zeal was also united with avarice: there were not only cavalry and foot-soldiers, with all that belongs to warlike array; twelve priests, besides other ecclesiastics, accompanied the expedition. Florida was to become Catholic during scenes of robbery and

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carnage. Every festival was to be kept; every religious practice to be observed. As the troops marched through the wilderness, the solemn processions, which the usages of the church enjoined, were scrupulously instituted.

The wanderings of the first season brought the company from the bay of Espiritu Santo to the country of the Appalachians, east of the Flint river, and not far from the head of the bay of Appalachee. The names of the intermediate places cannot be identified. The march was tedious and full of dangers. The Indians were always hostile; the two captives of the former expedition escaped; a Spaniard, who had been kept in slavery from the time of Narvaez, could give no accounts of any country where there was silver or gold. The guides would purposely lead the Castilians astray, and involve them in morasses; even though death, under the fangs of the bloodhounds, was the certain punishment. The whole company grew dispirited, and desired the governor to return, since the country opened no brilliant prospects. "I will not turn back," said Soto, "till I have seen the poverty of the country with my own eyes." An exploring party discovered Ochus, the harbour of Pensacola; and a message was sent to Cuba, desiring that in the ensuing year supplies for the expedition might be sent to that place.

Early in the spring of the following year, 1540, the wanderers renewed their march, with an Indian guide, who promised to lead the way to a country, governed, it was said, by a woman, and where gold so abounded that the art of melting and refining it was understood. He described the process so well, that the credulous Spaniards took heart, and exclaimed, "He must have seen it, or the devil has been his teacher!" The Indian appears to have pointed towards the Gold Region of North Carolina. The adventurers, therefore, eagerly hastened to the northeast; they passed the Alatamaha; they admired the fertile valleys of Georgia, rich, productive, and full of good rivers. They passed a northern tributary of the Alatamaha, and a southern branch of the Ogechee; and, at length, came upon the Ogechee itself, which, in April, flowed with a full channel and a strong current. Much of the time, the Spaniards were in wild solitudes; they suffered for want of salt and of meat.

The direction of the march was now to the north; to the comparatively sterile country of the Cherokees, and in part through a district in which gold is now found. The inhabitants were poor, but gentle. Soto could hardly have crossed the mountains, so as to enter the basin of the Tennessee river; it seems, rather, that he passed from the head-waters of the Savannah, or the Chattahouchee, to the head-waters of the Coosa. The name of Canasauga, a village at which he halted, is still given to a branch of the latter stream. For several months the Spaniards were in the valleys which send their waters to the bay of Mobile; Chiaha was an island distant about a hundred miles from Canasauga. An exploring party, sent to the north, were appalled by the aspect of the Appalachian chain, and pronounced the mountains impassable. They had looked for mines of copper and gold; and their only plunder was a buffalo robe.

In the latter part of July the Spaniards were at Coosa. A southerly direction led the train to Tuscaloosa, October 18th; the wanderers reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombigbee, and about one hundred miles, or six days' journey, from Pensacola. The town was called Mavilla, or Mobile, a name which is still preserved, and applied, not to the bay only, but to the river, after the union of its numerous tributaries. The Spaniards, tired of lodging in the fields, desired to occupy

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the town; the Indians rose to resist the invaders, whom they distrusted and feared. A battle ensued; the terrors of their cavalry gave the victory to the Spaniards. We know not if a more bloody Indian fight ever occurred on the soil of the United States: the town was set on fire; and twenty-five hundred Indians are said to have been slain, suffocated, or burned. They had fought with desperate courage; and, but for the flames, which consumed their light and dense settlements, they would have effectually repulsed the invaders. "Of the Christians, eighteen died"; one hundred and fifty were wounded with arrows; twelve horses were slain, and seventy hurt. The flames had not spared the baggage of the Spaniards; it was within the town, and was entirely consumed.

Meanwhile, ships from Cuba had arrived at Ochus, now Pensacola. Soto was too proud to confess his failure. He determined to send no news of himself, until, like Cortes, he had found some rich country. Soto retreated towards the north, November 18th, his troops already reduced, by sickness and warfare, to five hundred men. A month passed away before he reached winter quarters at Chicaça, a small town in the country of the Chickasaws, in the upper part of the state of Mississippi; probably on the western bank of the Yazoo. The weather was severe, and snow fell; but maize was yet standing in the open fields. The Spaniards were able to gather a supply of food, and the deserted town, with such rude cabins as they added, afforded them shelter through the winter. Yet no mines of Peru were discovered; no ornaments of gold adorned the rude savages; their wealth was the harvest of corn, and wigwams were their only palaces; they were poor and independent; they were hardy and loved freedom. When spring opened, Soto, as he had usually done with other tribes, demanded of the chieftain of the Chickasaws two hundred men to carry the burdens of his company.

The Indians, deceiving the sentinels, set fire to their own village, in which the Castilians were encamped. On a sudden, half the houses were in flames; and the loudest notes of the war-whoop rung through the air. The Indians, could they have acted with calm bravery, might have gained an easy and entire victory; but they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal battle against weapons of steel. Many of the horses had broken loose; these, terrified and without riders, roamed through the forests, of which the burning village illuminated the shades, and seemed to the ignorant natives the gathering of hostile squadrons. Others of the horses perished in the stables; most of the swine were consumed; eleven of the Christians were burned, or lost their lives in the tumult. The clothes which had been saved from the fires of Mobile were destroyed, and the Spaniards, now as naked as the natives, suffered from the cold. Weapons and equipments were consumed or spoiled. Had the Indians made a resolute onset on this night or the next, the Spaniards would have been unable to resist. But in a respite of a week, forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances were made, equal to the best of Biscay. When the Indians attacked the camp, March 15th, they found "the Christians" prepared.

All the disasters which had been encountered, far from diminishing the boldness of the governor, served only to confirm his obstinacy by wounding his pride. Should he, who had promised greater booty than Mexico or Peru had yielded, now return as a defeated fugitive, so naked that his troops were clad only in skins and mats of ivy? The search for some wealthy region was renewed, April 27th; the caravan marched still farther to the west. For seven days it struggled through a wilderness of forests and marshes; and, at length, came to Indian settlements in the vicinity of the Mississippi. Soto

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was the first [1] of Europeans to behold the magnificent river, which rolled its immense mass of waters through the splendid vegetation of a wide alluvial soil. The lapse of nearly three centuries has not changed the character of the stream; it was then described as more than a mile broad; flowing with a strong current, and, by the weight of its waters, forcing a channel of great depth. The water was always muddy; trees and timber were continually floating down the stream.

The Spaniards were guided to the Mississippi by natives; and were directed to one of the usual crossing places, probably at the lowest Chickasaw bluff, not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The arrival of the strangers awakened curiosity and fear. A multitude of people from the western banks of the river, painted and gayly decorated with great plumes of white feathers, the warriors standing in rows with bow and arrows in their hands, the chieftains sitting under awnings as magnificent as the artless manufactures of the natives could weave, came rowing down the stream in a fleet of two hundred canoes, seeming to the admiring Spaniards "like a fair army of galleys." The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses; almost a month expired before barges large enough to hold three horsemen each were constructed for crossing the river. At length the Spaniards, in May, embarked upon the Mississippi; and Europeans were borne to its western bank.

The Kaskaskias Indians, at that time, occupied a province southwest of the Missouri; Soto had heard its praises; he believed in its vicinity to mineral wealth; and he determined to visit its towns. In ascending the Mississippi the party was often obliged to wade through morasses; at length they came, as it would seem, upon the district of Little Prairie, and the dry and elevated lands which extend towards New Madrid. The Spaniards were adored as children of the sun, and the blind were brought into their presence, to be healed by the sons of light. "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need," said Soto in reply. At Pacaha, the northernmost point which Soto reached near the Mississippi, he remained forty days, June 19th to July 29th. The spot cannot be identified.

An exploring party, which was sent to examine the regions to the north, reported that they were almost a desert. The country still nearer the Missouri was said by the Indians to be thinly inhabited; the bison abounded there so much that no maize could be cultivated; and the few inhabitants were hunters. Soto turned, therefore, to the west and northwest, and in August plunged still more deeply into the interior of the continent. The highlands of White river, more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi, were probably the limit of his ramble in this direction. The mountains offered neither gems nor gold; and the disappointed adventurers marched to the south. They passed through a succession of towns, of which the position cannot be fixed; till, at length, we find them among the Tunicas, near the hot springs and saline tributaries of the Washita. It was at Autiamque, a town on the same river, that they passed the winter; they had arrived at the settlement through the country of the Kappaws.

The native tribes, everywhere on the route, were found in a state of civilisation beyond that of nomadic hordes. They were an agricultural people, with fixed places of abode, and subsisted upon the produce of the fields, more than upon the chase. The Spaniards treated them with no other forbearance than their own selfishness demanded, and enslaved such as offended, employing

[[1] We have already mentioned the prior claims of Pineda and Cabeza de Vaca. But though many have casually found the mouth of the river, it was Soto's men who first gave the world a true idea of its magnitude.]

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them as porters and guides. On a slight suspicion, they would cut off the hands of numbers of the natives, for punishment or intimidation; while the young cavaliers, from desire of seeming valiant, ceased to be merciful, and exulted in cruelties and carnage. The guide who was unsuccessful, or who purposely led them away from the settlements of his tribe, would be seized and thrown to the hounds. Sometimes a native was condemned to the flames. Any trifling consideration of safety would induce the governor to set fire to a hamlet.

In the spring of the following year, 1542, Soto determined to descend the Washita to its junction, and to get tidings of the sea. As he advanced, he was soon lost amidst the bayous and marshes which are found along the Red river and its tributaries. Near the Mississippi, he came upon the country of Nilco, which was well peopled. At last, April 17th, he arrived at the province where the Washita, already united with the Red river, enters the Mississippi. The province was called Guachoya. Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were there settlements extending along the river to its mouth? It was answered that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent one of his men, with eight horsemen, to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country. They travelled eight days, and were able to advance not much more than thirty miles, they were so delayed by the frequent bayous, the impassable cane-brakes, and the dense woods. The governor received the intelligence with concern; he suffered from anxiety and gloom. His horses and men were dying around him, so that the natives were becoming dangerous enemies.[i]

AN EYE-WITNESS ON SOTO'S DEATH (THE GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS)

The governor fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the sea; and worse, because his men and horses every day diminished, being without succour to sustain themselves in the country; and with that thought he fell sick. But before he took his bed he sent an Indian to the cacique of Quigalta to tell him that he was the child of the sun, and that all the way that he came all men obeyed and served him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship and come unto him, for he would be very glad to see him; and in sign of love and obedience to bring something with him of that which in his country was most esteemed. The cacique answered by the same Indian:

"That whereas he said he was the child of the sun, if he would dry up the river he would believe him; and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none; but rather that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, served, obeyed, and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore, if he desired to see him, it were best he should come thither; that if he came in peace he would receive him with special good will; and if in war, in like manner he would attend him in the town where he was, and that for him or any other he would not shrink one foot back."

By the time the Indian returned with this answer, the governor had betaken himself to bed, being evil handled with fevers, and was much aggrieved that he was not in case to pass presently the river and to seek him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the river went now very strongly in those parts; for it was near half a league broad, and sixteen fathoms deep, and very furious, and ran with a great current; and on both sides there were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that he had need to help himself rather by finesse than by force. And seeing how many Indians

came daily to the town, and what store of people was in that country, fearing they should all conspire together and plot some treason against him; and because the town had some open gaps which were not made an end of enclosing, besides the gates which they went in and out by: because the Indians should not think he feared them, he let them all alone unrepaired; and commanded the horsemen to be appointed to them, and to the gates: and all night the horsemen went the round; and two and two of every squadron rode about, and visited the scouts that were without the town in their standings by the passages and the crossbowmen that kept the canoes in the river. And because the Indians should stand in fear of them, he determined to send a captain to Nilco, for those of Guachoya had told him that it was inhabited; that by using them cruelly, neither the one nor the other should presume to assail him; and he sent Nuñez de Touar with fifteen horsemen, and John de Guzman captain of the footmen, with his company in canoes up the river.

There were about five or six thousand people in the town; and, as many people came out of the houses, and fled from one house to another, and many Indians came flocking together from all parts, there was never a horseman that was not alone among many. The captain had commanded that they should not spare the life of any male. Their disorder was so great that there was no Indian that shot an arrow at any Christian. The shrieks of women and children were so great that they made the ears deaf of those that followed them. There were slain a hundred Indians, little more or less: and many were wounded with great wounds, whom they suffered to escape to strike a terror in the rest that were not there. There were some so cruel and butcher-like that they killed old and young, and all that they met, though they made no resistance; and those which presumed of themselves for their valour, and were taken for such, broke through the Indians, bearing down many with their stirrups and breasts of their horses; and some they wounded with their lances, and so let them go: and when they saw any youth or woman they took them, and delivered them to the footmen. These men's sins by God's permission lighted on their own heads; who, because they would seem valiant, became cruel; showing themselves extreme cowards in the sight of all men when most need of valour was required, and afterwards they came to a shameful death. Of the Indians of Nilco were taken prisoners fourscore women and children, and much spoil.

The governor felt in himself that the hour approached wherein he was to leave this present life, and called for the king's officers, captains, and principal persons, to whom he made a speech, saying that now he was to go to give an account before the presence of God of all his life past: and since it pleased him to take him in such a time, and that the time was come that he knew his death, that he his most unworthy servant did yield him many thanks therefor; and desired all that were present and absent (whom he confessed himself to be much beholden unto for their singular virtues, love and loyalty, which himself had well tried in the travels which they had suffered, which always in his mind he did hope to satisfy and reward, when it should please God to give him rest, with more prosperity of his estate), that they would pray to God for him, that for his mercy he would forgive him his sins, and receive his soul into eternal glory: and that they would quit and free him of the charge which he had over them, and ought unto them all, and that they would pardon him for some wrongs which they might have received of him. And to avoid some division, which upon his death might fall out upon the choice of his successor, he requested them to elect a principal person, and able to govern, of whom all should like well; and when he was elected, they

should swear before him to obey him: and that he would thank them very much in so doing; because the grief that he had would somewhat be assuaged, and the pain that he felt, because he left them in so great confusion, to wit, in leaving them in a strange country, where they knew not where they were.

Baltasar de Gallegos answered in the name of all the rest. And first of all comforting him, he set before his eyes how short the life of this world was, and with how many troubles and miseries it is accompanied, and how God showed him a singular favor which soonest left it: telling him many other things fit for such a time. And touching the governor which he commanded they should elect, he besought him that it would please his lordship to name him which he thought fit, and him they would obey. And presently he named Luys de Moscoso de Alvarado, his captain-general. And presently he was sworn by all that were present, and elected for governor.

The next day being the 21st of May, 1542, departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant captain, Don Fernando de Soto, governor of Cuba, and adelantado of Florida: whom fortune advanced, as it useth to do others, that he might have the higher fall. He departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sickness he had but little comfort: and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that country, which appeared before their eyes, was cause sufficient why every one of them had need of comfort, and why they did not visit nor accompany him as they ought to have done. Luys de Moscoso determined to conceal his death from the Indians, because Fernando de Soto had made them believe that the Christians were immortal; and also because they took him to be hardy, wise, and valiant: and if they should know that he was dead, they would be bold to set upon the Christians, though they live peaceably by them.

As soon as he was dead, Luys de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in the house, where he remained three days; and moving him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the town within the wall. And as the Indians had seen him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might be. And passing by the place where he was buried, seeing the earth moved, they looked and spake one to another. Luys de Moscoso understanding of it, commanded him to be taken up by night, and to cast a great deal of sand into the mantles, wherein he was wound up, wherein he was carried in a canoe, and thrown into the midst of the river. The cacique of Guachoya inquired for him, demanding what was become of his brother and lord, the governor. Luys de Moscoso told him that he was gone to heaven, as many other times he did: and because he was to stay there certain days he had left him in his place. The cacique thought with himself that he was dead; and commanded two young and well-proportioned Indians to be brought thither; and said that the use of that country was when any lord died, to kill Indians to wait upon him, and serve him by the way, and for that purpose by his commandment were those come thither: and prayed Luys de Moscoso to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serve his lord and brother. Luys de Moscoso told him that the governor was not dead, but gone to heaven, and that of his own Christian soldiers he had taken such as he needed to serve him, and prayed him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to use any such bad custom from thenceforth: straightway he commanded them to be loosed and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not go; saying that he would not serve him that without desert had judged him to death, but that he would serve him as long as he lived which had saved his life.

Luys de Moscoso caused all the goods of the governor to be sold at an

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outcry: to wit, two men slaves and two women slaves, and three horses, and seven hundred hogs. For every slave or horse, they gave two or three thousand ducats: which were to be paid at the first melting of gold or silver, or at the division of their portion of inheritance. And they entered into bonds, though in the country there was not wherewith to pay it within a year after, and put in sureties for the same. Such as in Spain had no goods to bind, gave two hundred ducats for a hog, giving assurance after the same manner. Those which had any goods in Spain bought with more fear, and bought the less. From that time forward, most of the company had swine, and brought them up, and fed upon them; and observed Fridays and Saturdays, and the evenings of feasts, which before they did not. For sometimes in two or three months they did eat no flesh, and whensoever they could come by it, they did eat it.

Some were glad of the death of Don Ferdinando de Soto, holding for certain that Luys de Moscoso (which was given to his ease) would rather desire to be among the Christians at rest, than to continue the labours of the war in subduing and discovering of countries; whereof they were already weary, seeing the small profit that ensued thereof.[s]

THE RETURN OF SOTO'S COMPANIONS (1542 A.D.)

The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place.[1]

No longer guided by the energy and pride of Soto, the company resolved on reaching New Spain without delay. Should they embark in such miserable boats as they could construct, and descend the river? Or should they seek a path to Mexico through the forests? They were unanimous in the opinion that it was less dangerous to go by land; the hope was still cherished that some wealthy state, some opulent city, might yet be discovered, and all fatigues be forgotten in the midst of victory and spoils. Again they penetrated the western wilderness; in July they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches; but the Red river was so swollen that it was impossible for them to pass. They soon became bewildered. As they proceeded, the Indian guides purposely led them astray; "they went up and down through very great woods," without making any progress. The wilderness, into which they had at last wandered, was sterile and scarcely inhabited; they had now reached the great buffalo prairies of the west, the hunting-grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches, the migratory tribes on the confines of Mexico. The Spaniards believed themselves to be at least one hundred and fifty leagues west of the Mississippi. Desperate as the resolution seemed, it was determined to return once more to its banks, and follow its current to the sea. There were not wanting men whose hopes and whose courage were not yet exhausted, who wished rather to die in the wilderness than to leave it in poverty; but Moscoso [or Muscoço] the new governor, [says the gentleman of Elvas [s]], had long "desired to see himself in a place where he might sleep his full sleep."

In December they came upon the Mississippi at Minoya, a few leagues above the mouth of Red river, often wading through deep waters, and grateful to God if at night, they could find a dry resting-place.

Nor was the labour yet at an end; it was no easy task for men in their

[[1] "The adelantado of Cuba and Florida, who had hoped to gather the wealth of nations, left as his property four Indian slaves, three horses, and a herd of swine."—J. G. SHEA.]

condition to build brigantines. Erecting a forge, they struck off the fetters from the slaves; and, gathering every scrap of iron in the camp, they wrought it into nails. Timber was sawed by hand with a large saw, which they had always carried with them. They caulked their vessels with a weed like hemp; barrels, capable of holding water, were with difficulty made; to obtain supplies of provision, all the hogs and even the horses were killed, and their flesh preserved by drying; and the neighbouring townships of Indians were so plundered of their food that the miserable inhabitants would come about the Spaniards begging for a few kernels of their own maize, and often died from weakness and want of food. The rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of the seven brigantines; they were frail barks, which had no decks; and as, from the want of iron, the nails were of necessity short, they were constructed of very thin planks, so that the least shock would have broken them in pieces. Thus provided, in seventeen days, July 2nd to 18th, 1543, the fugitives reached the gulf of Mexico; the distance seemed to them two hundred and fifty leagues, and was not much less than five hundred miles. They observed that for some distance from the mouth of the Mississippi the sea is not salt, so great is the volume of fresh water which the river discharges. Following, for the most part, the coast, it was more than fifty days before the men, who finally escaped, now no more than three hundred and eleven in number, September 10th, entered the river Panuco.

Such is the history of the first visit of Europeans to the Mississippi; the honour of the discovery belongs, without a doubt, to the Spaniards. There were not wanting adventurers who desired to make one more attempt to possess the country by force of arms; their request was refused. Religious zeal was more persevering; December 28th, 1547, Louis Cancello, a missionary of the Dominican order, gained, through Philip, then heir apparent in Spain, permission to visit Florida, and attempt the peaceful conversion of the natives. Christianity was to conquer the land against which so many expeditions had failed. The Spanish governors were directed to favour the design; all slaves, that had been taken from the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, were to be manumitted and restored to their country. The ship was fitted out with much solemnity; but the priests, who sought the first interview with the natives, were feared as enemies, and, being immediately attacked, Louis and two others fell martyrs to their zeal (1549). Florida was abandoned. It seemed as if death guarded the avenues to the country.[i]

THE GREAT MARCH OF CORONADO

"Almost at the same time that Soto, with the naked, starving remnant of his army, was at Pacaha," says J. G. Shea, "another Spanish force under Vasquez de Coronado, well handled and perfectly equipped, must in July and August, 1541, have been encamped so near that an Indian runner in a few days might have carried tidings between them. Coronado actually heard of his countryman and sent him a letter; but his messenger failed to find Soto's party. But, strangely enough, the cruel, useless expedition of Soto finds ample space in history, while the well-managed march of Coronado's careful exploration finds scant mention. No greater contrast exists in our history than that between these two campaigns."[t]

In 1530, ten years after the conquest of Mexico by Cortes, stories were told the Spaniards there of seven great Indian cities in the north, within the present limits of New Mexico and Arizona. The cities were said to be full of silver and gold; and Nuño de Guzman, with a force of four hundred Span-

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iards and twenty thousand Indians, set out from Mexico in search of this Land of the Seven Cities, believed to be only six hundred miles distant. The Seven Cities and the Island of the Amazons, of which he had also heard, kept receding as he marched, and finally he retraced his steps as far as Compostella and Guadalaxara, where he established what was afterwards known as the province of New Gallicia. He was presently deposed from the governorship of this province by Mendoza, the new viceroy, and was succeeded by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. To Coronado, in 1536, came the accounts of the arrival at Culiacan of De Vaca and his three companions, the sole survivors of Narvaez's expedition to Florida in 1527, after nine years' wanderings through the great regions north of the Gulf of Mexico, with their accounts of having fallen in with civilised peoples, living "in populous towns with very large houses." Coronado sent out Fray Marcos de Nizza, a monk who had been in Peru under Alvarado, on a preliminary investigation north, accompanied by one of De Vaca's companions, a negro named Stephen, and others. Fray Marcos' report upon his return is the first definite account which exists of the exploration and history of the region occupied by what we call the Pueblo Indians. It may be found in Hakluyt[h]. Fray Marcos came to many Indian villages, passed through rich valleys, and heard much about the province of Cibola and its seven great cities, and of other great kingdoms beyond, which were called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. From a hill he looked down upon a city in a plain, which he said was larger than Mexico, and which his Indian companions said was the smallest of the Seven Cities. After great dangers and remarkable experiences he returned to Coronado, who went with him to Mexico to report to Mendoza. Mendoza forwarded Fray Marcos' written report to the emperor Charles V, accompanied by an account of his own of the previous attempts at exploring the country.

In February, 1540, Coronado himself, accompanied by Fray Marcos, set out for the Seven Cities of Cibola, with a force of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians. But the expedition resulted in great disappointment. Instead of the great city which Marcos had reported, Cibola turned out a poor village with not more than two hundred inhabitants, situated on a rocky eminence. From its resemblance in situation, Coronado gave the name Granada to the village. He states that the name Cibola belonged to the whole district, not to any particular place. From this village, August 3rd, 1540, he sent to the viceroy the account of his explorations, from which we quote, expressing his disappointment and his disbelief in Fray Marcos' report of the rich and powerful kingdoms beyond.[u]

Coronado's Own Account of His March

The 22 of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the prouince of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned vnto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterprise: because the troubles haue bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterprise, & if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote vnto your Lordship, I was fourescore dayes in trauailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs, and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from

henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with vs, that was aboue a pound weight.

Thirtie leagues before wee arriued at the place which the father prouinciall tolde vs so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horses, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arriuall: who trauailed foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, sauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderstoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, vtterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write vnto your Lordship therof.

It grieued the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceiued I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that wee should fixe our cogitation vpon those seuen Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprise: and with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passable but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattell which your Lordship sent vs for the prouision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voyage through the roughnesse of the rockes. The lambes and sheepe lost their hoofes in the way.

At length I arriued at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, saue onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leaue them all behind me.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, some tenne or twelue of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being ouercharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the trauaile. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here; which was no small want vnto vs for the performance of our enterprise.

I departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found myselfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall sayd that it was onely but fiue leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceiued great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordship.

I rested myselfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I should haue stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred: but because wee wanted victuals, wee had no leasure to rest any longer: I entred

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the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Iohns eue, and to refresh our former trauailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worser way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed alreadie: and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith: so that in this last desert wee lost more horses then wee had lost before: and some of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals.

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh riuers, and grasse like that of Castile. I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keepe against vs, and that hee should take and defend it vntill the next day that I shoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where wee might haue sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee they assaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day longer without foode, wee should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among vs all we had not two bushels of corne: wherefore it behooued mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and there made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our liues could haue done, to giue their fellowes vnderstanding, how wee marched and where we arriued.

As soone as I came within sight of this citie of Granada, I sent Dôn Garcias Lopez Campemaster, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine horsemen, to seeke the Indians and to aduertise them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maiestie had giuen vs in charge: which message was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy vs without any difficultie; and they strooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

In the meane space I arriued with all the rest of the horsemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at vs with their arrowes: and because I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set vpon them, in any wise to prouoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to set vpon so fewe people. On the other side the Indians perceiuing that wee stirred not, tooke great stomacke and courage vnto them: insomuch that they came hard to our horses heeles to shoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set vpon them without any danger: for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had beene if I would haue suffered them to haue bene pursued.

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that were without, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had so great neede, I assembled my people, and deuided

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them as I thought best to assault the citie, and I compassed it about: and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay, my selfe with certaine of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selues on foote, and commaunded that the crossebowes and harquebusiers shoulde giue the assault, and shoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they tolde me there was a scaling ladder set vp, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen suddenly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all: for they came thither so weake and feeble, that scarcely they coulde stand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all the mischiefe they could: so that twise they stroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuerthelesse my companie tooke mee vp with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yeelded themselues vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found therein, as our necessitie required. And because my armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded than the rest, not that I did more than they, or put my selfe forwarder than the rest, for all these Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselues as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recouered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones.

It remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seuen cities, and of the kingdomes and prouinces whereof the Father prouinciall made report vnto your Lordship. And to bee briefe, I can assure your honour, he sayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, sauing onely the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor brickes, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or foure or fiue lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers instead of staires, and certaine cellars vnder the ground very good and paued, which are made for winter, they are in maner like stooues: and the lathers which they haue for their houses are all in a maner mooueable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be.

The seuen cities are seuen small townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure leagues together, and they are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like vnto it, as also in remembrance of your lordship. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may be some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together fiue hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the seuen, & it is somwhat bigger than this, and another of the same bignesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted vnto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with

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other parchments. The people of this towne seeme vnto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet they seeme not to bee such as they should bee, of that iudgement and wit to builde these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they goe all naked, and they haue painted mantles like those which I send vnto your lordship. They eate the best cakes that euer I sawe, and euery body generally eateth of them. They haue the finest order and way to grinde that wee euer sawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They have most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Westerne Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee neerest: But in reason they should seeme to bee neerest to the Westerne Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see howe broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tailes, I haue seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse.

The kingdome of Totonteac so much extolled by the Father prouinciall, which sayde that there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are fiue or sixe houses; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruinated by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be found, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordship: neuerthelesse I must say the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordship from Culiacan, I am nowe to aduertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue you bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were heere, I could haue done no more in the seruice of his Maiestie and of your lordshippe, than I haue done in comming hither whither you haue sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our shoulders and vpon our horses three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote trauailing ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart vnto the death, if it please his Maiestie and your lordship that it shall be so.[v]

CORONADO CONTINUES HIS MARCH

Bandelier[w] identifies some of the places mentioned in connection with the expedition with pueblos north of Santa Fé. In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October. 1881, Henry W. Haynes[x] has given in detail the reasons for identifying Cibola with the region of the present Zuñi pueblos. Frank H. Cushing made the important discovery that this tribe has preserved the tradition of the coming of Fray Marcos, and also to have a tradition of the visit of Coronado, and even of Cabeza de Vaca. Squier[y] also identifies Cibola with Zuñi, as do Simpson,[z] Prince,[cc] Davis,[bb] and H. H. Bancroft.[dd]

Of the rest of the march, Thwaites writes[a]: "Disappointed, but still hoping to find the country of gold, Coronado's gallant little army, frequently thinned by death and desertion, beat for three years up and down the southwestern wilderness — now thirsting in the deserts, now penned up in gloomy cañons, now crawling over pathless mountains, suffering the horrors of starva-

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tion and of despair, but following this will-o'-the-wisp with a melancholy perseverance seldom seen in man save when searching for some mysterious treasure. Coronado apparently crossed the state of Kansas twice; 'through mighty plains and sandy heaths, smooth and wearisome and bare of wood. All that way the plains are as full of crookback oxen [bison] as the mountain Serena in Spain is of sheep. They were a great succour for the hunger and want of bread which our people stood in. One day it rained in that plain a great shower of hail as big as oranges, which caused many tears, weaknesses, and vows.' The wanderer ventured as far as the Missouri, and would have gone still farther eastward but for his inability to cross the swollen river. Co-operating parties explored the upper valleys of the Rio Grande and Gila, ascended the Colorado for two hundred and forty miles above its mouth, and visited the Grand Cañon of the same river. Coronado at last returned, satisfied that he had been made the victim of travellers' idle tales. He was rewarded with contumely and lost his place as governor of New Gallicia; but his romantic march[1] stands in history as one of the most remarkable exploring expeditions of modern times."[2]

ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS: FROBISHER'S THREE VOYAGES

"England," says Thwaites, "would have followed up Cabot's discovery of North America with more vigour had not Henry VII, being a Catholic prince, hesitated to set aside the pope's bull giving the new continent to Spain. His subjects, however, made large hauls of fish along the foggy shores of Newfoundland, and in 1502 some American savages were exhibited to him in London. Henry VIII was at first similarly scrupulous; but when, in 1533, he got rid of his queen, Catharine of Aragon, he was free from Spanish entanglements, and aspired to make England a maritime nation. Among many other enterprises the Northwest Passage allured him, although nothing came of his ventures in that direction."[ee]

In 1527, Robert Thorne, a wealthy merchant of Bristol, who had long resided at Seville, and had acquired something of the Spanish love of adventure, prevailed upon the king to fit out an expedition of two ships, "to attempt a discovery even to the north pole." The expedition left the Thames on the 20th of May, 1527. All that we know of the result of this voyage is that one of the ships was cast away on the north of Newfoundland. In 1536, a voyage of discovery to the northwest parts of America was projected by a person named Hore, of London. Of one hundred and twenty persons, who accompanied him, thirty were gentlemen of the inns of court and chancery. The voyage was signally disastrous. On their arrival in Newfoundland, they suffered so much from famine that they were driven to the horrible expedient of cannibalism. At length, a French ship arriving on the coast, the adventurers succeeded in capturing it, by stratagem, and returned home. The Frenchmen were indemnified by Henry VIII, who pardoned the violence to which necessity had impelled the English adventurers.

The foreign trade of England in the sixteenth century hardly extended beyond the Flemish towns, Iceland, and a limited fishery on the Banks of

[[1] General Simpson[a] speaks of his expedition as one which, "for extent in distance travelled, duration in time, and the multiplicity of its co-operating expeditions, equalled, if it did not exceed, any land expedition that has been undertaken in modern times." General Simpson maintains that Coronado "reached what is now the boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska, well on toward the Missouri river." Bandelier[w] is not satisfied that he went so far northeast, and thinks that he moved more in a circle.]

[2] Copyright, 1897, by Longmans, Green, & Co.

Newfoundland. But the presence and counsel of Sebastian Cabot, who was well acquainted with the bold navigations of the Spaniards, opened the views and inflamed the ambition of a people not insensible of their own abilities. When that experienced navigator was appointed grand pilot of England, by Edward VI, he was at the same time constituted "governour of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknowen." By his advice, and under his directions, a voyage was undertaken in 1553, for the discovery of a northeast passage to Cathay. Three ships were fitted out for this expedition, of which Sir Hugh Willoughby was appointed captain-general, and Richard Chancellor pilot-major.//

Thrice, at least, perhaps thrice by Cabot alone, the attempt at a northwestern passage had been made, and always in vain. A northeast passage was now proposed; the fleet of Willoughby and Chancellor was to reach the rich lands of Cathay by doubling the northern promontory of Lapland. The ships parted company. The fate of Willoughby was as tragical as the issue of the voyage of Chancellor was successful. The admiral, with one of the ships, was driven, by the severity of the polar autumn, to seek shelter in a Lapland harbour, which afforded protection against storms, but not against the rigours of the season. When search was made for him in the following spring, Willoughby himself was found dead in his cabin; and his journal, detailing his sufferings from the polar winter, was complete probably to the day when his senses were suspended by the intolerable cold. His ship's company lay dead in various parts of the vessel; some alone, some in groups. The other ship reached the harbour of Archangel. This was "the discovery of Russia," in 1554, and the commencement of maritime commerce with that empire. A Spanish writer calls the result of the voyage "a discovery of new Indies." The Russian nation, one of the oldest and least mixed in Europe, now awakening from a long lethargy, emerged into political distinction. About eleven years from this time, the first town in the United States' territory was permanently built. So rapid are the changes on the theatre of nations! One of the leading powers of the age became known to western Europe only in the sixteenth century; another had not then one white man within its limits.

The principle of joint stock companies, so favourable to every enterprise of uncertain result, by dividing the risks, and by nourishing a spirit of emulous zeal in behalf of an inviting scheme, was applied to the purposes of navigation; and a company of merchant adventurers was incorporated in 1555, for the discovery of unknown lands.

For even the intolerance of Queen Mary could not check the passion for maritime adventure. The sea was becoming the element on which English valour was to display its greatest boldness; English sailors neither feared the sultry heats and consuming fevers of the tropics, nor the intense severity of northern cold. The trade to Russia, now that the port of Archangel had been discovered, gradually increased and became very lucrative; and a regular and as yet an innocent commerce was carried on with Africa. The marriage of Mary with the king of Spain tended to excite the emulation which it was designed to check. The enthusiasm awakened by the brilliant pageantry with which King Philip was introduced into London excited Richard Eden / to gather into a volume the history of the most memorable maritime expeditions. Religious restraints, the thirst for rapid wealth, the desire of strange adventure, had driven the boldest spirits of Spain to the New World; their deeds had been commemorated by the copious and accurate details of the Spanish historians;

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and the English, through the alliance of their sovereign made familiar with the Spanish language and literature, became emulous of Spanish success beyond the ocean.

The firmness of Elizabeth seconded the enterprise of her subjects. They were rendered the more proud and intractable for the short and unsuccessful effort to make England an appendage to Spain. England, no longer the ally but the antagonist of Philip, claimed the glory of being the mistress of the northern seas, and prepared to extend its commerce to every clime. The queen strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England: she animated the adventurers to Russia and to Africa by her special protection; and while her subjects were endeavouring to penetrate into Persia by land, and enlarge their commerce with the East by combining the use of ships and caravans, the harbours of Spanish America were at the same time visited by their privateers in pursuit of the rich galleons of Spain, and at least from thirty to fifty English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland.

The possibility of effecting a northwest passage had ever been maintained by Sebastian Cabot. The study of geography had now become an interesting pursuit; the press teemed with books of travels, maps, and descriptions of the earth; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, engaged deeply in the science of cosmography. A judicious and well-written argument [*A Discourse of Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia*] in favour of the possibility of a northwestern passage was the fruit of his literary industry.

The same views were entertained by one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean. For fifteen years, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, well versed in various navigation, had revolved the design of accomplishing the discovery of the Northwest Passage; esteeming it, says Beste,[99] "the only thing of the world, that was yet left undone, by which a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate." Too poor himself to provide a ship, it was in vain that he conferred with friends; in vain he offered his services to merchants. After years of desire, his representations found a hearing at court; and Dudley, earl of Warwick, liberally promoted his design. Two small barks of twenty-five and of twenty tons, with a pinnace of ten tons' burden, composed the whole fleet, which was to enter gulfs that none but Cabot had visited. As they dropped down the Thames (June 8th, 1576), Queen Elizabeth waved her hand in token of favour, and, by an honourable message, transmitted her approbation of an adventure which her own treasures had not contributed to advance.

During a storm on the voyage, the pinnace was swallowed up by the sea; the mariners in the *Michael* became terrified, and turned their prow homewards; but Frobisher, in a vessel not much surpassing in tonnage the barge of a man-of-war, made his way, fearless and unattended, to the shores of Labrador, and to a passage or inlet north of the entrance of Hudson's Bay. It was among a group of American islands, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, that he entered what seemed to be a strait. Hope suggested that his object was obtained; that the land on the south was America; on the north was the continent of Asia; and that the strait opened into the immense Pacific. Great praise is due to Frobisher, even though he penetrated less deeply than Cabot into the bays and among the islands of this Meta Incognita, this unknown goal of discovery. Yet his voyage was a failure. To land upon an island, and, perhaps, on the main; to gather up stones and rubbish, in token of having taken possession of the country for Elizabeth; to seize one of

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the natives of the north for exhibition to the gaze of Europe — these were all the results which he accomplished.

What followed marks the insane passions of the age. America and mines were always thought of together. A stone, which had been brought from the frozen regions, was pronounced by the refiners of London to contain gold. The news excited the wakeful avarice of the city: there were not wanting those who endeavoured to purchase of Elizabeth a lease of the new lands, of which the loose minerals were so full of the precious metal. A fleet was immediately fitted out, to procure more of the gold rather than to make any further research for the passage into the Pacific; and the queen, who had contributed nothing to the voyage of discovery, sent a large ship of her own to join the expedition, which was now to conduct to infinite opulence. More men than could be employed volunteered their services; those who were discharged resigned their brilliant hopes with reluctance. The mariners, having received the communion, embarked May 27th, 1577, for the arctic El Dorado, "and with a merrie wind" soon arrived at the Orkneys. As they reached the northeastern coast of America, June 7th, the dangers of the polar seas became imminent; mountains of ice encompassed them on every side. At one moment they expected death; at the next they looked for gold. The fleet made no discoveries; it did not advance so far as Frobisher alone had done. But it found large heaps of earth, which, even to the incredulous, seemed plainly to contain the coveted wealth; besides, spiders abounded; and spiders were affirmed to be "true signs of great store of gold."[1] In freighting the ships, the admiral himself toiled like a painful labourer.

It was believed that the rich mines of the polar regions would countervail the charges of a costly adventure; the hope of a passage to Cathay increased; and, for the security of the newly discovered lands, soldiers and discreet men were selected to become their inhabitants. A magnificent fleet of fifteen sail was assembled, in part at the expense of Elizabeth; the sons of the English gentry embarked as volunteers; one hundred persons were chosen to form the colony, which was to secure to England a country more desirable than Peru, a country too inhospitable to produce a tree or a shrub, yet where gold lay, not charily concealed in mines, but glistening in heaps upon the surface. Twelve vessels were to return immediately with cargoes of the ore; three were ordered to remain and aid the settlement. The Northwest Passage was now become of less consideration; Asia itself could not vie with the riches of this hyperborean archipelago.

But the entrance to these wealthy islands was rendered difficult by frost; and the fleet of Frobisher, as it now approached the American coast (May 31st to September 28th, 1578), was bewildered among immense icebergs, which were so vast that, as they melted, torrents poured from them in sparkling waterfalls. One vessel was crushed and sunk, though the men on board were saved. In the dangerous mists the ships lost their course, and came into the straits which have since been called Hudson's, and which lie south of the imagined gold regions. The admiral believed himself able to sail through to the Pacific, and resolve the doubt respecting the passage. But his duty as a mercantile agent controlled his desire of glory as a navigator. He struggled to regain the harbour where his vessels were to be laden; and, after encountering peril of every kind — "getting in at one gap and out at another" — he at last arrived at the haven in the Countess of Warwick's Sound.

The zeal of the volunteer colonists had moderated; and the disheartened

[1] Settle, *in* Hakluyt : How rich, then, the alcoves of a library !

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sailors were ready to mutiny. One ship, laden with provisions for the colony, deserted and returned; and an island was discovered with enough of the black ore "to suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world." The plan of the settlement was abandoned. It only remained to freight the home-bound ships with a store of minerals. The adventurers and the historians of the voyage are silent about the disposition which was made of the cargo of the fleet. The knowledge of the seas was not extended; the credulity of avarice met with a rebuke; and the belief in regions of gold among the Eskimos was dissipated; but there remained a firm conviction that a passage to the Pacific Ocean might yet be threaded among the icebergs and northern islands of America.

While Frobisher was thus attempting to obtain wealth and fame on the northeast coast of America, the western limits of the territory of the United States became known. Embarking on a voyage in quest of fortune (1577 to 1580), Francis Drake acquired immense treasures as a freebooter in the Spanish harbours on the Pacific, and, having laden his ship with spoils, gained for himself enduring glory by circumnavigating the globe. But before following in the path which the ship of Magellan had thus far alone dared to pursue, Drake determined to explore the northwestern coast of America, in the hope of discovering the strait which connects the oceans. With this view, he crossed the equator, sailed beyond the peninsula of California, and followed the continent to the latitude of the southern borders of New Hampshire. Here the cold seemed intolerable to men who had just left the tropics. Despairing of success, he retired to a harbour in a milder latitude, within the limits of Mexico; and, having repaired his ship, and named the country New Albion, he sailed for England, through the seas of Asia.

Thus was the southern part of the Oregon territory first visited by Englishmen, yet not till after a voyage of the Spanish from Acapulco, commanded by Cabrillo, a Portuguese, had traced the American continent to within two and a half degrees of the mouth of Columbia river (1542), while, thirteen years after the voyage of Drake, John de Fuca, a mariner from the Isles of Greece, then in the employ of the viceroy of Mexico, sailed into the bay which is now known as the gulf of Georgia (1593), and, having for twenty days steered through its intricate windings and numerous islands, returned with a belief, that the entrance to the long-desired passage into the Atlantic had been found.

The lustre of the name of Drake is borrowed from his success. In itself, this part of his career was but a splendid piracy against a nation with which his sovereign and his country professed to be at peace. The exploits of Drake, except so far as they nourished a love for maritime affairs, were injurious to commerce; the minds of the sailors were debauched by a passion for sudden acquisitions; and to receive regular wages seemed base and unmanly, when, at the easy peril of life, there was hope of boundless plunder. Commerce and colonisation rest on regular industry; the humble labour of the English fishermen, who now frequented the Grand Bank, bred mariners for the navy of their country, and prepared the way for its settlements in the New World. Already four hundred vessels came annually from the harbours of Portugal and Spain, of France and England, to the shores of Newfoundland. The English were not there in such numbers as other nations, for they still frequented the fisheries of Iceland; but yet they "were commonly lords in the harbours," and in the arrogance of naval supremacy, exacted payment for protection. It is an incident honourable to the humanity of the early voyagers that, on one of the American islands, not far from the fishing stations, hogs and horned cattle were purposely left, that they might multiply and become a resource to some future generation of colonists.

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THE DISASTERS OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

While the queen and her adventurers were dazzled by the glittering prospects of mines of gold in the frozen regions of the remote north, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a sounder judgment and a better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonisation. It was not difficult for Gilbert to obtain a liberal patent (June 11th, 1578), formed according to the tenor of a previous precedent, and to be of perpetual efficacy, if a plantation should be established within six years. To the people who might belong to his colony, the rights of Englishmen were promised; to Gilbert, the possession for himself or his assigns of the soil which he might discover, and the sole jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, of the territory within two hundred leagues of his settlement, with supreme executive and legislative authority. Thus the attempts at colonisation, in which Cabot and Frobisher had failed, were renewed under a patent that conferred every immunity on the leader of the enterprise, and abandoned the colonists themselves to the mercy of an absolute proprietary.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT
(1539-1583)

Under this patent, Gilbert began to collect a company of volunteer adventurers, contributing largely from his own fortune to the preparation. Jarrings and divisions ensued, before the voyage was begun; many abandoned what they had inconsiderately undertaken; the general and a few of his assured friends — among them his step-brother, Walter Raleigh [in command of the *Falcon*] — put to sea in 1579; one of his ships was lost; and misfortune compelled the remainder to return. The vagueness of the accounts of this expedition is ascribed to a conflict with a Spanish fleet, of which the issue was unfavourable to the little squadron of emigrants. Gilbert attempted to keep his patent alive by making grants of lands. None of his assigns succeeded in establishing a colony; and he was himself too much impoverished to renew his efforts.

But the pupil of Coligny was possessed of an active genius, which delighted in hazardous adventure. To prosecute discoveries in the New World, lay the foundation of states, and acquire immense domains, appeared to the daring enterprise of Raleigh as easy designs, which would not interfere with the pursuit of favour and the career of glory in England. Before the limit of the charter had expired, Gilbert, assisted by his brother, equipped a new squadron. The fleet embarked under happy omens; the commander, on the eve of his departure, received from Elizabeth a golden anchor guided by a lady, a token of the queen's regard; a man of letters from Hungary accompanied the expe-

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dition; and some part of the United States would have then been colonised, had not the unhappy projector of the design been overwhelmed by a succession of disasters. Two days after leaving Plymouth (June 13th), the largest ship in the fleet, which had been furnished by Raleigh, who himself remained in England, deserted, under a pretence of infectious disease, and returned into harbour. Gilbert was incensed, but not intimidated. He sailed for Newfoundland; and, entering St. Johns, he summoned the Spaniards and Portuguese, and other strangers, to witness the feudal ceremonies by which he took possession of the country for his sovereign. A pillar, on which the arms of England were infixed, was raised as a monument; and lands were granted to the fishermen in fee, on condition of the payment of a quit-rent. The "mineral-man" of the expedition, an honest and religious Saxon, was especially diligent; it was generally agreed that "the mountains made a show of mineral substance"; as there were so many foreign vessels in the vicinity, the precious ore was carried on board the larger ship with such mystery that the dull Portuguese and Spaniards suspected nothing of the matter.[i]

The colony being thus apparently established, Sir Humphrey Gilbert embarked in his small frigate, the *Squirrel*, which was, in fact, a miserable bark of ten tons; and, taking with him two other ships, proceeded on a voyage of discovery to the southward. One of these vessels, the *Delight*, was soon after wrecked among the shoals near Sable Island; and of above one hundred men on board, only twelve escaped. Among those who perished were the historian and the mineralogist of the expedition; a circumstance which preyed upon the mind of Sir Humphrey, whose ardent temper fondly cherished the hope of fame and of inestimable riches. He now determined to return to England; but as his little frigate, as she is called, appeared wholly unfit to proceed on such a voyage, he was entreated not to venture in her, but to take his passage in the *Golden Hinde*. To these solicitations the gallant knight replied, "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." When the two vessels had passed the Azores, Sir Humphrey's frigate was observed to be nearly overwhelmed by a great sea; she recovered, however, the stroke of the waves, and immediately afterwards the general was observed by those in the *Hinde*, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, and calling out, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven by sea as by land!" The same night this little bark, and all within her, were swallowed up in the sea, and never more heard of. Such was the unfortunate end of the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who may be regarded as the father of western colonization, and who was one of the chief ornaments of the most chivalrous age of English history.[ll]

DUTCH EXPLORERS: HUDSON'S DISCOVERIES

Producing almost no grain of any kind, Holland had the best supplied granary of Europe: without fields of flax, it had an infinite number of weavers of linen: destitute of flocks, it became the centre of all woollen manufactures; and the country which had not a forest, built more ships than all Europe besides. Their enterprising mariners displayed the flag of the republic from Southern Africa to the Arctic circle. "The ships of the Dutch," said Raleigh, "outnumber those of England and ten other kingdoms." War for liberty became unexpectedly a guaranty of opulence; Holland gained the commerce of Spain by its maritime force; it secured the wealth of the Indies by traffic. Lisbon and Antwerp were despoiled; Amsterdam, the depot of the mer-

chandise of Europe and of the East, was esteemed beyond dispute the first commercial city of the world.

Within two years of the Union of Utrecht, that is, in 1581, Bath, an Englishman who had five times crossed the Atlantic, proposed to the States to conduct four ships of war to America. The adventure was declined by the government; but no obstacles were offered to private enterprise. Ten years afterwards, William Usselinx, who had lived some years in Castile, Portugal, and the Azores, proposed a West India Company; but the dangers of the undertaking were still too appalling. It was not till 1597 that voyages to the New World were actually undertaken. In that year, Bikker of Amsterdam, and Leyen of Enkhuisen, each formed a company to traffic with the West Indies. The commerce was continued with such success, that, after years of discussion, a plan for a West India Company was reduced to writing, and communicated to the states general, 1600.

As years rolled away, the progress of English commerce in the west awakened the attention of the Dutch. England and Holland had been allies in the contest against Spain; had both spread thei. sails on the Indian seas; had both become competitors for possessions in America. In the same year in which Smith embarked for Virginia, vast designs were ripening among the Dutch. Their merchants had perused every work which shed light on the western world, had gathered intelligence from the narratives of sailors; and now they planned a privileged company, which should count the states general among its stockholders, and possess, exclusively, the liberty of approaching America from Newfoundland to the straits of Magellan, and Africa from the tropics to the Cape of Good Hope. Principalities might easily be won from the Spaniards, whose scattered citadels protected but a narrow zone.

The party which desired peace with Spain, and which counted Grotius and Olden Barneveldt among its ornaments, for a long time succeeded in repressing the energy of hope, and defeating every effort at Batavian settlements in the west.

While the negotiations with Spain postponed the formation of a West India Company, the Dutch found their way to the United States through another channel. The first efforts of the Dutch merchants to share in the commerce of Asia were accompanied with a desire to search for a northwest passage; and the ill success of Cabot and Frobisher, of Willoughby and Davis, did but animate the Netherlands to a generous rivalry. Twice in the sixteenth century [as described in our history of Holland,] did they seek a passage by the north, and vainly coasted along Nova Zembla and Muscovy. Again did the envoy of Amsterdam descend within ten degrees of the pole, passing a winter in Nova Zembla, rendered horrible by famine, by the ferocity of polar beasts of prey, and by ice; the ship was frozen in hopelessly; in two little vessels the wretched crew hardly escaped. The voyages of the Dutch were esteemed without a parallel, for their daring.

The establishment of an East India Company, March 20th, 1602, with the exclusive right to commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope on the one side, and beyond the straits of Magellan on the other, with all powers requisite for conquests, colonisation, and government, covered the seas of Asia with fleets of Indiamen.

Meantime Europe had not relinquished the hope of a nearer passage to Asia; and Denmark took its place among the states whose ships vainly toiled for the discovery. No sooner was the failure known than a company of London merchants, excited by the immense profits of voyages to the East,

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contributed the means for a new attempt; and Henry Hudson was the chosen leader of the expedition. Sailing to the north in 1607, with his only son for his companion, he coasted the shores of Greenland, and hesitated whether to attempt the circumnavigation of that country, or the passage across the pole. What though he came within eight degrees of the pole, thus surpassing every earlier navigator? After renewing the discovery of Spitzbergen, vast masses of ice compelled his return. But the zeal of Hudson could not be quenched; and the next year beheld him once more engaged in a voyage, and cherishing the deceitful hope that, through the icy seas which divide Spitzbergen from Nova Zembla, he might find a path to the genial clime of southern Asia.

The failure of two expeditions daunted the enterprise of Hudson's employers; they could not daunt the courage of the great navigator, who was destined to become the rival of Smith and of Champlain. He longed to tempt once more the dangers of the northern seas; and, repairing to Holland, he offered, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, to explore the icy wastes in search of the coveted passage. The voyage of Smith to Virginia stimulated desire; the Zealanders, fearing the loss of treasure, objected; but by the influence of Balthazar Moucheron, the directors for Amsterdam resolved on equipping a small vessel of discovery; and on the fourth day of April, 1609, the *Half Moon*, or *Crescent*, commanded by Hudson, and manned by a mixed crew of Englishmen and Hollanders, his only son being of the number, set sail for the Northwestern Passage.

Masses of ice impeded the navigation towards Nova Zembla; Hudson, who had examined the maps of John Smith of Virginia, turned to the west; and passing beyond Greenland and Newfoundland, and running down the coast of Acadia, he anchored, probably, in the mouth of the Penobscot. Then, following the track of Gosnold, he came upon the promontory of Cape Cod, and, believing himself its first discoverer, gave it the name of New Holland. Long afterwards it was claimed as the northeastern boundary of New Netherlands. From the sands of Cape Cod, he steered a southerly course till he was opposite the entrance into the bay of Virginia, August 18th, where Hudson remembered that his countrymen were planted. Then turning again to the north, he discovered the Delaware Bay, examined its currents and its soundings, and, without going on shore, took note of the aspect of the country.

On the third day of September, almost at the time when Champlain was invading New York from the north, less than five months after the truce with Spain, which gave the Netherlands a diplomatic existence as a state, the *Half Moon* anchored within Sandy Hook, September 4, 1609, and from the neighbouring shores, that were crowned with "goodly oakes," attracted frequent visits from the natives. After a week's delay, Hudson sailed through the Narrows, September 11th, and at the mouth of the river anchored in a harbour which was pronounced to be very good for all winds. Of the surrounding lands, the luxuriant grass, the flowers, the trees, the grateful fragrance, were admired. Ten days were employed in exploring the river; the first of Europeans,[1] Hudson went sounding his way above the Highlands, till at last the *Half Moon* had sailed some miles beyond the present city of Hudson, and a boat had advanced a little beyond Albany. Frequent intercourse was held with the astonished natives of the Algonquin race; and the strangers were welcomed by a deputation from the Mohawks. Having completed

[[1] In speaking of Hudson's discovery of the river that bears his name, it is of course to be remembered that Verrazano had anchored in the bay of New York and seen the *grandissima riviera* nearly a century before Hudson, who, however, was the first to explore it.]

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his discovery, Hudson descended the stream to which time has given his name; and on the fourth day of October, about the season of the return of John Smith to England, he set sail for Europe, leaving once more to its solitude the land, that his imagination, anticipating the future, described as "the most beautiful" in the world.

The history of a country is always modified by its climate, and, in many of its features, is determined by its geographical situation. The region which Hudson had discovered possessed on the seaboard a harbour unrivalled in its advantages; having near its eastern boundary a river that admits the tide far into the interior; extending to the chain of the great lakes, which have their springs in the heart of the continent; containing within its limits the sources of large rivers that flow to the gulf of Mexico and to the bays of Chesapeake and of Delaware; inviting to extensive internal intercourse by natural channels, of which, long before Hudson anchored off Sandy Hook, even the warriors of the Five Nations availed themselves in their excursions to Quebec, to the Ohio, or the Susquehanna; with just sufficient difficulties to irritate, and not enough to dishearten — New York united most fertile lands with the highest adaptation to foreign and domestic commerce.

A happy return voyage brought the *Half Moon* into Dartmouth. Hudson forwarded to his Dutch employers a brilliant account of his discoveries; but he never revisited the lands which he eulogized; and the Dutch East India Company refused to search further for the Northwest Passage.

Meantime ambition revived among the English merchants; a company was formed, and Hudson again entered, April 17th, 1610, the northern seas in search of a path to the Pacific. Passing Iceland, and Greenland, and Frobisher's Straits, he sailed, August 2nd, into the straits which bear his own name, and where he had been preceded by none but Sebastian Cabot. As he emerged from the passage and came upon the wide gulf, he believed that his object had been gained. How great was his disappointment when he found himself embayed! As he sailed to and fro along the coast, it seemed a labyrinth without end; still confident of ultimate success, the inflexible mariner resolved on wintering in the bay, that he might perfect his discovery in the spring. At length the late and anxiously-expected spring burst forth; but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted: he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return; and "he wept as he gave it them." Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding where Spaniards, and English, and Danes, and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring-place to steer for Europe.

For two days the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized June 21st, 1610, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate; and just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on the longest summer's day, in a latitude where the sun hardly went down, and twilight ceased only with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of starvation? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which, it is probable, Hudson was overwhelmed. Alone, of the great mariners of that day, he lies buried in America; the gloomy waste of waters which bears his name is his tomb and his monument.[i]

John Fiske thus vividly sums up the life and achievements of Hudson:

"In all that he attempted he failed, and yet he achieved great results that

were not contemplated in his schemes. He started two immense industries, the Spitzbergen whale fisheries and the Hudson Bay fur trade; and he brought the Dutch to Manhattan Island. No realisation of his dreams could have approached the astonishing reality which would have greeted him could he have looked through the coming centuries and caught a glimpse of what the voyager now beholds in sailing up the bay of New York. But what perhaps would have surprised him most of all would have been to learn that his name was to become part of the folk-lore of the beautiful river to which it is attached, that he was to figure as a Dutchman, in spite of himself, in legend and on the stage; that when it is thunder weather on the Catskills the children should say it is Hendrik Hudson playing at skittles with his goblin crew. Perhaps it is not an unkindly fate. Even as Milton wished for his dead friend Lycidas that he might become the genius of the shore, so the memory of the great Arctic navigator will remain a familiar presence among the hillsides which the gentle fancy of Irving has clothed with undying romance.[ii]

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CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS

> To recognise the Indian ownership of the limitless prairies and forests of this continent — that is, to consider the dozen squalid savages who hunted at long intervals over a territory of a thousand square miles as owning it outright — necessarily implies a similar recognition of the claims of every white hunter, squatter, horse-thief, or wandering cattle-man. Take as an example the country round the Little Missouri. When the cattle-men, the first actual settlers, came into this land in 1882, it was already scantily peopled by a few white hunters and trappers. Like the Indians, they felt that their having hunted over the soil gave them a vague prescriptive right to its sole occupation, and they did their best to keep actual settlers out. In some cases, to avoid difficulty, their nominal claims were bought up; generally, and rightly, they were disregarded. In fact, the mere statement of the case is sufficient to show the absurdity of asserting that the land really belonged to the Indians. The different tribes have always been utterly unable to define their own boundaries. Thus the Delawares and Wyandots, in 1785, though entirely separate nations, claimed and, in a certain sense, occupied almost exactly the same territory. — THEODORE ROOSEVELT. [b]

THE common belief in "the gradual extinction of the noble red Indian," perpetuates at least four fallacies. The being referred to is not an Indian; he is red only when he paints himself so; he is not often noble; and he is not being extinguished.

Everyone knows, of course, that Columbus named the aborigines as he did, because he thought he had found India. The mistake was soon discovered to the disappointment of the Spanish and the ruin of Columbus, but the word Indian has stuck till the real Indians are now commonly dubbed Hindus or East Indians. The epithet "red" is due to pure carelessness, or wish for brevity, as the Indian is usually of a cinnamon brown tone. As Columbus' contemporary, Gomara[c] said, they "were neither white, black, nor grey, but like men with the jaundice or of the colour of boiled quinces. The

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nobility of the Indian is credited to him on various grounds; first, the picturesqueness of certain features of his life, the romance that always attaches to the woods and to the outlaw, to the freedom from many of those restrictions and oppressions of European law and custom previous to the nineteenth century which so irritated men like Rousseau; also to the persistent feeling that in a contest where both sides use cruelty and treachery freely, the one who loses must have lost because he could not stoop to certain weapons, and finally, to the poetic belief in the majesty of the vanquished. On the other hand, the other extreme of belief that no Indian is trustworthy or worthy at all, is equally to be shunned, for history is full of evidences of tribal and individual fidelity, scrupulousness, compassion and honour.

THE INDIAN NOT BECOMING EXTINCT

The theory that the Indian race is waning into limbo along with the dodo and the bison is a theory that will die even harder than the Indian. It is impossible that the race should ever expect much influence again on American life; it is probable that it will gradually be absorbed into the national life by intermarriage and education. But for the present, the Indian population is generally accepted as at worst stationary.

There are many grounds for believing that there are more Indians living in America to-day than there were when Columbus landed. The wild exaggerations natural to the excited and terrified pioneers were too long accepted as truth. As a matter of fact there were vast tracts of territory which the Indians never travelled. The very necessities of the hunt made a crowded civilisation impossible. They lived in small and widely isolated tribes. Famine was their bitterest foe, and their legends are full of the ravages it made in their numbers. Starvation, pestilence, and inter-tribal war kept down their numbers long before the white man's gun startled the forests.

With this view Theodore Roosevelt [b] differs somewhat: "Formerly writers greatly overestimated their original numbers, counting them by millions. Now it is the fashion to go to the other extreme, and even to maintain that they have not decreased at all. This last is a theory that can only be upheld on the supposition that the whole does not consist of the sum of the parts; for whereas we can check off on our fingers the tribes that have slightly increased, we can enumerate scores that have died out almost before our eyes. Speaking broadly, they have mixed but little with the English (as distinguished from the French and Spanish) invaders. They are driven back, or die out, or retire to their own reservations; but they are not often assimilated. Still, on every frontier, there is always a certain amount of assimilation going on, much more than is commonly admitted; and whenever a French or Spanish community has been absorbed by the energetic Americans, a certain amount of Indian blood has been absorbed also."

Opposed to the theory that the Indian is a creature of profound nobility, is the theory that he is the degenerate relic of a former high civilisation. This belief has been shown to be false. In Central America, Mexico and Peru, as is shown in our history of those regions, there was indeed a life in cities, where stone architecture, hieroglyphic writing and sculpture were employed, and where luxury reached a high point of lavishness, but this civilisation was in force at the time the Spanish came; it was in many respects only a barbarism with mitigations, and it was doubtless only the beginning of a progress which was smothered, as smaller billows by a tidal wave, under the sudden shock of European culture which for all its cruelty was centuries

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ahead of that in America. The condition of these advanced Indian races is discussed more fully in the Mexican, Central and South American sections of our history.

As the southern Indians were emerging into civilisation, so the northern were well lifted up above the lowest degrees of savagery. Early explorers like De Soto found some Indians devoted to agriculture and unused to war. Others led a sort of Bedouin existence. Their forest life seemed to be that, not of ignorance, but of conscious choice and pride; they had tribal government with a high and valued degree of personal liberty. They had languages — too many in fact, four hundred being the highest and one hundred and twenty-six the lowest estimate of the number of American languages. The Indian had pottery, implements of peace and war, and a currency. He had a superb system of warfare.

THE INDIAN AS A MILITARY GENIUS

As a soldier the Indian may be said to have revolutionised war. The approved tactics of to-day are those which the Indians developed and which the white learned from him at great cost in frequent lessons. The essentials of discipline were rigidly preserved yet with the fullest development of personal initiative. Coöperation and signal service were well understood too, and they had beautifully attained the tactics of swift attack at a carefully selected moment and retreat with a minimum loss at a maximum speed. The Indian took the horse and gun from the white man and soon almost equalled him in their management. As for finding and using cover, scouting and the general service of information, of keeping in touch with the enemy and learning as much as possible of him without self-betrayal — the world never before knew what the words meant, in comparison with the Indian perfection.

The white man had to learn to fight Indian fashion or be driven back to the sea that brought him over. He learned the lesson well and by having an inexhaustible base of supplies and recruits, and by virtue of his religious love of a fixed home and established industry, he gradually established white civilisation behind a stockade which the Indians might endanger and alarm, but could not capture and hold.

It is to the Indian, in a large sense, that the United States owes its independence. For the Indian unwittingly taught the white the value, the need, the thrill of freedom, the necessity and the pride of individuality, and finally the true science of warfare by which the irregular colonial troops gradually harassed the British regular to desperation and rashness and wore out even English pluck and perseverance. Again, since many British historians credit the American Revolution with solidifying the liberty of the English parliament against royal encroachments, it is a curious, and not altogether a false deduction, that to the American Indian the English people are indebted for some of their freedom.

INDIAN CRUELTY AND WHITE CRUELTY

As to the cruelty of the Indian, there is no defence. It is not to lack of imagination or to lack of sympathy, so much as to sheer and wanton delight in pain. The fascinations of torment were sometimes inflicted on themselves and the training of a warrior occasionally included such ordeals as gave a new appearance to his infliction of the same tortures on captives. Outside of actual torture some of the Indians treated their women captives with a

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respect bordering on indifference. The plains Indians, however, added the horrors of rapine to the feeling of hatred and dread they inspired. But it must be remembered that in contemporary Europe general rapine was the custom in captured cities and that the Inquisition was showing how illiterate in the highest art of fiendishness the untutored Indian actually was. Torture was still a civil institution even in England and Scotland, and as late as 1646 a woman had her tongue nailed to a board at Henley-on-the-Thames because she complained of a tax levied by parliament. The English in the East Indies were using as great cruelties against the natives as the western Indians used against the invaders. The characters of the various tribes of Indians were almost as diverse as those of the different races and castes of Europe. The patriarchal idea of polygamy and the Roman idea of divorce at will were general. Personal habits varied from the filth and brutality of some northwest and Eskimo tribes to the sense of beauty and adornment, the gentle dignity of the Sacs and Foxes and some of the eastern tribes. Ideas of decency were, as everywhere, inconsistent. In some of the tribes where nakedness was almost absolute, a man or woman would be ashamed, unless very drunk, even to speak to, or look in the eye of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. The ideas of "uncleanness" and its removal were akin to those of the Hebrews.

The Indian has been nearly as much sinned against as sinning. As Theodore Roosevelt [b] and others point out, it is ridiculous to say that a few hundred Indians secured a property right over the great forest lands which they did not clear and till, did not mark out with boundaries, fixed no habitations upon, and about whose ownership they did not even fight among one another, except when it was for the time rich in game. The whites had quite as good a right here as the Indian, and the nature of their plans made the right superior. But the white cheated the Indian right and left, lied to him, robbed him, enslaved him, gave him rum with malice prepense. Against the cruelties of the Indians are to be set the retaliations in kind of the whites. Frontenac burned prisoners at the stake in 1692 (though the French in general treated the Indian with the greatest consideration and got on best with him); in 1764 the grandson of William Penn offered bounties for scalps, including $50 for the scalp of an Indian woman, and $130 for the scalp of an Indian boy under ten years old. It was a common thing for the whites to kill all their prisoners, and again it must be remembered what unspeakable atrocities were practised in Europe at the capture of a European city by Europeans, of Netherland towns by the Spanish for example, and of the Christian city of Constantinople by the holy crusaders. And the sum total of Indian atrocities is almost negligible in comparison with the superhuman ruthlessness of the Spaniards, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, absolutely annihilated whole tribes of Indians. And even in the years since the white has put the Indian under such control that he is no longer a serious danger, the treatment of him has been by no means such as to show that honesty, mercy, and truth are the exclusive importation of European civilisation.

As a whole, then, the Indian has been like everyone else. His environment moulded him and yet he was slowly rising in civilisation. He was a mixture of good impulses and bad, and they took turns in control of his action. Few things in history are more hideous than certain of his deeds, and few things are more beautiful than others. About him there has grown up a dual school of literature: the poetic phase of Chateaubriand, Cooper and Longfellow, and the cynical which denies him any praise whatever. There are truth and falsehood in about equal proportion in each phase. The real Indian oscillated between the sublime and the ridiculous as did the knights errant of

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the Middle Ages. Meanwhile, we have him to thank for adding to history one of its most interesting phases. A summary of the principal tribal divisions of the Indian population is desirable.[a]

THWAITES[1] ON THE INDIAN TRIBES AND THEIR NUMBERS

The North Americans presented a considerable variety of types, ranging from the southern Indians, some of whose tribes were rather above the Caribs in material advancement, and quite superior to them in mental calibre, down to the Diggers, the savage root-eaters of the Cordilleran region.

The migrations of some of the Red Indian tribes were frequent, and they occupied overlapping territories, so that it is impossible to fix the tribal boundaries with any degree of exactness. Again, the tribes were so merged by intermarriage, by affiliation, by consolidation, by the fact that there were numerous polyglot villages of renegades, by similarities in manner, habits, and appearance, that it is difficult even to separate the savages into families. It is only on philological grounds that these divisions can be made at all. In a general way we may say that between the Atlantic and the Rockies, Hudson Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, there were four Indian languages in vogue, with great varieties of local dialect.

A SIOUX INDIAN

The Algonquins were the most numerous, holding the greater portion of the country from the unoccupied "debatable land" of Kentucky northward to Hudson Bay, and from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi. Among their tribes were the Narragansetts and Mohicans. These savages were rude in life and manners, were intensely warlike, depended for subsistence chiefly on hunting and fishing, lived in rude wigwams covered with bark, skins, or matted reeds, practised agriculture in a crude fashion, and were less stable in their habitations than the southern Indians. They have made a larger figure in our history than any other family, because through their lands came the heaviest and most aggressive movement of white population. Estimates of early Indian populations necessarily differ, in the absence of accurate knowledge, but it is now known that the numbers were never so great as was at first estimated. The colonists on the Atlantic seaboard found a native population much larger than elsewhere existed, for the Indians had a superstitious, almost a romantic, attachment to the seaside; and fish-food abounded there. Back from the waterfalls on the Atlantic slope — in the mountains and beyond — there were large areas destitute of inhabitants; and even in the nominally occupied territory the villages were generally small and far apart. A careful modern estimate is that the Algonquins at no time numbered over ninety thousand souls, and possibly not over fifty thousand.

In the heart of this Algonquin land was planted the ethnic group called the Iroquois, with its several distinct branches, often at war with each other. The craftiest, most daring, and most intelligent of Red Indians, yet still in the savage hunter state, the Iroquois were the terror of every native band east of the Mississippi, and eventually pitted themselves against their white

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neighbours. The five principal tribes of this family — Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, all stationed in palisaded villages south and east of lakes Erie and Ontario — formed a loose confederacy, styled by themselves "The Long House," and by the whites "The Five Nations," which firmly held the waterways connecting the Hudson river and the Great Lakes. The population of the entire group was not over seventeen thousand — a remarkably small number, considering the active part they played in American history, and the control which they exercised through wide tracts of Algonquin territory. Later they were joined by the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, and the confederacy was thereafter known as "The Six Nations."

The southern Indians occupied the country between the Tennessee river and the Gulf, the Appalachian ranges and the Mississippi. They were divided into five lax confederacies — the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. Of a milder disposition than their northern cousins, they were rather in a barbarous than a savage state. The Creeks, in particular, had good intellects, were fair agriculturists, and quickly adopted many mechanic and rural arts from their white neighbours; so that by the time of the revolution they were not far behind the small white proprietors in industrial or domestic methods. In the Indian Territory of to-day the descendants of some of these southern Indians are good farmers and herdsmen, with a capacity for self-government and shrewd business dealing. It is not thought that the southern tribes ever numbered above fifty thousand persons.

The Dakota or Sioux family occupied for the most part the country beyond the Mississippi. They were and are a fierce, high-strung people, are genuine nomads, and war appears to have been their chief occupation. Before the advent of the Spaniards they were foot-wanderers; but runaway horses came to them from Mexico and from the exploring expeditions of Narvaez, Coronado, and De Soto, and very early in the historic period the Indians of the far western plains became expert horsemen, attaining a degree of equestrian skill equal to that of the desert-dwelling Arabs. Outlying bands of the Dakotas once occupied the greater part of Wisconsin and northern Illinois, and were, it is believed by competent investigators, one of the various tribes of mound-builders. Upon withdrawing to the west of the Mississippi, they left behind them one of their tribes — the Winnebagos — whom Nicolet found (1634) resident on and about Green Bay of Lake Michigan, at peace and in confederacy with the Algonquins, who hedged them about. Other trans-Mississippi nations there are, but they are neither as large nor of such historical importance as the Dakotas.

The above enumeration, covering the territory south of Hudson Bay and east of the Rocky Mountains, embraces those savage nations with which the white colonists of North America have longest been in contact. North and west of these limits were and are other aboriginal tribes of the same race, but materially differing from those to whom allusion has been made, as well as from each other, in speech, stature, feature, and custom. These, too, lie, generally speaking, in ethnological zones. North of British Columbia are the fish-eating and filthy Hyperboreans, including the Eskimos and the tribes of Alaska and the British Northwest. South of these dwell the Columbians — the aborigines of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia — a somewhat higher type than the Hyperboreans, but much degenerated from contact with whites. The Californians are settled not only in what is now termed California, but stretch back irregularly into the mountains of Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and Utah.[d]

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FRANCIS PARKMAN'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER

The Indian is a true child of the forest and the desert. The wastes and solitudes of nature are his congenial home. His haughty mind is imbued with the spirit of the wilderness, and the light of civilisation falls on him with a blighting power. His unruly pride and untamed freedom are in harmony with the lonely mountains, cataracts, and rivers among which he dwells; and primitive America, with her savage scenery and savage men, opens to the imagination a boundless world, unmatched in wild sublimity.

The Indians east of the Mississippi may be divided into several great families, each distinguished by a radical peculiarity of language. In their moral and intellectual, their social and political state, these various families exhibit strong shades of distinction; but, before pointing them out, I shall indicate a few prominent characteristics, which, faintly or distinctly, mark the whole in common.

All are alike a race of hunters, sustaining life wholly, or in part, by the fruits of the chase. Each family is split into tribes; and these tribes, by the exigencies of the hunter life, are again divided into sub-tribes, bands, or villages, often scattered far asunder, over a wide extent of wilderness. Unhappily for the strength and harmony of the Indian race, each tribe is prone to regard itself, not as the member of a great whole, but as a sovereign and independent nation, often arrogating to itself an importance superior to all the rest of mankind;[2] and the warrior whose petty horde might muster a few scores of half-starved fighting men, strikes his hand upon his heart, and exclaims, in all the pride of patriotism, "I am a Menomone."

In an Indian community, each man is his own master. He abhors restraint and owns no other authority than his own capricious will; and yet this wild notion of liberty is not consistent with certain gradations of rank and influence. Each tribe has its sachem, or civil chief, whose office is in a manner hereditary, and, among many, though by no means among all tribes, descends in the female line; so that the brother of the incumbent, or the son of his sister, and not of his own son, is the rightful successor to his dignities.[3] If, however, in the opinion of the old men and subordinate chiefs, the heir should be disqualified for the exercise of the office by cowardice, incapacity, or any defect of character, they do not scruple to discard him, and elect another in his place, usually fixing their choice on one of his relatives. The office of the sachem is no enviable one. He has neither laws to administer nor power to enforce his commands. His counsellors are the inferior chiefs and principal men of the tribe; and he never sets himself in opposition to the popular will, which is the sovereign power of these savage democracies. His province is to advise, and not to dictate; but, should he be a man of energy, talent, and address, and especially should he be supported by numerous relatives and friends, he may often acquire no small measure of respect and power. A

[[1] Perhaps no one has known the Indians or their homes better than Francis Parkman, who lived among them in the wilderness, sympathised both with their patriotism to their tribes and with the civilisation that shackled them; who hunted out their records with indefatigable zeal in book and manuscript, and who wrote so brilliantly that John Fiske [e] was moved to call him "incomparably the greatest historian that America has produced." From his description of the Indian character we shall quote liberally.]

[2] Many Indian tribes bear names which in their dialect signify men, indicating that the character belongs, *par excellence*, to them. Sometimes the word was used by itself, and sometimes an adjective was joined with it, as original men, men surpassing all others.

[3] The dread of female infidelity has been assigned, and with probable truth, as the origin of this custom. The sons of a chief's sister must necessarily be his kindred; though his own reputed son may be, in fact, the offspring of another.

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clear distinction is drawn between the civil and military authority, though both are often united in the same person. The functions of war-chief may, for the most part, be exercised by any one whose prowess and reputation are sufficient to induce the young men to follow him to battle; and he may, whenever he thinks proper, raise a band of volunteers, and go out against the common enemy.

We might imagine that a society so loosely framed would soon resolve itself into anarchy; yet this is not the case, and an Indian village is singularly free from wranglings and petty strife. Several causes conspire to this result. The necessities of the hunter life, preventing the accumulation of large communities, make more stringent organization needless; while a species of self-control, inculcated from childhood upon every individual, enforced by a sentiment of dignity and manhood, and greatly aided by the peculiar temperament of the race, tends strongly to the promotion of harmony. Though he owns no law, the Indian is inflexible in his adherence to ancient usages and customs; and the principle of hero-worship, which belongs to his nature, inspires him with deep respect for the sages and captains of his tribe. The very rudeness of his condition, and the absence of the passions which wealth, luxury, and the other incidents of civilisation engender, are favourable to internal harmony; and to the same cause must likewise be ascribed too many of his virtues, which would quickly vanish, were he elevated from his savage state.

A peculiar social institution exists among the Indians, highly curious in its character; and though I am not prepared to say that it may be traced through all the tribes east of the Mississippi, yet its prevalence is so general, and its influence on political relations so important, as to claim especial attention. Indian communities, independently of their local distribution into tribes, bands, and villages, are composed of several distinct clans. Each clan has its emblem, consisting of the figure of some bird, beast, or reptile; and each is distinguished by the name of the animal which it thus bears as its device; as, for example, the clan of the Wolf, the Deer, the Otter, or the Hawk. In the language of the Algonquins, these emblems are known by the name of *Totems*.[1] The members of the same clan, being connected, or supposed to be so, by ties of kindred, more or less remote, are prohibited from intermarriage. Thus Wolf cannot marry Wolf; but he may, if he chooses, take a wife from the clan of the Hawks, or any other clan but his own. It follows that when this prohibition is rigidly observed, no single clan can live apart from the rest; but the whole must be mingled together, and in every family the husband and wife must be of different clans.

To different totems attach different degrees of rank and dignity; and those of the Bear, the Tortoise, and the Wolf are among the first in honour. Each man is proud of his badge, jealously asserting its claims to respect; and the members of the same clan, though they may, perhaps, speak different dialects, and dwell far asunder, are yet bound together by the closest ties of fraternity. If a man is killed, every member of the clan feels called upon to avenge him; and the wayfarer, the hunter, or the warrior is sure of a cordial welcome in the distant lodge of the clansman whose face perhaps he has never seen. It may be added that certain privileges, highly prized as hereditary

[1] See Schoolcraft, *Oneota*. The extraordinary figures intended to represent tortoises, deer, snakes, and other animals, which are often seen appended to Indian treaties, are the totems of the chiefs, who employ these devices of their respective clans as their sign manual. The device of his clan is also sometimes tattooed on the body of the warrior. The word tribe might, perhaps, have been employed with as much propriety as that of clan, to indicate the totemic division; but as the former is constantly employed to represent the local or political divisions of the Indian race, hopeless confusion would arise from using it in a double capacity.

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rights, sometimes reside in particular clans; such as that of furnishing a sachem to the tribe, or of performing certain religious ceremonies or magic rites.

The Indians east of the Mississippi may be divided into three great families; the Iroquois, the Algonquin, and the Mobilian, each speaking a language of its own, varied by numerous dialectic forms. To these families must be added a few stragglers from the great western race of the Dakota, besides several distinct tribes of the south, each of which has been regarded as speaking a tongue peculiar to itself. The Mobilian group embraces the motley confederacy of the Creeks, the crafty Choctaws, and the staunch and warlike Chickasaws. Of these, and of the distinct tribes dwelling in their vicinity, or within their limits, I shall only observe that they offer, with many modifications, and under different aspects, the same essential features which mark the Iroquois and the Algonquins, the two great families of the north. The latter, who were the conspicuous actors in the events of the ensuing narrative, demand a closer attention.

Foremost in war, foremost in eloquence, foremost in their savage arts of policy, stood the fierce people called by themselves the Hodenosaunee, and by the French the Iroquois, a name which has since been applied to the entire family of which they formed the dominant member.[1] They extended their conquests and their depredations from Quebec to the Carolinas, and from the western prairies to the forests of Maine.[2] On the south, they forced tribute from the subjugated Delawares, and pierced the mountain fastnesses of the Cherokees with incessant forays.[3] On the north, they uprooted the ancient settlements of the Wyandots; on the west they exterminated the Eries and the Andantes [Conestogas], and spread havoc and dismay among the tribes of the Illinois; and on the east, the Indians of New England fled at the first peal of the Mohawk war-cry. Nor was it the Indian race alone who quailed before their ferocious valour. All Canada shook with the desolating fury of their onset; the people fled to the forts for refuge; the blood-besmeared conquerors roamed like wolves among the burning settlements, and the youthful colony trembled on the brink of ruin.

The Iroquois in some measure owed their triumphs to the position of their country; for they dwelt within the present limits of the state of New York, whence several great rivers and the inland oceans of the northern lakes opened

[1] A great difficulty in the study of Indian history arises from a redundancy of names employed to designate the same tribe; yet this does not prevent the same name from being often used to designate two or more different tribes. The following are the chief of those which are applied to the Iroquois by different writers, French, English, and German: Iroquis, Five, and afterwards Six Nations; Confederates, Hodenosaunee, Aquanuscioni, Aggonnonshioni, Ongwe Honwe, Mengwe, Maquas, Mahaquase, Massawomecs, Palenachendchiesktajeet. The name of Massawomecs has been applied to several tribes; and that of Mingoes is often restricted to a colony of the Iroquois which established itself near the Ohio.

[2] François, a well-known Indian belonging to the remnant of the Penobscots living at Old Town, in Maine, told me, in the summer of 1843, that a tradition was current, among his people, of their being attacked in ancient times by the Mohawks, or, as he called them, Mohogs, a tribe of the Iroquois, who destroyed one of their villages, killed the men and women, and roasted the small children on forked sticks, like apples, before the fire. When he began to tell his story, François was engaged in patching an old canoe, in preparation for a moose hunt; but soon growing warm with his recital, he gave over his work, and at the conclusion exclaimed with great wrath and earnestness, "Mohog all devil!"

[3] The tribute exacted from the Delawares consisted of wampum, or beads of shell, an article of inestimable value with the Indians. "Two old men commonly go about, every year or two, to receive this tribute; and I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under, while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket and a dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator."—COLDEN.

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ready thoroughfares to their roving warriors through all the adjacent wilderness. But the true fountain of their success is to be sought in their own inherent energies, wrought to the most effective action under a political fabric well suited to the Indian life; in their mental and moral organisation; in their insatiable ambition and restless ferocity.

In their scheme of government, as in their social customs and religious observances, the Iroquois displayed, in full symmetry and matured strength, the same characteristics which in other tribes are found distorted, withered, decayed to the root, or, perhaps, faintly visible in an imperfect germ. They consisted of five tribes or nations — the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, to whom a sixth, the Tuscaroras, was afterwards added.[1] To each of these tribes belonged an organisation of its own. Each had several sachems, who, with the subordinate chiefs and principal men, regulated all its internal affairs; but, when foreign powers were to be treated with, or matters involving the whole confederacy required deliberation, all the sachems of the several tribes convened in general assembly at the great council-house, in the valley of Onondaga. Here ambassadors were received, alliances were adjusted, and all subjects of general interest discussed with exemplary harmony.[2] The order of debate was prescribed by time-honoured customs, and, in the fiercest heat of controversy, the assembly maintained its iron self-control.

But the main stay of Iroquois polity was the system of *totemship*. It was this which gave the structure its elastic strength; and but for this, a mere confederacy of jealous and warlike tribes must soon have been rent asunder by shocks from without or discord from within. At some early period, the Iroquois must have formed an individual nation; for the whole people, irrespective of their separation into tribes, consisted of eight totemic clans; and the members of each clan, to what nation soever they belonged, were mutually bound to one another by those close ties of fraternity which mark this singular institution. Thus the five nations of the confederacy were laced together by an eight-fold band; and to this hour their slender remnants cling to one another with invincible tenacity.

It was no small security to the liberties of the Iroquois — liberties which they valued beyond any other possession — that by the Indian custom of descent in the female line, which among them was more rigidly adhered to than elsewhere, the office of the sachem must pass, not to his son, but to his brother, his sister's son, or some yet remoter kinsman. His power was con-

[1] The following are synonymous names, gathered from various writers: Mohawks, Anies, Agniers, Agnierrhonons, Sankhicans, Canungas, Mauguawogs, Ganeagaonoh, Oneidas, Oneotas, Onoyats, Anoyints, Onneiouts, Oneyyotecaronoh, Onoiochrhonons, Onondagas, Onnontagues, Onondagaonohs, Cayugas, Caiyoquos, Goiogoens, Gweugwehonoh, Senecas, Sinnikes, Chennessies, Genesees, Chenandoanes, Tsonnontouans, Jenontowanos, Nundawaronoh.

[2] "In the year 1745, August Gottlieb Spangenburg, a bishop of the United Brethren, spent several weeks in Onondaga, and frequently attended the great council. The council-house was built of bark. On each side six seats were placed, each containing six persons. No one was admitted besides the members of the council, except a few who were particularly honored. If one rose to speak, all the rest sat in profound silence, smoking their pipes. The speaker uttered his words in a singing tone, always rising a few notes at the close of each sentence. Whatever was pleasing to the council was confirmed by all with the word *nee*, or "*yes*." And, at the end of each speech, the whole company joined in applauding the speaker by calling *hoho*. At noon, two men entered bearing a large kettle filled with meat, upon a pole across their shoulders, which was first presented to the guests. A large wooden ladle, as broad and deep as a common bowl, hung with a hook to the side of the kettle, with which every one might at once help himself to as much as he could eat. When the guests had eaten their fill, they begged the counsellors to do the same. The whole was conducted in a very decent and quiet manner. Indeed, now and then, one or the other would lie flat upon his back to rest himself, and sometimes they would stop, joke, and laugh heartily." — LOSKIEL.

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stantly deflected into the collateral branches of his family: and thus one of the strongest temptations of ambition was cut off. The Iroquois had no laws; but they had ancient customs which took the place of laws. Each man, or rather, each clan, was the avenger of its own wrongs; but the manner of the retaliation was fixed by established usage. The tribal sachems, and even the great council at Onondaga, had no power to compel the execution of their decrees; yet they were looked up to with a respect which the soldier's bayonet or the sheriff's staff would never have commanded; and it is highly to the honour of the Indian character that they could exact so great an authority where there was nothing to enforce it but the weight of moral power.[2]

The origin of the Iroquois is lost in hopeless obscurity. That they came from the west; that they came from the north; that they sprang from the soil of New York, are the testimonies of three conflicting traditions, all equally worthless as aids to historic inquiry. It is at the era of their confederacy — the event to which the five tribes owed all their greatness and power, and to which we need assign no remoter date than that of a century before the first arrival of the Dutch in New York — that faint rays of light begin to pierce the gloom, and the chaotic traditions of the earlier epoch mould themselves into forms more palpable and distinct.

Taounyawatha, the God of the Waters — such is the belief of the Iroquois — descended to the earth to instruct his favourite people in the arts of savage life; and when he saw how they were tormented by giants, monsters, and evil spirits, he urged the divided tribes, for the common defence, to band themselves together in an everlasting league. While the injunction was as yet unfulfilled, the sacred messenger was recalled to the Great Spirit; but, before his departure, he promised that another should appear, empowered to instruct the people in all that pertained to their confederation. And accordingly, as a band of Mohawk warriors was threading the funereal labyrinth of an ancient pine forest, they heard, amid its blackest depths, a hoarse voice chanting in measured cadence; and, following the sound, they saw, seated among the trees, a monster so hideous, that, one and all, they stood benumbed with terror. His features were wild and frightful. He was encompassed by hissing rattlesnakes, which, Medusa-like, hung writhing from his head; and on the ground around him were strewn implements of incantation, and magic vessels formed of human skulls. Recovering from their amazement, the warriors could perceive that in the mystic words of the chant, which he still poured forth, were couched the laws and principles of the destined confederacy. The tradition further declares that the monster, being surrounded and captured, was presently transformed to human shape, that he became a chief of tran-

[1] The descent of the sachemship in the female line was a custom universally prevalent among the Five Nations, or Iroquois proper. Since, among Indian tribes generally, the right of furnishing a sachem was vested in some particular totemic clan, it results of course that the descent of the sachemship must follow the descent of the totem; that is, if the totemship descend in the female line, the sachemship must do the same. This custom of descent in the female line prevailed not only among the Iroquois proper, but also among the Wyandots, and probably among the Andastes and the Eries, extinct members of the great Iroquois family. Thus, among any of these tribes, when a Wolf warrior married a Hawk squaw, their children were Hawks, and not Wolves. With the Creeks of the south, according to the observations of Hawkins,[i] the rule was the same; but among the Algonquins, on the contrary, or at least among the northern branches of this family, the reverse took place, the totemships, and consequently the chieftainships, descending in the male line, after the analogy of civilised nations.

[2] Morgan[j] is of opinion that these institutions were tho result of "a protracted effort of legislation." An examination of the customs prevailing among other Indian tribes makes it probable that the elements of the Iroquois policy existed among them from an indefinite antiquity; and the legislation of which Morgan speaks could only involve the arrangement and adjustment of already existing materials.

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scendent wisdom and prowess, and to the day of his death ruled the councils of the now united tribes. Ever afterwards the presiding sachem of the council at Onondaga inherits from him the honoured name of Atotarho.

The traditional epoch which preceded the auspicious event of the confederacy, though wrapped in clouds and darkness, and defying historic scrutiny, has yet a character and meaning of its own. The gloom is peopled thick with phantoms; with monsters and prodigies, shapes of wild enormity, yet offering in the Teutonic strength of their conception, the evidence of a robustness of mind unparalleled among tribes of a different lineage. In those evil days, the scattered and divided Iroquois were beset with every form of peril and disaster. Giants, cased in armour of stone, descended on them from the mountains of the north. Huge beasts trampled down their forests like fields of grass. Human heads, with streaming hair and glaring eyeballs, shot through the air like meteors, shedding pestilence and death throughout the land. A great horned serpent rose from Lake Ontario; and only the thunderbolts of the skies could stay his ravages, and drive him back to his native deeps. The skeletons of men, victims of some monster of the forest, were seen swimming in the Lake of Teungktoo; and around the Seneca village on the hill of Genundewah, a two-headed serpent coiled himself, of size so monstrous that the wretched people were unable to ascend his scaly sides, and perished in multitudes by his pestilential breath. Mortally wounded at length by the magic arrow of a child, he rolled down the steep, sweeping away the forest with his writhings, and plunging into the lake below, where he lashed the black waters till they boiled with blood and foam, and at length, exhausted with his agony, sunk, and perished at the bottom. Under the falls of Niagara dwelt the Spirit of the Thunder, with his brood of giant sons; and the Iroquois trembled in their villages when, amid the blackening shadows of the storm they heard his deep shout roll along the firmament.

The energy of fancy, whence these barbarous creations drew their birth, displayed itself, at a later period, in that peculiar eloquence which the wild democracy of the Iroquois tended to call forth, and to which the mountain and the forest, the torrent and the storm, lent their stores of noble imagery. That to this imaginative vigour was joined mental power of a different stamp, is witnessed by the caustic irony of Garangula and Sagoyewatha, and no less by the subtle policy, sagacious as it was treacherous, which marked the dealings of the Iroquois with surrounding tribes.[1]

With all this intellectual superiority, the arts of life among them had not emerged from their primitive rudeness; and their coarse pottery, their spear and arrow heads of stone, were in no way superior to those of many other tribes. Their agriculture deserves a higher praise. In 1696, the invading army of Count Frontenac found the maize fields extending a league and a half or two leagues from their villages; and, in 1779, the troops of General Sullivan were filled with amazement at their abundant stores of corn, beans, and squashes, and at the ancient apple orchards which grew around their settlements.

[1] For traditions of the Iroquois see Schoolcraft,[h] Cusick,[l] and Clark,[m] *Hist. Onondaga*, I. Cusick was an old Tuscarora Indian, who, being disabled by an accident from active occupations, essayed to become the historian of his people, and produced a small pamphlet, written in a language almost unintelligible, and filled with a medley of traditions in which a few grains of truth are inextricably mingled with a tangled mass of absurdities. He relates the monstrous legends of his people with an air of implicit faith, and traces the presiding sachems of the confederacy in regular descent from the first Atotarho downwards. His work, which was printed at the Tuscarora village, near Lewiston, in 1828, is illustrated by several rude engravings representing the stone giants, the flying heads, and other traditional monsters.

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Their dwellings and works of defence were far from contemptible, either in their dimensions or in their structure; and though by the several attacks of the French, and especially by the invasion of De Nonville, in 1687, and of Frontenac, nine years later, their fortified towns were levelled to the earth, never again to reappear; yet, in the works of Champlain [n] and other early writers we find abundant evidence of their pristine condition. Along the banks of the Mohawk, among the hills and hollows of Onondaga, in the forests of Oneida and Cayuga, on the romantic shores of Seneca Lake and the rich borders of the Genesee, surrounded by waving maize fields, and encircled from afar by the green margin of the forest, stood the ancient strongholds of the confederacy. The clustering dwellings were encompassed by palisades, in single, double, or triple rows, pierced with loopholes, furnished with platforms within, for the convenience of the defenders, with magazines of stones to hurl upon the heads of the enemy, and with water conductors to extinguish any fire which might be kindled from without.

The area which these defences enclosed was often several acres in extent, and the dwellings, ranged in order within, were sometimes more than a hundred feet in length. Posts, firmly driven into the ground, with an intervening framework of poles, formed the basis of the structure; and its sides and arched roof were closely covered with layers of elm bark. Each of the larger dwellings contained several distinct families, whose separate fires were built along the central space, while compartments on each side, like the stalls of a stable, afforded some degree of privacy. Here, rude couches were prepared, and bear and deer skins spread; while above, the ripened ears of maize, suspended in rows, formed a golden tapestry.

In the long evenings of midwinter, when in the wilderness without the trees cracked with biting cold, and the forest paths were clogged with snow, then, around the lodge-fires of the Iroquois, warriors, squaws, and restless naked children were clustered in social groups, each dark face brightening in the fickle firelight, while, with jest and laugh, the pipe passed round from hand to hand. Perhaps some shrivelled old warrior, the story-teller of the tribe, recounted to attentive ears the deeds of ancient heroism, legends of spirits and monsters, or tales of witches and vampires — superstitions not less rife among this all-believing race, than among the nations of the transatlantic world.

The life of the Iroquois, though void of those multiplying phases which vary the routine of civilised existence, was one of sharp excitement and sudden contrast. The chase, the war-path, the dance, the festival, the game of hazard, the race of political ambition, all had their votaries. When the assembled sachems had resolved on war against some foreign tribe, and when, from their great council-house of bark, in the valley of Onondaga, their messengers had gone forth to invite the warriors to arms, then from east to west, through the farthest bounds of the confederacy, a thousand warlike hearts caught up the summons with glad alacrity. With fasting and praying, and consulting dreams and omens; with invoking the war god, and dancing the frantic war-dance, the warriors sought to insure the triumph of their arms; and, these strange rites concluded, they began their stealthy progress, full of confidence, through the devious pathways of the forest. For days and weeks, in anxious expectation, the villagers await the result. And now, as evening closes, a shrill, wild cry, pealing from afar, over the darkening forest, proclaims the return of the victorious warriors. The village is alive with sudden commotion; and snatching sticks and stones, knives and hatchets, men, women, and children, yelling like fiends let loose, swarm out of the narrow

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portal, to visit upon the miserable captives a foretaste of the deadlier torments in store for them. The black arches of the forest glow with the fires of death; and with brandished torch and firebrand the frenzied multitude close around their victim. The pen shrinks to write, the heart sickens to conceive, the fierceness of his agony; yet still, amid the din of his tormentors, rises his clear voice of scorn and defiance. The work is done; the blackened trunk is flung to the dogs, and, with clamorous shouts and hootings, the murderers seek to drive away the spirit of their victim.[1]

The Iroquois reckoned these barbarities among their most exquisite enjoyments; and yet they had other sources of pleasure, which made up in frequency and in innocence what they lacked in intensity. Each passing season had its feasts and dances, often mingling religion with social pastime. The young had their frolics and merry-makings; and the old had their no less frequent councils, where conversation and laughter alternated with grave deliberations for the public weal. There were also stated periods marked by the recurrence of momentous ceremonies, in which the whole community took part — the mystic sacrifice of the dogs, the orgies of the dream feast, and the loathsome festival of the exhumation of the dead. Yet in the intervals of war and hunting, these multiform occupations would often fail; and, while the women were toiling in the cornfields, the lazy warriors vainly sought relief from the scanty resources of their own minds, and beguiled the hours with smoking or sleeping, with gambling or gallantry.

If we seek for a single trait pre-eminently characteristic of the Iroquois, we shall find it in that boundless pride which impelled them to style themselves, not inaptly as regards their own race, "the men surpassing all others."[2] "Must I," exclaimed one of their great warriors, as he fell wounded among a crowd of Algonquins — "must I, who have made the whole earth tremble, now die by the hands of children?" Their power kept pace with their pride. Their war parties roamed over half America, and their name was a terror from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; but, when we ask the numerical strength of the dreaded confederacy, when we discover that, in the days of their greatest triumphs, their united cantons could not have mustered four thousand warriors, we stand amazed at the folly and dissension which left so vast a region the prey of a handful of bold marauders. Of the cities and villages now so thickly scattered over the lost domain of the Iroquois, a single one might boast a more numerous population than all the five united tribes.[3]

From this remarkable people, who with all the ferocity of their race blended

[1] "Being at this place the 17 of June, there came fifty prisoners from the south-westward. They were of two nations, some whereof have few guns; the other none at all. One nation is about ten days' journey from any Christians, and trade onely with one greatt house, nott farr from the sea, and the other trade onely, as they say, with a black people. This day of them was burnt two women, and a man and a child killed with a stone. Att night we heard a great noyse as if ye houses had all fallen, butt itt was only ye inhabitants driving away ye ghosts of ye murthered. The 18th going to Canagorah, that day there were most cruelly burnt four men, four women and one boy. The cruelty lasted aboutt seven hours. When they were almost dead letting them loose to the mercy of ye boys, and taking the hearts of such as were dead to feast on." — GREENHALGH.[o]

[2] This is Colden's[p] translation of the word Ongwehonwe, one of the names of the Iroquois.

[3] La Hontan[p] estimated the Iroquois at from five thousand to seven thousand fighting men; but his means of information were very imperfect, and the same may be said of several other French writers, who have overrated the force of the confederacy. In 1677, the English sent one Greenhalgh[o] to ascertain their numbers. He visited all their towns and villages, and reported their aggregate force at two thousand one hundred and fifty fighting men. The report of Colonel Coursey, agent from Virginia, at about the same period, closely corresponds with this statement. Subsequent estimates, up to the period of the Revolution, when their strength had much declined, vary from twelve hundred to two thousand one hundred and twenty. Most of these estimates are given by Clinton,[q] and several by Jefferson.[r]

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heroic virtues and marked endowments of intellect, I pass to other members of the same great family, whose different fortunes may perhaps be ascribed rather to the force of circumstance, than to any intrinsic inferiority.

The peninsula between the lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario was occupied by two distinct peoples, speaking dialects of the Iroquois tongue. The Hurons or Wyandots, including the formidable bands called by the French the Dionondadies, or Tobacco Nation,[1] dwelt among the forests which bordered the eastern shores of the fresh water sea, to which they have left their name; while the Neutral Nation, so called from their neutrality in the war between the Hurons and the Five Nations, inhabited the northern shores of Lake Erie, and even extended their eastern flank across the strait of Niagara.

The population of the Hurons has been variously stated at from ten thousand to thirty thousand souls, but probably did not exceed the former estimate. The Franciscans and the Jesuits were early among them, and from their copious descriptions, it is apparent that, in legends and superstitions, manners and habits, religious observances and social customs, this people were closely assimilated to their brethren of the Five Nations. Their capacious dwellings of bark, and their palisaded forts, seemed copied after the same model. Like the Five Nations they were divided into tribes, and cross-divided into totemic clans; and, as with them, the office of sachem descended in the female line. The same crude materials of a political fabric were to be found in both; but, unlike the Iroquois, the Wyandots had not as yet wrought them into a system, and woven them into a harmonious whole.

Like the Five Nations, the Wyandots were in some measure an agricultural people; they bartered the surplus products of their maize fields to surrounding tribes, usually receiving fish in exchange; and this traffic was so considerable, that the Jesuits styled their country the Granary of the Algonquins.[2] Their prosperity was rudely broken by the hostilities of the Five Nations; for though the conflicting parties were not ill matched in point of numbers, yet the united counsels and ferocious energies of the confederacy swept all before them. In the year 1649, in the depth of winter, their warriors invaded the country of the Wyandots, stormed their largest villages, and involved all within in indiscriminate slaughter. The survivors fled in panic terror, and the whole nation was dispersed and broken.

Some found refuge among the French of Canada, where, at the village of Lorette, near Quebec, their descendants still remain; others were incorporated with their conquerors; while others again fled northward, beyond Lake Superior, and sought an asylum among the desolate wastes which bordered on the northeastern bands of the Dakota. Driven back by those fierce bison-hunters, they next established themselves about the outlet of Lake Superior, and the shores and islands in the northern parts of Lake Huron. Thence, about the year 1680, they descended to Detroit, where they formed a permanent settlement, and where, by their superior valour, capacity, and address, they soon acquired a marvellous ascendancy over the surrounding Algonquins.

The ruin of the Neutral Nation followed close on that of the Wyandots, to whom, according to Jesuit authority, they bore an exact resemblance in character and manners. The Senecas soon found means to pick a quarrel

[1] Hurons, Wyandots, Yendots, Ouendaets, Quatogies. The Dionondadies are also designated by the following names: Tionontatez, Petuneux — Nation of Tobacco.

[2] Bancroft[a] in his chapter on the Indians east of the Mississippi, falls into a mistake when he says that no trade was carried on by any of the tribes. For an account of the traffic between the Hurons and Algonquins see Mercier.[f]

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with them; they were assailed by all the strength of the insatiable confederacy, and within a few years their destruction as a nation was complete.

South of Lake Erie dwelt two members of the Iroquois family. The Andastes built their fortified villages along the valleys of the Alleghany and the upper Ohio; while the Erigas, or Eries, occupied the borders of the lake which still retains their name. Of these two nations little is known, for the Jesuits had no missions among them, and few traces of them survive beyond their names and the record of their destruction. The war with the Wyandots was scarcely over, when the Five Nations turned their arms against their Erie brethren.

In the year 1655, using their canoes as scaling ladders, they stormed the Erie stronghold, leaped down like tigers among the defenders, and butchered them without mercy. The greater part of the nation was involved in the massacre, and the remnant was incorporated with the conquerors, or with other tribes, to which they fled for refuge. The ruin of the Andastes came next in turn; but this brave people fought for twenty years against their inexorable assailants, and their destruction was not consummated until the year 1672, when they shared the fate of the rest.

Thus, within less than a quarter of a century, four nations, the most brave and powerful of the North American savages, sank before the arms of the confederates. Nor did their triumphs end here. Within the same short space they subdued their southern neighbours the Lenape, the leading members of the Algonquin family, and expelled the Ottawas, a numerous people of the same lineage, from the borders of the river which bears their name. In the north, the west, and the south, their conquests embraced every adjacent tribe; and meanwhile their war parties were harassing the French of Canada with reiterated inroads, and yelling the war-whoop under the very walls of Quebec.

They were the worst of conquerors. Inordinate pride, the lust of blood and dominion, were the mainsprings of their warfare; and their victories were stained with every excess of savage passion. That their triumphs must have cost them dear; that, in spite of their cautious tactics, these multiplied conflicts must have greatly abridged their strength, would appear inevitable. Their losses were, in fact, considerable; but every breach was repaired by means of a practice which they, in common with other tribes, constantly adhered to. When their vengeance was glutted by the sacrifice of a sufficient number of captives, they spared the lives of the remainder, and adopted them as members of their confederated tribes, separating wives from husbands, and children from parents, and distributing them among different villages, in order that old ties and associations might be more completely broken up. This policy, was designated among them by a name which signifies "flesh cut into pieces and scattered among the tribes."

In the years 1714–15, the confederacy received a great accession of strength. Southwards, about the headwaters of the rivers Neuse and Tar, and separated from their kindred tribes by intervening Algonquin communities, dwelt the Tuscaroras, a warlike people belonging to the generic stock of the Iroquois. The wrongs inflicted by white settlers, and their own undistinguishing vengeance, involved them in a war with the colonists, which resulted in their defeat and expulsion. They emigrated to the Five Nations, whose allies they had been in former wars with southern tribes, and who now gladly received them, admitting them as a sixth nation, into their confederacy, and assigning to their sachems a seat in the council-house at Onondaga.

It is a remark of Gallatin,[u] that in their career of conquest, the Five Nations

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encountered more stubborn resistance from the tribes of their own family, than from those of a different lineage. In truth, all the scions of this warlike stock seem endued with singular vitality and force, and among them we must seek for the best type of the Indian character. Few tribes could match them in prowess and constancy, in moral energy and intellectual vigour. The Jesuits remarked that they were more intelligent, yet less tractable, than other savages; and Charlevoix[v] observes that, though the Algonquins were readily converted, they made but fickle proselytes; while the Hurons, though not easily won over to the church, were far more faithful in their adherence. Of this tribe, the Hurons or Wyandots, a candid and experienced observer [W. H. Harrison[w]] declares that of all the Indians with whom he was conversant, they alone held it disgraceful to turn from the face of an enemy when the fortunes of the fight were adverse.

Besides these inherent qualities, the tribes of the Iroquois race derived great advantages from their superior social organisation. They were all, more or less, tillers of the soil, and were thus enabled to concentrate a more numerous population than the scattered tribes who live by the chase alone. In their well-peopled and well-constructed villages, they dwelt together the greater part of the year; and thence the religious rites and social and political usages, which elsewhere existed only in the germ, attained among them a full and perfect development. Yet these advantages were not without alloy, and the Jesuits were not slow to remark that the stationary and thriving Iroquois were more loose in their observance of social ties than the wandering and starving savages of the north.[1]

The Algonquin Family

Except the detached nation of the Tuscaroras, and a few smaller tribes adhering to them, the Iroquois family was confined to the region south of the lakes Erie and Ontario, and the peninsula east of Lake Huron. They formed, as it were, an island in the vast expanse of Algonquin population extending from Hudson's Bay on the north to the Carolinas on the south; from the Atlantic on the east to the Mississippi and Lake Winnipeg on the west. They were Algonquins who greeted Jacques Cartier, as his ships ascended the St. Lawrence. The first British colonists found savages of the same race hunting and fishing along the coasts and inlets of Virginia; and it was the daughter of an Algonquin chief who interceded with her father for the life of the adventurous Englishman. They were Algonquins who, under Sassacus the Pequot, and Philip of Mount Hope, waged war against the Puritans of New England; who dwelt at Penacook, under the rule of the great magician, Passaconaway, and trembled before the evil spirits of the Crystal Hills; and who sang *aves* and told their beads in the forest chapel of Father Rasles, by the banks of the Kennebec. They were Algonquins who, under the great tree at Kensington, made the covenant of peace with William Penn; and when French Jesuits and fur-traders explored the Wabash and the Ohio, they found their valleys tenanted by the same far-extended race. Years later the traveller, perchance, could find them pitching their bark lodges along the beach at Mackinaw, spearing fish among the boiling rapids of St. Mary's, or skimming the waves of Lake Superior in their birch canoes.

Of all the members of the Algonquin family, those called by the English

[1] "Here ye Indyans were very desirous to see us ride our horses, wch wee did: they made great feasts and dancing, and invited us yt when all ye maides were together, both wee and our Indyans might choose such as lyked us to ly with." — GREENHALGH.[e]

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the Delawares, by the French the Loups, and by themselves Lenni Lenape, or Original Men, hold the first claim to attention; for their traditions declare them to be the parent stem whence other Algonquin tribes have sprung. The latter recognised the claim, and, at all solemn councils, accorded to the ancestral tribe the title of Grandfather.[1]

The first European colonists found the conical lodges of the Lenape clustered in frequent groups about the waters of the Delaware and its tributary streams, within the present limits of New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania. The nation was separated into three divisions, and three sachems formed a triumvirate, who, with the council of old men, regulated all its affairs. They were, in some small measure, an agricultural people; but fishing and the chase were their chief dependence, and through a great part of the year they were scattered abroad, among forests and streams, in search of sustenance.

When William Penn held his far-famed council with the sachems of the Lenape, he extended the hand of brotherhood to a people as unwarlike in their habits as his own pacific followers. This is by no means to be ascribed to any inborn love of peace. The Lenape were then in a state of degrading vassalage to the Five Nations, who, that they might drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation had forced them to assume the name of Women, and forego the use of arms.[2] Dwelling under the shadow of the tyrannical confederacy, they were long unable to wipe out the blot; but at length, pushed from their ancient seats by the encroachments of white men, and removed westward, partially beyond the reach of their conquerors, their native spirit began to revive, and they assumed a tone of unwonted defiance. During the Old French War they resumed the use of arms, and while the Five Nations fought for the English, they espoused the cause of France. At the opening of the Revolution, they boldly asserted their freedom from the yoke of their conquerors; and a few years after, the Five Nations confessed, at a public council, that the Lenape were no longer women, but men. Ever since that period, they have stood in high repute for bravery, generosity, and all the savage virtues; and the settlers of the frontier have often found, to their cost, that the "women" of the Iroquois have been transformed into a race of formidable warriors. Later the small remnant settled beyond the Mississippi were among the bravest marauders of the west. Their war-parties pierced the farthest wilds of the Rocky Mountains; and the prairie traveller might sometimes meet the Delaware warrior returning from a successful foray, a gaudy handkerchief bound about his brows, his snake locks fluttering in the wind, and his rifle resting across his saddle-bow, while the tarnished and begrimed equipments of his half-wild horse bore witness that the unscrupulous rider had waylaid and plundered some Mexican cavalier.

Adjacent to the Lenape, and associated with them in some of the most notable passages of their history, dwelt the Shawanos, the Chaouanons of the French, a tribe of bold, roving, and adventurous spirit. Their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances, perplex the antiquary, and defy research; but from various scattered notices, we may

[1] The Lenape, on their part, call the other Algonquin tribes Children, Grandchildren, Nephews, or Younger Brothers; but they confess the superiority of the Wyandots and the Five Nations, by yielding them the title of Uncles. They, in return, call the Lenape Nephews, or more frequent Cousins.

[2] The story told by the Lenape themselves, and recorded with the utmost good faith by Loskiel[a] and Heckewelder,[a] that the Five Nations had not conquered them, but, by a cunning artifice, had cheated them into subjection, is wholly unworthy of credit. It is not to be believed that a people so acute and suspicious could be the dupes of so palpable a trick; and it is equally incredible that a high-spirited tribe could be induced, by the most persuasive rhetoric, to assume the name of Women, which in Indian eyes is the last confession of abject abasement.

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gather that at an early period, they occupied the valley of the Ohio; that, becoming embroiled with the Five Nations, they shared the defeat of the Andastes, and about the year 1672 fled to escape destruction. Some found an asylum in the country of the Lenape, where they lived tenants at will of the Five Nations; others sought refuge in the Carolinas and Florida, where, true to their native instincts, they soon came to blows with the owners of the soil. Again, turning northwards, they formed new settlements in the valley of the Ohio, where they were now suffered to dwell in peace, and where, at a later period, they were joined by such of their brethren as had found refuge among the Lenape.

Of the tribes which, single and detached, or cohering in loose confederacies, dwelt within the limits of Lower Canada, Acadia, and New England, it is needless to speak; for they offered no distinctive traits demanding notice. Passing the country of the Lenape and the Shawanos, and descending the Ohio, the traveller would have found its valley chiefly occupied by two nations, the Miamis or Twightwees, on the Wabash and its branches, and the Illinois, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the river to which they have given their name. Though never subjugated, as were the Lenape, both the Miamis and the Illinois were reduced to the last extremity by the repeated attacks of the Five Nations; and the Illinois, in particular, suffered so much by these and other wars, that the population of ten or twelve thousand, ascribed to them by the early French writers, had dwindled, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, to a few small villages.[1] According to Marest,[2] they were a people sunk in sloth and licentiousness; but that priestly father had suffered much at their hands, and viewed them with a jaundiced eye. Their agriculture was not contemptible; they had permanent dwellings as well as portable lodges; and though wandering through many months of the year among their broad prairies and forests, there were seasons when their whole population was gathered, with feastings and merry-making, within the limits of their villages.

Turning his course northward, traversing lakes Michigan and Superior, and skirting the western margin of Lake Huron, the voyager would have found the solitudes of the wild waste around him broken by scattered lodges of the Ojibwas, Pottawottomies, and Ottawas. About the bays and rivers west of Lake Michigan, he would have seen the Sacs, the Foxes, and the Menominees; and penetrating the frozen wilderness of the north, he would have been welcomed by the rude hospitality of the wandering Knisteneaux [or Crees].

The Ojibwas, with their kindred, the Pottawottomies, and their friends the Ottawas — the latter of whom were fugitives from the eastward, whence they had fled from the wrath of the Iroquois — were banded into a sort of confederacy. In blood and language, in manners and character, they were closely allied. The Ojibwas, by far the most numerous of the three, occupied the basin of Lake Superior, and extensive adjacent regions. In their boundaries, the career of Iroquois conquests found at length a check. The fugitive Wyandots sought refuge in the Ojibwa hunting-grounds; and tradition relates that, at the outlet of Lake Superior, an Iroquois war-party once encountered a disastrous repulse.

In their mode of life, they were far more rude than the Iroquois, or even the southern Algonquin tribes. The totemic system is found among them in its most imperfect state. The original clans have become broken into

[1] Father Raslel,[v] 1723, says that there were eleven. Marest,[2] in 1712, found only three.

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fragments, and indefinitely multiplied; and many of the ancient customs of the institution are but loosely regarded. Agriculture is little known and, through summer and winter, they range the wilderness with restless wandering, now gorged to repletion, and now perishing with want. In the calm days of summer, the Ojibwa fisherman pushes out his birch canoe upon the great inland ocean of the north; and, as he gazes down into the pellucid depths, he seems like one balanced between earth and sky. The watchful fish-hawk circles above his head; and below, farther than his line will reach, he sees the trout glide shadowy and silent over the glimmering pebbles. The little islands on the verge of the horizon seem now starting into spires, now melting from the sight, now shaping themselves into a thousand fantastic forms, with the strange mirage of the waters; and he fancies that the evil spirits of the lake lie basking their serpent forms on those unhallowed shores. Again he explores the watery labyrinths where the stream sweeps among pine-tufted islands, or runs, black and deep, beneath the shadows of moss-bearded firs; or he drags his canoe upon the sandy beach, and, while his camp-fire crackles on the grass-plat, reclines beneath the trees, and smokes and laughs away the sultry hours, in a lazy luxury of enjoyment.

But when winter descends upon the north, sealing up the fountains, fettering the streams, and turning the green-robed forests to shivering nakedness, then, bearing their frail dwellings on their backs, the Ojibwa family wander forth into the wilderness, cheered only, on their dreary track, by the whistling of the north wind, and the hungry howl of wolves. By the banks of some frozen stream, women and children, men and dogs, lie crouched together around the fire. They spread their benumbed fingers over the embers, while the wind shrieks through the fir-trees like the gale through the rigging of a frigate, and the narrow concave of the wigwam sparkles with the frost-work of their congealed breath. In vain they beat the magic drum, and call upon their guardian manitoes — the wary moose keeps aloof, the bear lies close in his hollow tree, and famine stares them in the face. And now the hunter can fight no more against the nipping cold and blinding sleet. Stiff and stark, with haggard cheek and shrivelled lip, he lies among the snow drifts; till, with tooth and claw, the famished wildcat strives in vain to pierce the frigid marble of his limbs. Such harsh schooling is thrown away on the incorrigible mind of the northern Algonquin. He lives in misery, as his fathers lived before him. Still, in the brief hour of plenty he forgets the season of want; and still the sleet and the snow descend upon his houseless head.

In speaking of the Iroquois, some of the distinctive peculiarities of the Algonquins have already been hinted at. It must be admitted that, in moral stability and intellectual vigour, they are inferior to the former; though some of the most conspicuous offspring of the wilderness, Metacom, Tecumseh, and Pontiac himself, owned their blood and language.

The fireside stories of every primitive people are faithful reflections of the form and colouring of the national mind; and it is no proof of sound philosophy to turn with contempt from the study of a fairy tale. The legendary lore of the Iroquois, black as the midnight forests, awful in its gloomy strength, is but another manifestation of that spirit of mastery which uprooted whole tribes from the earth, and deluged the wilderness with blood. The traditionary tales of the Algonquins wear a different aspect. The credulous circle around an Ojibwa lodge-fire listened to wild recitals of necromancy and witchcraft — men transformed to beasts, and beasts transformed to men, animated trees, and birds who spoke with human tongue. They heard of malignant sorcerers dwelling among the lonely islands of spell-bound lakes;

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of grisly *weendigoes*, and bloodless *geebi*; of evil *manitoes* lurking in the dens and fastnesses of the woods; of pygmy champions, diminutive in stature, but mighty in soul, who, by the potency of charm and talisman, subdued the direst monsters of the waste; and of heroes, who not by downright force and open onset, but by subtle strategy, tricks, or magic art, achieved marvellous triumphs over the brute force of their assailants. Sometimes the tale will breathe a different spirit, and tell of orphan children abandoned in the heart of a hideous wilderness, beset with fiends and cannibals. Some enamoured maiden, scornful of earthly suitors, plights her troth to the graceful manito of the grove; or bright aerial beings, dwellers of the sky, descend to tantalise the gaze of mortals with evanescent forms of loveliness.

The mighty giant, the God of the Thunder, who made his home among the caverns, beneath the cataract of Niagara, was a conception which the deep imagination of the Iroquois might fitly engender. The Algonquins held a simpler faith, and maintained that the thunder was a bird who built his nest on the pinnacle of towering mountains. Two daring boys once scaled the height, and thrust sticks into the eyes of the portentous nestlings; which hereupon flashed forth such wrathful scintillations, that the sticks were shivered to atoms.[1]

The religious belief of the Algonquins — and the remark holds good, not of the Algonqiuns only, but of all the hunting tribes of America — is a cloudy bewilderment, where we seek in vain for system or coherency. Among a primitive and savage people, there were no poets to vivify its images, and no priests to give distinctness and harmony to its rites and symbols. To the Indian mind, all nature was instinct with deity. A spirit was embodied in every mountain, lake, and cataract; every bird, beast, or reptile, every tree, shrub, or grassblade, was endued with mystic influence; yet this untutored pantheism did not exclude the conception of certain divinities, of incongruous and ever shifting attributes. The sun, too, was a god, and the moon was a goddess. Conflicting powers of good and evil divided the universe: but if, before the arrival of Europeans, the Indian recognised the existence of one, almighty, self-existing Being, the Great Spirit, the Lord of heaven and earth, the belief was so vague and dubious as scarcely to deserve the name. His perceptions of moral good and evil were perplexed and shadowy; and the belief in a state of future reward and punishment was by no means of universal prevalence.

Of the Indian character, much has been written foolishly and credulously believed. By the rhapsodies of poets, the cant of sentimentalists, and the extravagance of some who should have known better, a counterfeit image has been tricked out, which might seek in vain for its likeness through every corner of the habitable earth: an image bearing no more resemblance to its original than the monarch of the tragedy and the hero of the epic poem bear to their living prototypes in the palace and the camp. The shadows of his wilderness home, and the darker mantle of his own inscrutable reserve, have made the Indian warrior a wonder and a mystery. Yet to the eye of rational

[1] For Algonquin legends, see Schoolcraft. Le Jeune early discovered these legends among the tribes of his mission. Two centuries ago, among the Algonquins of Lower Canada, a tale was related to him, which, in its principal incidents, is identical with the story of the "Boy who set a snare for the sun," found by Schoolcraft among the tribes of the upper Lakes. The coincidence affords a curious proof of the antiquity and wide diffusion of some of these tales. The Dakotas, as well as the Algonquins, believe that the thunder is produced by a bird. An Indian propounded to Le Jeune a doctrine of his own. According to his theory, the thunder is produced by the eructations of a monstrous giant, who had unfortunately swallowed a quantity of snakes; and the latter falling to the earth, caused the appearance of lightning. "*Voilà une philosophie bien nouvelle!*" exclaims the astonished Jesuit.

observation there is nothing unintelligible in him. He is full, it is true, of contradiction. He deems himself the centre of greatness and renown; his pride is proof against the fiercest torments of fire and steel; and yet the same man would beg for a dram of whiskey, or pick up a crust of bread thrown to him like a dog, from the tent door of the traveller. At one moment, he is wary and cautious to the verge of cowardice; at the next, he abandons himself to a very insanity of recklessness; and the habitual self-restraint which throws an impenetrable veil over emotion is joined to the wild, impetuous passions of a beast or a madman.

Such inconsistencies, strange as they seem in our eyes, when viewed under a novel aspect, are but the ordinary incidents of humanity. The qualities of the mind are not uniform in their action through all the relations of life. With different men, and different races of men, pride, valour, prudence, have different forms of manifestation, and where in one instance they lie dormant, in another they are keenly awake. The conjunction of greatness and littleness, meanness and pride, is older than the days of the patriarchs; and such antiquated phenomena, displayed under a new form in the unreflecting undisciplined mind of a savage, call for no special wonder, but should rather be classed with the other enigmas of the fathomless human heart. The dissecting knife of a Rochefoucauld might lay bare matters of no less curious observation in the breast of every man.

Nature has stamped the Indian with a hard and stern physiognomy. Ambition, revenge, envy, jealousy, are his ruling passions; and his cold temperament is little exposed to those effeminate vices which are the bane of milder races. With him revenge is an overpowering instinct; nay, more, it is a point of honour and a duty. His pride sets all language at defiance. He loathes the thought of coercion; and few of his race have ever stooped to discharge a menial office. A wild love of liberty, an utter intolerance of control, lie at the basis of his character, and fire his whole existence. Yet, in spite of this haughty independence, he is a devout hero-worshipper; and high achievement in war or policy touches a chord to which his nature never fails to respond. He looks up with admiring reverence to the sages and heroes of his tribe; and it is this principle, joined to the respect for age which swings from the patriarchal element in his social system, which, beyond all others, contributes union and harmony to the erratic members of an Indian community. With him the love of glory kindles into a burning passion; and to allay its cravings, he will dare cold and famine, fire, tempest, torture, and death itself.

These generous traits are overcast by much that is dark, cold, and sinister, by sleepless distrust, and rankling jealousy. Treacherous himself, he is always suspicious of treachery in others. Brave as he is — and few of mankind are braver — he will vent his passion by a secret stab rather than an open blow. His warfare is full of ambuscade and stratagem; and he never rushes into battle with that joyous self-abandonment, with which the warriors of the Gothic races flung themselves into the ranks of their enemies. In his feasts and his drinking bouts we find none of that robust and full-toned mirth, which reigned at the rude carousals of our barbaric ancestry. He is never jovial in his cups, and maudlin sorrow or maniacal rage is the sole result of his potations.

Over all emotion he throws the veil of an iron self-control, originating in a peculiar form of pride, and fostered by rigorous discipline from childhood upward. He is trained to conceal passion, and not to subdue it. The inscrutable warrior is aptly imaged by the hackneyed figure of a volcano covered with snow; and no man can say when or where the wild-fire will burst forth.

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This shallow self-mastery serves to give dignity to public deliberation, and harmony to social life. Wrangling and quarrel are strangers to an Indian dwelling; and while an assembly of the ancient Gauls was garrulous as a convocation of magpies, a Roman senate might have taken a lesson from the grave solemnity of an Indian council. In the midst of his family and friends, he hides affections, by nature none of the most tender, under a mask of icy coldness; and in the torturing fires of his enemy, the haughty sufferer maintains to the last his look of grim defiance.

AN INDIAN CHIEF

His intellect is as peculiar as his moral organisation. Among all savages, the powers of perception preponderate over those of reason and analysis; but this is more especially the case with the Indian. An acute judge of character, at least of such parts of it as his experience enables him to comprehend; keen to a proverb in all exercises of war and the chase, he seldom traces effects to their causes, or follows out actions to their remote results. Though a close observer of external nature, he no sooner attempts to account for her phenomena than he involves himself in the most ridiculous absurdities; and quite content with these puerilities, he has not the least desire to push his inquiries further. His curiosity, abundantly active within its own narrow circle, is dead to all things else; and to attempt rousing it from its torpor is but a bootless task. He seldom takes cognisance of general or abstract ideas; and his language has scarcely the power to express them, except through the medium of figures drawn from the external world, and often highly picturesque and forcible. The absence of reflection makes him grossly improvident, and unfits him for pursuing any complicated scheme of war or policy.

Some races of men seem moulded in wax, soft and melting, at once plastic and feeble. Some races, like some metals, combine the greatest flexibility with the greatest strength. But the Indian is hewn out of a rock. You can rarely change the form without destruction of the substance. Races of inferior energy have possessed a power of expansion and assimilation to which he is a stranger; and it is this fixed and rigid quality which has proved his ruin. He will not learn the arts of civilisation, and he and his forest must perish together. The stern, unchanging features of his mind excite our admiration from their very immutability; and we look with deep interest on the fate of this irreclaimable son of the wilderness, the child who will not be weaned from the breast of his rugged mother. And our interest increases when we discern in the unhappy wanderer mingled among his vices, the germs of heroic virtues — a hand bountiful to bestow as it is rapacious to seize, and even in extremest famine, imparting its last morsel to a fellow-sufferer; a heart which, strong in friendship as in hate, thinks it not too much to lay down life for its chosen comrade; a soul true to its own idea of honour, and burning with an unquenchable thirst for greatness and renown.

The imprisoned lion in the showman's cage differs not more widely from the lord of the desert than the beggarly frequenter of frontier garrisons and

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dramshops differs from the proud denizen of the woods. It is in his native wilds alone that the Indian must be seen and studied.

If, from the shades of rock and forest, the savage features should look too grimly forth, it is because the clouds of a tempestuous war have cast upon the picture their murky shadows and lurid fires.[dd]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON INDIAN WARFARE AND CRUELTY[1]

When the whites first landed, the superiority and, above all, the novelty of their arms gave them a very great advantage. But the Indians soon became accustomed to the new-comers' weapons and style of warfare. By the time the English had consolidated the Atlantic colonies under their rule, the Indians had become what they have remained ever since, the most formidable savage foes ever encountered by colonists of European stock.

Their presence has caused the process of settlement to go on at unequal rates of speed in different places; the flood has been hemmed in at one point, or has been forced to flow round an island of native population at another. Had the Indians been as helpless as the native Australians were, the continent of North America would have had an altogether different history. It would not only have been settled far more rapidly, but also on very different lines. Not only have the red men themselves kept back the settlements, but they have also had a very great effect upon the outcome of the struggles between the different intrusive European peoples. Had the original inhabitants of the Mississippi valley been as numerous and unwarlike as the Aztecs, Soto would have repeated the work of Cortes, and we would very possibly have been barred out of the greater portion of our present domain. Had it not been for their Indian allies, it would have been impossible for the French to prolong as they did their struggle with their much more numerous English neighbours.

The Indians were superb individual fighters, beautifully drilled in their own discipline; and they were favoured beyond measure by the nature of their ground, of which their whole system of warfare enabled them to take the utmost possible benefit. Much has been written and sung of the advantages possessed by the mountaineer when striving in his own home against invaders from the plains; but these advantages are as nothing when weighed with those which make the warlike dweller in forests unconquerable by men who have not his training. A hardy soldier, accustomed only to war in the open, will become a good cragsman in fewer weeks than it will take him years to learn to be so much as a fair woodsman; for it is beyond all comparison more difficult to attain proficiency in woodcraft than in mountaineering.

The Wyandots, and the Algonquins who surrounded them, dwelt in a region of sunless, tangled forests; and all the wars we waged for the possession of the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi were carried on in the never-ending stretches of gloomy woodland. It was not an open forest. The underbrush grew, dense and rank, between the boles of the tall trees, making a cover so thick that it was in many places impenetrable, so thick that it nowhere gave a chance for human eye to see even so far as a bow could carry. No horse could penetrate it save by following the game trails or paths chopped with the axe, and a stranger venturing a hundred yards from a beaten road would be so helplessly lost that he could not, except by the merest chance, even find his way back to the spot he had just left.

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Here and there it was broken by a rare hillside glade or by a meadow in a stream valley; but elsewhere a man might travel for weeks as if in a perpetual twilight, never once able to see the sun through the interlacing twigs that formed a dark canopy above his head.

This dense forest was to the Indians a home in which they had lived from childhood, and where they were as much at ease as a farmer on his own acres. To their keen eyes, trained for generations to more than a wild beast's watchfulness, the wilderness was an open book; nothing at rest or in motion escaped them. They had begun to track game as soon as they could walk; a scrape on a tree trunk, a bruised leaf, a faint indentation of the soil, which the eye of no white man could see all told them a tale as plainly as if it had been shouted in their ears.[1] With moccasined feet they trod among brittle twigs, dried leaves, and dead branches as silently as the cougar, and they equalled the great wood-cat in stealth and far surpassed it in cunning and ferocity. They could no more get lost in the trackless wilderness than a civilised man could get lost on a highway.

Moreover, no knight of the Middle Ages was so surely protected by his armour as they were by their skill in hiding; the whole forest was to the whites one vast ambush, and to them a sure and ever-present shield. Every tree trunk was a breastwork ready prepared for battle; every bush, every moss-covered boulder, was a defence against assault, from behind which, themselves unseen, they watched with fierce derision the movements of their clumsy white enemy. Lurking, skulking, travelling with noiseless rapidity, they left a trail that only a master in woodcraft could follow, while, on the other hand, they could dog a white man's footsteps as a hound runs a fox. Their silence, their cunning and stealth, their terrible prowess and merciless cruelty, makes it no figure of speech to call them the tigers of the human race.

Unlike the southern Indians, the villages of the northwestern tribes were usually far from the frontier. Tireless, and careless of all hardship, they came silently out of unknown forests, robbed and murdered, and then disappeared again into the fathomless depths of the woods. Half of the terror they caused was due to the extreme difficulty of following them, and the absolute impossibility of forecasting their attacks. Without warning, and unseen until the moment they dealt the death stroke, they emerged from the forest fastnesses, the horror they caused being heightened no less by the mystery that shrouded them than by the dreadful nature of their ravages. Wrapped in a mantle of the unknown, appalling by their craft, their ferocity, their fiendish cruelty, they seemed to the white settlers devils and not men; no one could say with certainty whence they came nor of what tribe they were; and when they had finished their dreadful work they retired into a wilderness that closed over their trail as the waves of the ocean close in the wake of a ship.

They were trained to the use of arms from their youth up, and war and hunting were their two chief occupations, the business as well as the pleasure of their lives. They were not as skilful as the white hunters with the rifle[2] — though more so than the average regular soldier — nor could they equal

[1] To this day the wild — not the half-tame — Indians remain unequalled as trackers. Even among the old hunters not one white in a hundred can come near them. In my experience I have known a very few whites who had spent all their lives in the wilderness who equalled the Indian average; but I never met any white who came up to the best Indian. But, because of their better shooting, their better nerve, the whites often make the better hunters.

[2] It is curious how to this day the wild Indians retain the same traits. I have seen and taken part in many matches between frontiersmen and the Sioux, Cheyennes, Grosventres, and Mandans, and the Indians were beaten in almost every one. On the other hand the Indians will stand fatigue, hunger, and privation better, but they seem more susceptible to cold.

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the frontiersman in feats of physical prowess, such as boxing and wrestling; but their superior endurance and the ease with which they stood fatigue and exposure made amends for this. A white might outrun them for eight or ten miles; but on a long journey they could tire out any man, and any beast except a wolf. Like most barbarians they were fickle and inconstant, not to be relied on for pushing through a long campaign, and after a great victory apt to go off to their homes, because each man desired to secure his own plunder and tell his own tale of glory. They are often spoken of as undisciplined; but in reality their discipline in the battle itself was very high. They attacked, retreated, rallied, or repelled a charge at the signal of command; and they were able to fight in open order in thick covers without losing touch of each other — a feat that no European regiment was then able to perform.

On their own ground they were far more formidable than the best European troops. The British grenadiers throughout the eighteenth century showed themselves superior, in the actual shock of battle, to any infantry of continental Europe; if they ever met an over-match, it was when pitted against the Scotch Highlanders. Yet both grenadier and Highlander, the heroes of Minden, the heirs of the glory of Marlborough's campaigns, as well as the sinewy soldiers who shared in the charges of Prestonpans and Culloden, proved helpless when led against the dark tribesmen of the forest. On the march they could not be trusted thirty yards from the column without getting lost in the woods — the mountain training of the Highlanders apparently standing them in no stead whatever — and were only able to get around at all when convoyed by backwoodsmen.

In fight they fared even worse. The British regulars at Braddock's battle, and the Highlanders at Grant's defeat a few years later, suffered the same fate. Both battles were fair fights; neither was a surprise; yet the stubborn valour of the red-coated grenadier and the headlong courage of the kilted Scot proved of less than no avail. Not only were they utterly routed and destroyed in each case by an inferior force of Indians (the French taking little part in the conflict), but they were able to make no effective resistance whatever; it is to this day doubtful whether these superb regulars were able, in the battles where they were destroyed, to so much as kill one Indian for every hundred of their own men who fell. The provincials who were with the regulars were the only troops who caused any loss to the foe; and this was true in but a less degree of Bouquet's fight at Bushy Run. Here Bouquet, by a clever stratagem, gained the victory over an enemy inferior in numbers to himself; but only after a two days struggle in which he suffered a fourfold greater loss than he inflicted.[1]

When hemmed in so that they had no hope of escape, the Indians fought to the death; but when a way of retreat was open they would not stand cutting like British, French, or American regulars, and so, though with a nearly equal force, would retire if they were suffering heavily, even if they were causing their foes to suffer still more. This was not due to lack of courage; it was their system, for they were few in numbers, and they did not believe in losing their men.[2] The Wyandots were exceptions to this

[1] Bouquet, like so many of his predecessors and successors, greatly exaggerated the numbers and loss of the Indians in the fight. Smith, " who derived his information both from the Indians and from the American rangers, states that but eighteen Indians were killed at Bushy Run.

[2] Most of the plains Indians feel in the same way at present. I was once hunting with a Sioux half-breed who illustrated the Indian view of the matter in a rather striking way, saying: "If there were a dozen of you white hunters and you found six or eight bears in a brush, and you knew you could go in and kill them all, but that in the fight you would certainly lose three

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rule for with them it was a point of honour not to yield, and so they were of all the tribes the most dangerous in an actual pitched battle.[1] But making the attack, as they usually did, with the expectation of success, all were equally dangerous. If their foes were clustered together in a huddle they attacked them without hesitation, no matter what the difference in numbers, and shot them down as if they had been elk or buffalo, they themselves being almost absolutely safe from harm, as they flitted from cover to cover. It was this capacity for hiding, or taking advantage of cover, that gave them their great superiority; and it is because of this that the wood tribes were so much more formidable foes in actual battle than the horse Indians of the plains afterwards proved themselves. In dense woodland a body of regular soldiers are almost as useless against Indians as they would be if at night they had to fight foes who could see in the dark; it needs special and long-continued training to fit them in any degree for wood-fighting against such foes. Out on the plains the white hunter's skill with the rifle and his cool resolution give him an immense advantage; a few determined men can withstand a host of Indians in the open, although helpless if they meet them in thick cover: and our defeats by the Sioux and other plains tribes have generally taken the form of a small force being overwhelmed by a large one.

A Moqui Squaw

Not only were the Indians very terrible in battle but they were cruel beyond all belief in victory; and the gloomy annals of border warfare are stained with their darkest hues because it was a war in which helpless women and children suffered the same hideous fate that so often befell their husbands and fathers. It was a war waged by savages against armed settlers, whose families followed them into the wilderness. Such a war is inevitably bloody and cruel; but the inhuman love of cruelty for cruelty's sake,[2] which marks the red Indian above all other savages, rendered these wars more terrible than any others. For the hideous, unnamable, unthinkable tortures practised by the red men on their captured foes, and on their foes' tender women and helpless children, were such as we read of in no other struggle, hardly even in the revolting pages that tell the deeds of the Inquisition. It was inevitable — indeed it was in many instances proper — that such deeds should awake in the breasts of the whites the grimmest, wildest spirit of revenge and hatred.

The history of the border wars, both in the ways they were begun and in

or four men yourselves, you wouldn't go in, would you? You'd wait until you got a better chance, and could kill them without so much risk. Well, Indians feel the same way about attacking whites that you would feel about attacking those bears."

[1] All the authorities from Smith to Harrison are unanimous on this point.

[2] Any one who has ever been in an encampment of wild Indians, and has had the misfortune to witness the delight the children take in torturing little animals, will admit that the Indian's love of cruelty for cruelty's sake cannot possibly be exaggerated. The young are so trained that when old they shall find their keenest pleasure in inflicting pain in its most appalling form. Among the most brutal white borderers a man would be instantly lynched if he practised on any creature the fiendish torture which in an Indian camp either attracts no notice at all, or else excites merely laughter.

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the ways they were waged, makes a long tale of injuries inflicted, suffered, and mercilessly revenged. It could not be otherwise when brutal, reckless, lawless borderers, despising all men not of their own colour, were thrown in contact with savages who esteemed cruelty and treachery as the highest of virtues, and rapine and murder as the worthiest of pursuits. Moreover, it was sadly inevitable that the law-abiding borderer as well as the white ruffian, the peaceful Indian as well as the painted marauder, should be plunged into the struggle to suffer the punishment that should only have fallen on their evil-minded fellows.

Looking back, it is easy to say that much of the wrongdoing could have been prevented; but if we examine the facts to find out the truth, not to establish a theory, we are bound to admit that the struggle was really one that could not possibly have been avoided. The sentimental historians speak as if the blame had been all ours, and the wrong all done to our foes, and as if it would have been possible by any exercise of wisdom to reconcile claims that were in their very essence conflicting; but their utterances are as shallow as they are untruthful.

Unless we were willing that the whole continent west of the Alleghanies should remain an unpeopled waste, the hunting-ground of savages, war was inevitable; and even had we been willing, and had we refrained from encroaching on the Indians' lands, the war would have come nevertheless, for then the Indians themselves would have encroached on ours. Undoubtedly we have wronged many tribes; but equally undoubtedly our first definite knowledge of many others has been derived from their unprovoked outrages upon our people. The Chippewas [Ojibwas], Ottawas, and Pottawottomies furnished hundreds of young warriors to the parties that devastated our frontiers generations before we in any way encroached upon or wronged them.

The excesses so often committed by the whites when, after many checks and failures, they at last grasped victory, are causes for shame and regret; yet it is only fair to keep in mind the terrible provocations they had endured. Mercy, pity, magnanimity to the fallen, could not be expected from the frontiersmen gathered together to war against an Indian tribe. Almost every man of such a band had bitter personal wrongs to avenge. He was not taking part in a war against a civilised foe; he was fighting in a contest where women and children suffered the fate of the strong men, and instead of enthusiasm for his country's flag and a general national animosity towards its enemies, he was actuated by a furious flame of hot anger, and was goaded on by memories of which merely to think was madness. His friends had been treacherously slain while on messages of peace; his house had been burned, his cattle driven off, and all he had in the world destroyed before he knew that war existed and when he felt quite guiltless of all offence; his sweetheart or wife had been carried off, ravished, and was at the moment the slave and concubine of some dirty and brutal Indian warrior; his son, the stay of his house, had been burned at the stake with torments too horrible to mention[1]; his sister, when ransomed and returned to him, had told of the weary journey through the woods, when she carried around her neck as a horrible necklace

[1] The expression "too horrible to mention" is to be taken literally, not figuratively. It applies equally to the fate that has befallen every white man or woman who has fallen into the power of hostile plains Indians during the last ten or fifteen years [from 1889.] The nature of the wild Indian has not changed. Not one man in a hundred, and not a single woman, escapes torments which a civilised man cannot look another in the face and so much as speak of. Impalement on charred stakes, finger-nails split off backwards, finger-joints chewed off, eyes burned out — these tortures can be mentioned, but there are others equally normal and customary which cannot even be hinted at, especially when women are the victims.

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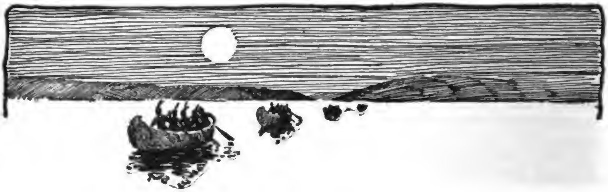
the bloody scalps of her husband and children; seared into his eyeballs, into his very brain, he bore ever with him, waking or sleeping the sight of the skinned, mutilated, hideous body of the baby who had just grown old enough to recognise him and to crow and laugh when taken in his arms.

Such incidents as these were not exceptional; one or more, and often all of them, were the invariable attendants of every one of the countless Indian inroads that took place during the long generations of forest warfare. It was small wonder that men who had thus lost everything should sometimes be fairly crazed by their wrongs. Again and again on the frontier we hear of some such unfortunate who has devoted all the remainder of his wretched life to the one object of taking vengeance on the whole race of the men who had darkened his days forever. Too often the squaws and pappooses fell victims of the vengeance that should have come only on the warriors; for the whites regarded their foes as beasts rather than men, and knew that the squaws were more cruel than others in torturing the prisoner, and that the very children took their full part therein, being held up by their fathers to tomahawk the dying victims at the stake.

Thus it is that there are so many dark and bloody pages in the book of border warfare, that grim and iron-bound volume, wherein we read how our forefathers won the wide lands that we inherit. It contains many a tale of fierce heroism and adventurous ambition, of the daring and resolute courage of men and the patient endurance of women; it shows us a stern race of freemen who toiled hard, endured greatly, and fronted adversity bravely, who prized strength and courage and good faith, whose wives were chaste, who were generous and loyal to their friends. But it shows us also how they spurned at restraint and fretted under it, how they would brook no wrong to themselves, and yet too often inflicted wrong on others; their feats of terrible prowess are interspersed with deeds of the foulest and most wanton aggression, the darkest treachery, the most revolting cruelty; and though we meet with plenty of the rough, strong coarse virtues, we see but little of such qualities as mercy for the fallen, the weak, and the helpless, or pity for a gallant and vanquished foe.[b]



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CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST COLONIES

It was Menendez who crushed French Protestantism in America. To plant religious freedom on this western soil was not the mission of France. It was for her to rear in northern forests the banner of absolutism and of Rome; while among the rocks of Massachusetts, England and Calvin fronted her in dogged opposition. Long before the ice-crusted pines of Plymouth had listened to the rugged psalmody of the Puritan, the solitudes of western New York and the stern wilderness of Lake Huron were trodden by the iron heel of the soldier and the sandalled foot of the Franciscan friar. France was the true pioneer of the Great West. They who bore the fleur-de-lis were always in the van, patient, daring, indomitable. And foremost on this bright roll of forest chivalry stands the half forgotten name of Samuel de Champlain.—Francis Parkman.[b]

It has seemed clearest and most logical to trace the story of American discovery from the beginning to the end, and to describe the natives by whom the land was pre-empted, before taking up the process of colonisation. But it must not be concluded that the colonists waited patiently until the discoverers had, by long groping, made out definitely the shape of the mysterious new world. On the contrary the colonists trod zealously on the very heels of the explorers; often the two classes were combined in one expedition.

The first colonies, as we have seen, were those planted by the Norsemen in Greenland. They have disappeared as completely as some of the later efforts — that which Raleigh planted on Roanoke Island, for example, and which was swallowed into oblivion as into a quicksand. The mistakes of the early colonists were as numerous as their excesses. For both they often made the atonement of vast hardship and death. Gold was, as ever, the first cry, and it rolled up its usual security of murder and crime. Agriculture, as always, was despised at first, and then became the chief reliance, the true mine of wealth. In the beginning, the colonists fought with nature, and the natives, and then they fell upon one another. Then they banded together to fight their mother countries, and we behold the thirteen colonies at war with

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France, then with England; the South and Central Americans and the Island peoples shaking off the yokes of Spain and of France, and the great empire of Brazil overawing the mother monarchy of Portugal. Finally, we shall see the descendants of the colonists issuing a new bull of demarcation, called the Monroe Doctrine, and forbidding the European countries that settled the New World, to interfere further in its destinies or to hope for any future accession.

In the colonisation of America religion appears everywhere, now as the inspiration of unbounded heroism, endurance, and justice, now as the technical excuse for unlimited duplicity, ravage, and murder. It was "for the good of the Catholic cause" that Columbus and others advocated the enslaving and slaughter of the heathen; it was "for the good of the Catholic cause" that Las Casas advocated liberty, gentleness, and the importance of setting the unconverted a good example. It was "for the sake of Calvinism" that De Gourgues hanged the Spaniards left by Menendez. It was religious example that led the Puritans to forsake England for Holland, then Holland for America, and in the new home of religious liberty, to banish dissenters and to inflict heathenish cruelties upon the Quakers who had left the same country for the same religious liberty. It was religion that warmed them in the bleak wilderness; and upheld them through pestilence, starvation, and the dread of the stealthy and ghostly Indian enemy.

Of almost equal sustaining and enspiriting power has been the lust for wealth. In the creed of the early explorers God and gold were closely bracketed. No pilgrimage for a religious end has ever been more superbly achieved in the face of greater hardships than the march of Coronado; yet he frankly hunted only the seven golden cities of Cibola.

In the exploration of America, gold and the spices of India were the wills-o'-the-wisp that drew the unwilling victim through marsh and thicket and morass. The Spanish and the English made gold their first ambition. Consequently there was little but failure for their first efforts. The glory of the first successful, as of the first well-intentioned, colonisation belongs to the French, both Huguenot and Catholic. They had their failures as well as the others, but they came to cultivate and invest, to found a home. They treated the Indian neither with the mercilessness nor the condescension of the Spaniards and the English. The French and the Indians in general lived very amicably together, and intermarriage was the common thing. In consequence the French were the first to reach a *modus vivendi*, and easily made the Indians allies in their contests with the English. Yet by the irony of history, French institutions have had far less influence in the New World than either English, or Spanish, or even Dutch.

This chapter, devoted to early experiments in colonisation, shows how untrustworthy is ground that the prophet must always stand on unless he waits till after the event; for it shows the English and the Spanish failing and the French succeeding dramatically with picturesque ease. Before taking up these colonies let us glance at the nature of the territory they sought to make their own.[a]

R. G. THWAITES[1] ON THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTH AMERICA

North America could not, in a primitive stage of the mechanic arts, have been developed by colonisation on any considerable scale from the west,

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except in the face of difficulties almost insuperable. The Pacific coast of the country is dangerous to approach; steep precipices frequently come down to the shore, and the land everywhere rises rapidly from the sea, until not far inland the broad and mighty wall of the Cordilleran mountain system extends from north to south. That formidable barrier was not scaled by civilised men until modern times, when European settlement had already reached the Mississippi from the east, and science had stepped in to assist the explorers. At San Diego and San Francisco are the only natural harbours, although Puget Sound can be entered from the extreme north, and skilful improvements have in our day made a good harbour at the mouth of Columbia river. The rivers of the Pacific slope for the most part come noisily tumbling down to the sea over great cliffs and through deep chasms, and cannot be utilised for progress far into the interior.

The Atlantic seaboard, upon the other hand, is broad and inviting. The Appalachian range lies for the most part nearly a hundred miles inland. The gently sloping coast abounds in indentations — safe harbours and generous land-locked bays, into which flow numerous rivers of considerable breadth and depth, by means of which the land can be explored for long distances from tide-water. By ascending the St. Lawrence and the chain of the Great Lakes, the interior of the continent is readily reached. Dragging his craft over any one of a half-dozen easy portages in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, or Ohio, the canoe traveller can emerge into the Mississippi basin, by means of whose far-stretching waters he is enabled to explore the heart of the New World, from the Alleghanies to the Rockies, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. A carrying trail, at the headwaters of the Missouri, will lead him over to tributaries of the Columbia, whereby he gains access to the Pacific slope; while by another portage of a few miles in length, from Pigeon river to Rainy river, he is given command of the vast basin of Hudson Bay — a labyrinth of waterways extending northward to the Arctic Ocean, and connected by still other portages with the Pacific. The Hudson river and lakes George and Champlain form a natural highway from the St. Lawrence southward to the ocean. By the Mohawk and a short carrying-place, the Hudson was from early times connected with the Great Lakes. The Potomac, the Susquehanna, the Roanoke, and other southern rivers can be traced northwestward to their sources in the mountains; and hard by are the headwaters of west-flowing feeders of the Mississippi. The Appalachian mountains run for the most part in parallel ridges northeast and southwest; and their valley system, opening out through the Cumberland gap upon the Kentucky prairies and the valleys of the Ohio basin, also affords a comparatively easy highway from the Atlantic sea coast to the interior.

Thus with the entrance of North America facing the east, and with Europe lying but little more than one half the distance from Boston that Asia lies from San Francisco, it was in the order of things that from the east should have come the people who were to settle and civilise the New World. Colonists could on this side of the continent found new commonwealths, yet at the same time easily maintain their connection with the fatherland. The march of Aryan emigration has ever been on lines little diverging from due east or west. It is fortunate that the geographical conditions of North America were such as to make her an inviting field for the further migration of the race.

The Atlantic border may be considered as the threshold of the continent. It was among its dense, gloomy forests of hard wood and pine that European nations planted their colonies; here those colonies grew into states, which were the nucleus of the American Union. The Appalachians are not high enough

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seriously to affect the climate or landscape of the region. Their flanks slope gradually down to the sea, furrowed by rivers which from the first gave character to the colonies. In New England, where there is an abundance of good harbours, the coast is narrow and the streams are short and rapid, with stretches of navigable water between the waterfalls which turn the wheels of industry for a busy, ingenious, and thrifty people. The long, broad rivers of the south, flowing lazily through a wide base-plain, the coast of which furnishes but little safe anchorage, served as avenues of traffic for the large, isolated colonial estates strung along their banks; the autocratic planters taking pleasure in having ports of entry at their doors. The Hudson and the Potomac lead far inland — paths to the waterways of the interior — and divide the Atlantic slope into three grand natural divisions, the New England, the Middle, and the Southern, in which grew up distinct groups of colonies, having quite a different origin, and for a time but few interests in common. The Appalachian mountains and their foot-hills abound in many places in iron and coal; works for the smelting of the former were erected near Jamestown, Virginia, as early as 1620, and early in the eighteenth century the industry began to be of considerable importance in parts of New England, New York, and New Jersey; but the mining of anthracite coal was not commenced until 1820. The soil of the Atlantic border varies greatly, being much less fertile in the north than in the south; but nearly everywhere it yields good returns for a proper expenditure of labour. The climate is subject to frequent and extreme changes. At about 30° latitude the mean temperature is similar to that on the opposite side of the Atlantic; but farther north the American climate, owing to the divergence of the Gulf Stream and the influence of the great continent to the west, is much colder than at corresponding points in Europe. The rainfall along the coast is everywhere sufficient.

Beyond the Appalachian mountain wall, the once heavily forested land dips gently to the Mississippi; then the land rises again, in a long, treeless swell, up to the foot of the giant and picturesque Cordilleras. The isothermal lines in this great central basin are nearly identical with those of the Atlantic coast. The soil east of the 105th meridian west from Greenwich is generally rich, sometimes extremely fertile; and it is now agreed that nearly all the vast arid plains to the west of that meridian, formerly set down as desert, need only irrigation to blossom as the rose. The Pacific slope, narrow and abrupt, abounds in fertile, pent-up valleys, with some of the finest scenery on the continent and a climate everywhere nearly equal at the same elevation; the isothermal lines here run north and south, the lofty mountain range materially influencing both climate and vegetation.

There is no fairer land for the building of a great nation. The region occupied by the United States is particularly available for such a purpose. It offers a wide range of diversity in climate and products, yet is traversed by noble rivers which intimately connect the north with the south, and have been made to bind the east with the west. It possesses in the Mississippi basin vast plains unsurpassed for health, fertility, and the capacity to support an enormous population, yet easily defended; for the great outlying mountain ranges, while readily penetrated by bands of adventurous pioneers, and though climbed by railway trains, might easily be made serious obstacles to invading armies. The natural resources of North America are apparently exhaustless; the United States commands nearly every North American seaport on both oceans, and withal is so isolated that there appears to be no necessity for "entangling alliances" with transatlantic powers. The United States seems permitted by nature to work out her own destiny unhampered by foreign

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influence, secure in her position, rich in capabilities. Her land is doubtless destined to become the greatest stronghold of the Aryan race.[c]

H. H. BANCROFT[1] ON SPANISH ADMINISTRATION: THE REPARTIMIENTO SYSTEM

We have seen how it had been first of all agreed that Columbus should be sole ruler, under the crown, of such lands and seas as he might discover for Spain. We have seen how, under that rule, disruption and rebellion followed at the heels of mismanagement, until the restless colonists made *Española* [Hispaniola] an *angustiarum insula* to the worthy admiral, and until their majesties thought they saw in it decent excuse for taking the reins from the Genoese, and supplanting him by agents of their own choosing.

The first of these agents was Juan Aguado, who was merely a commissioner of inquiry. With him, it will be remembered, Columbus returned to Spain after his second voyage, leaving his brother Bartholomew in command. The admiral was permitted to try again; but on reaching the seat of his government he was unable to quiet the disturbances which had increased during his absence. Rebellion had almost reached the dignity of revolution. After another fair trial Columbus was obliged to give it up, and to see himself displaced by a person far worse than himself. Perhaps it is true that a knave was better for the office than an honest man.

Not that Francisco de Bobadilla may be lawfully accused of dishonesty; the sovereigns seemed competent to take care of themselves where their revenue was concerned. And yet he was certainly influenced in his conduct by no sense of right or of humanity. He was popular for a time with the colonists because he was like them, and because he reduced the royal share of the product of the mines from a third to an eleventh, and permitted the dissolute to idle their time and illtreat the natives; and because he released those whom the admiral had imprisoned, and compelled Columbus to pay his debts, for which last-mentioned measures we have no fault to find with him.

The enchaining of the illustrious discoverer by an infamous agent, and for no crime, excited universal disgust throughout Christendom; and yet their majesties seemed in no haste to depose him; for it was not until the 3rd of September, 1501, in answer to the persistent remonstrances of Columbus that a change was made, and the government given to Nicolas de Ovando.

Ample instructions, both written and verbal, were given him before sailing. The natives should be converted, but their bodies should not be enslaved or inhumanly treated. They must pay tribute, and gather gold, but for the latter they should be paid wages. Neither Jews nor Moors might go to the Indies, but negro slaves, born into the possession of Christians, were to be permitted passage. Columbus might always keep there an agent to collect his dues, and he was to be treated with consideration. The idle and profligate were to be returned to Spain. Except the provinces given to Ojeda and Pinzon, Ovando's jurisdiction was made to extend over all the Indies, that is to say, over all the New World dominions of Spain, islands and firm land, with the capital at Santo Domingo, and subordinate or municipal governments in the more important localities.

There were no less than thirty ships and twenty-five hundred persons comprising the expedition. There were seventy-three respectable married women, who had come with their husbands and children, and who were to salt society at their several points of distribution. It was evident as the new governor

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entered his capital, elegantly attired, with a bodyguard of sixty-two foot soldiers and ten horsemen, and a large and brilliant retinue, that the colonisation of the New World had now been assumed in earnest by the sovereigns of Spain. Nor was Ovando disposed to be dilatory in his duty. He at once announced the *residencia*[1] of Bobadilla, and put Roldan, cidevant rebel, and later chief judge, under arrest. He built in Hispaniola several towns to which arms and other privileges were given, founded a hospital, removed Santo Domingo to a more healthful site on the other side of the river, and established a colony at Puerto de Plata, on the north side of Hispaniola, near Isabella.

Distant eight leagues from Santo Domingo were the mines where the twenty-five hundred thought immediately to enrich themselves. For several days after landing the road was alive with eager gold hunters drawn from all classes of the community; cavalier, hidalgo, and labourer, priest and artisan, honest men and villains, whose cupidity had been fired by the display of precious metal lately gathered, and who were now hurrying forward with hard breath and anxious eyes under their bundle of necessities. But there was no happy fortune in store for these new-comers. The story then new has been oft repeated since: expecting to fill their sacks quickly and with ease, and finding that a very little gold was to be obtained only by very great labour, they were soon on their way back to the city, where many of them fell into poverty, half of them dying of fever.

Poor fools! they did not know; their countrymen, those that were left from former attempts, did not tell them, though Roldan's men, Bobadilla's men, knew well enough, and in truth the remnant of Ovando's men were not slow to learn, that the wise man, the wise and villainous man from Spain, did not work or die for gold, or for anything else, when there were unbelievers that might be pricked to it by the sword.

During this earliest period of Spanish domination in America, under successive viceroys and subordinate rulers, by far the most important matter which arose for consideration or action was the treatment of the aborigines.

The sovereigns of Spain now found themselves called upon to rule two races in the New World, the white and the red. It was natural and right that Spaniards should be masters in America. Their claim was twofold; as discoverers, and as propagandists. But in just what category to place the red man was a question almost as puzzling as to tell who he was, and whence he came. Several times the doctors sat to determine whether he had a soul, or a semi-soul, and whether the liquid so freely let by the conquerors was brute blood, or of as high proof as that which Christ shed on Calvary. The savages were to be governed, of course; but how, as subjects or as slaves? Columbus was strongly in favour of Indian slavery. He had participated in the Portuguese slave trade, and had found it profitable. Spaniards enslaved infidels, and why not heathens? Mahometans enslaved Christians, and Christians Mahometans. Likewise Christians enslaved Christians, white as well as black, though it began to be questioned in Spain whether it was quite proper to enslave white Christians.

The negro slave trade was at this time comparatively a new thing. It

[1] Residencia was the examination or account taken of the official acts of an executive or judicial officer, during the term of his residence within the province of his jurisdiction, and while in the exercise of the functions of his office. This was done at the expiration of the term of office, or at stated periods, or in case of malefeasance at any time. The person making the examination was appointed by the king, or in New World affairs by the *Consejo de Indias*, or by a viceroy, and was called a *juez de residencia*. Before this judge, within a given time, any one might appear and make complaint, and offer evidence against the retiring or suspended official, who might refute and rebut as in an ordinary tribunal.

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was one of the proximate results of fifteenth century maritime discovery. The Portuguese were foremost in it, organising for the purpose a company at Lagos, and a factory at Arguin, about the middle of the century, Prince Henry receiving his fifth. Europe, however, offered no profitable field for African slave labour, and but for the discovery of America the traffic probably never would have assumed large proportions. Public sentiment was not in those days averse to slavery, particularly to the enslavement of the children of Ham. And yet neither Isabella nor Ferdinand was at all disposed in regard to their New World possessions, to follow the example of Portugal on the coast of Africa. They did not want these creatures in Spain, they had no use for them. In regard to the ancient custom of enslaving prisoners of war, particularly the detested and chronically hostile Moors, it was different. This New World had been given them for a higher purpose. Its natives were not the enemies of Spain; they were innocent of any offence against Spain. It was better, it was more glorious, there was higher and surer reward in it, to Christianise than to enslave. This the clergy constantly urged; so that in Spain the passion for propagandism was greater than the passion for enslaving.

Meanwhile Columbus launched boldly forth in the old way, not only making slaves of cannibals but of prisoners of war; and whenever slaves were needed, a pretence for war was not long wanting. Thereupon, with another shipment, the admiral grows jubilant, and swears by the holy Trinity that he can send to Spain as many slaves as can be sold, four thousand if necessary and enters upon the details of capture, carriage, sale, and return cargoes of goods, with all the enthusiasm of a sometime profitable experience in the business. Further than this he permits enforced labour where there had been failure to pay tribute, and finally gives to every one who comes an Indian for a slave.

Then the monarchs were angry. "What authority from me has the admiral to give to any one my vassals!" exclaimed the queen. All who had thus been stolen from home and country, among whom were pregnant women and babes newly born, were ordered to be returned. And from that moment the sovereigns of Spain were the friends of the Indians. Not Isabella alone, but Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip, and their successors for two hundred years, with scarcely an exceptional instance, stood manfully for the rights of the savages — always subordinate and determinately interposing their royal authority between the persistent wrong-doing of their Spanish subjects, and their defenceless subjects of the New World. Likewise the Catholic church is entitled to the highest praise for her influence in the direction of humanity, and for the unwearied efforts of her ministers in guarding from cruelty and injustice these poor creatures. Here and there we shall find a priest so fired by his fanaticism as to outdo a Pizarro in bloody-mindedness, and we shall find church men and church measures standing in the way of truth, liberty, intelligence; but though Spanish priests, like the Spanish adventurers, carried away by passion or a spirit of proselytism, committed much folly and unrighteousness, they also did great good.

After the first invasions, in various quarters, aggressive warfare on the natives, even on obdurate heathen nations, was prohibited. In the extension of dominion that followed, the very word "conquest" was forbidden to be employed, even though it were a conquest gained by fighting, and the milder term "pacification" was substituted. Likewise, after the first great land robberies had been committed, side by side with the minor seizures was in practice the regulation that enough of the ancient territory should be left each native community to support it comfortably in a fixed residence. Such

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were the wishes of crown and clergy; for which both strove steadily though unsuccessfully until the object of their solicitude crumbled into earth.

For the soldier, the sailor, the cavalier, the vagabond, the governor, and all their subordinates and associates, all the New World rabble from viceroy to menial willed it otherwise. However omnipotent in Spain, there were some things in America that the sovereigns and their confessors could not do. They could not control the bad passions of their subjects when beyond the reach of rope and dungeon. The fact is that for every outrage by a subject in the far away Indies, there were ten, each of magnitude tenfold for evil, committed by the sovereigns in Spain; so that it was by no means wonderful that the Spaniards determined here to practise a little fiendishness for their own gratification, even though their preceptors did oppose wickedness which by reason of their absence they themselves could not enjoy.

Though the monarchs protested earnestly, honestly, and at the length of centuries, their subjects went their way and executed their will with the natives. Were we to tell a tenth of the atrocities perpetrated by Christian civilisation on the natives of America, we could tell nothing else. The catalogue of European crime, Spanish, English, French, is as long as it is revolting.

Passing the crimes of Columbus and Bobadilla, the sins of the two being, for biographical effect, usually placed upon the latter, let us look at the conduct of Ovando who, as Spanish provincial rulers went in those days, was an average man. He ruled with vigour: and as if to offset his strict dealings with offending Spaniards, unoffending Indians were treated with treachery and merciless brutality. Rumour reaching him that Anacaona, queen of Jaragua, meditated revolt, he marched thither at the head of two hundred foot soldiers and seventy horsemen. The queen came out to meet him, and escorted him with music and dancing to the great banqueting hall, and entertained him there for several days. Still assured by evil tongues that his hostess intended treachery, he determined to forestall her. On a Sunday afternoon, while a tilting match was in progress, Ovando gave the signal. He raised his hand and touched his Alcantara cross — a badge of honour it was called, which, had it been real, should have shrivelled the hand that for such a purpose touched it. On the instant Anacaona and her *caciques* were seized and a mock trial given them; after which the queen was hanged, the caciques tortured and burned, and the people of the province, men, women, and children ruthlessly and indiscriminately butchered. Those who escaped the massacre were afterwards enslaved. For intelligence, grace, and beauty Anacaona was the Isabella of the Indies, and there was no valid proof that she meditated the slightest injury to the Spaniards.

The natives of Saona and Higuey, in revenge for the death of a chief torn in pieces by a Spanish bloodhound, rose to arms, and slew a boat's crew of eight Spaniards. Juan de Esquivel with four hundred men was sent against them and the usual indiscriminate hanging and burning followed. It is stated that over six hundred were slaughtered at one time in one house. A peace was conquered, a fort built; fresh outrages provoked a fresh outbreak; and the horrors of the extermination that followed Las Casas [d] confessed himself unable to describe. A passion arose for mutilation, and for prolonging agony by new inventions for refining cruelty. And the irony of Christianity was reached when thirteen men were hanged side by side in honour of Christ and his apostles. Cotubano, the last of the five native kings of Hispaniola, was taken to Santo Domingo, and hanged by order of Ovando. In Higuey were then formed two settlements, Salvaleon and Santa Cruz.

To take the places in the Spanish service of the Indians thus slain in

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Hispaniola, forty thousand natives of the Lucayas Islands were enticed thither upon the pretext of the captors that they were the Indians' dead ancestors come from heaven to take their loved ones back with them. Hispaniola was indeed their shortest way to heaven, though not the way they had been led to suppose. When tidings of Ovando's doings reached Spain, notably of his treatment of Anacaona, Queen Isabella was on her death bed; but raising herself as best she was able, she exclaimed to the president of the council, "I will have you take of him such a *residencia* as was never taken."

The colonists clamoured, and the crown was at a loss what to do. In her dilemma there is no wonder the queen appeared to equivocate; but when in December, 1503, she permitted Ovando to use force in bringing the natives to a sense of their duty, though they must be paid fair wages and made to work "as free persons, for so they are," she committed a fatal error. The least latitude was sure to be abused. Under royal permission of 1501, a few negro slaves from time to time were taken to the Indies. Las Casas urged the extension of this traffic in order to save the Indians. Ovando complained that the negroes fled and hid themselves among the natives, over whom they exercised an unwholesome influence; nevertheless in September, 1505, we find the king sending over more African slaves to work in the mines, this time about one hundred. From 1517, when importations from the Portuguese establishments on the Guinea coast were authorised by Charles V, the traffic increased, and under the English, particularly, assumed enormous proportions. This unhappy confusion of races led to a negro insurrection at Hispaniola in 1522.

We come now to some of the results of the temporising policy of Spain — always a bad one when the subject is beyond the reach of the ruling arm — in regard to the Indians. For out of a desire to avoid the odium of Indian slavery, and yet secure the benefits thereof, grew a system of servitude embodying all the worst features of absolute bondage, with none of its mitigations. It will be remembered that during his second voyage Columbus made war on the natives of Hispaniola, and after sending some as slaves to Spain, imposed a tribute on the rest; on some a bell-measure of gold, and on others an *arroba* (25 pounds) of cotton, every three months. So severe was this tax that many could not meet it, and in 1496 service was accepted in place of tribute. This was the beginning in the New World of the *repartimiento* ("distribution"), or as it shortly afterward became, the *encomienda* ("a giving in charge"), system, under which the natives of a conquered country were divided among the conquerors, recommended to their care, and made tributary to them.

The theory was that the Indians were the vassals of Spain, no more to be imposed upon than other Spanish subjects. The sovereigns wishing to stimulate discovery, pacification, and settlement, were willing to waive their right to the tribute due the crown in favour of enterprising and meritorious persons, who had taken upon themselves hardships incident to life in a new country. At first in certain instances, but later to an extent which became general, they settled this tribute upon worthy individuals among the conquerors and colonists and their descendants, on condition that those who thus directly received a portion of the royal revenue should act the part of royalty to the people placed temporarily in their care. They were to be as a sovereign lord and father, and not as a merciless or unjust taskmaster. They were to teach their wards the arts of civilisation, instruct them in the Christian doctrine, watch over and guide and guard them, and never to restrict them in the use of their liberties, nor impose burdens on them, nor in any way to injure or

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permit injury to befall them. And for this protection they were neither to demand nor receive more than the legal tribute fixed by the royal officers, and always such as the natives could without distress or discomfort pay. What the system was in practice we shall have ample opportunity of judging as we proceed.

First, *repartimientos* of lands were authorised by the sovereigns. This was in 1497, and nothing was then said about the natives. But after dividing the land it was but a step to the dividing of the inhabitants. With the shipment of six hundred slaves in 1498, and an offer to their majesties of as many more as they could find sale for, Columbus wrote asking permission to enforce the services of the natives until settlement should be fairly begun, say for a year or two; but without waiting for a reply he at once began the practice, which introduced a new feature into repartimientos. Then to all who chose to take them, to Roldan and his followers, to the worst characters on the island, among whom were the late occupants of Spanish prisons, the vilest of humankind, was given absolute dominion over these helpless and innocent creatures. Having paid nothing for them, having no pecuniary interest in them, they had no object in caring whether they were fed or starved, whether they lived or died, for if they died there were more at hand upon the original terms.

Under Bobadilla the infamy assumed bolder proportions. Bobadilla not only permitted the exaction from the natives of mining and farming labour, but all restrictions were laid aside, and from working their own soil they became mere labour gangs to be driven anywhere. Before sailing for the New World, Ovando had been charged by the sovereigns with the exercise of extreme moderation in levying tributes and making repartimientos. Those who came with him not only failed in mining, but neglected to plant, as did likewise the natives, thinking thereby the quicker to rid themselves of the invaders. Hence famine, engendering new diseases, was at hand for both white and red. Then the Indians were systematically parcelled among the Spaniards to one fifty, to another one hundred, and the repartimiento unfolded into the encomienda.

A steadily growing character, impressing itself more and more upon the affairs of the Indies as time went by, was that of Bartolomé de las Casas. Born at Seville, in 1474, he conned his humanities at Salamanca, making little stir among the Gamaliels there, but taking the bachelor's degree in his eighteenth year. After a residence of about eight years in the Indies, having come with Ovando in 1502, he was admitted to priestly orders, from which time he takes his place in history. He was a man of very pronounced temperament and faculties, as much man of business as ecclesiastic, but more philanthropist than either; possessed of a burning enthusiasm, when once the fire of his conviction was fairly kindled, he gave rest neither to himself nor to his enemies. For every evil-minded man who came thither was his enemy, between whom and himself was a death-struggle. The Apostle of the Indies he was sometimes called, and the mission he took upon himself was to stand between the naked natives and their steel-clad tormentors. In this work he was ardent, ofttimes imprudent, always eloquent and truthful, and as impudently bold and brazen as any cavalier among them all. Nor was he by any means a discontented man. He sought nothing for himself; he had nothing that man could take from him except life, upon which he set no value, or except some of its comforts, which were too poor at best to trouble himself about. His cause, which was the right, gave breadth and volume to his boldness, beside which the courage of the hare-brained babbler was sounding brass.[a]

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AN EYE-WITNESS' ACCOUNT OF SPANISH CRUELTIES TO THE NATIVES (LAS CASAS)[1]

These people are naturally simple, they know not what belongs to policy and address, to trick and artifice; but are very obedient and faithful to their rightful governors: They are humble, patient, and submissive, even to the Spaniards who have subdued and enslaved them: They are a weak, effeminate people, not capable of enduring great fatigues they care not to be exposed to toil and labour, and their life is of no long continuance; their constitution is so nice that a small fit of sickness carries them off.

The Almighty seems to have inspired these people with a meekness and softness of humour like that of lambs. The Spaniards who have given them so much trouble, and fallen upon them so fiercely, resemble savage tigers, wolves, and lions, when enraged with pressing hunger. They applied themselves forty years together wholly to the massacring the poor wretches that inhabitated the islands; putting them to all kinds of unheard of torments and punishments, insomuch that this island [Hispaniola] which before the arrival of the Europeans contained three millions of people, is now reduced to less than three hundred. The island of Cuba, the length of which is equal to the distance between Vallidolid and Rome, is entirely desert and destitute of its inhabitants, and nothing but ruins now to be seen in it. The islands of St. John and Jamaica have met with a like treatment, and were very fertile and populous, but are rendered desolate and waste by the like means. Above thirty isles near that of St. John were entirely depopulated, though of a vast extent, so that there is scarce an inhabitant to be found in them.

As for the continent it is certain, and what I myself know to be true, that the Spaniards have ruined ten kingdoms there, bigger than all Spain, by the commission of all sorts of barbarity and unheard of cruelties. They have driven away or killed all the inhabitants; so that all these kingdoms are desolate to this day, and reduced to a most deplorable condition.

The gold and silver these people had in their possession was the motive that violently prompted the Europeans to persecute and destroy them. They made so little account of the miserable inhabitants of these islands, that I may aver, without fear of being accused either of imposture, or of speaking inconsiderately since it is that of which I have been an eye-witness, that they valued them less, and treated them worse than beasts.

They had so little regard of the salvation of their souls that they would not give themselves the trouble so much as to speak of the Christian faith and sacraments to those numberless multitudes of men and women whom they sacrificed to their ambition and tyranny; and that which aggravates the enormity of their crimes, is that these poor Indians had offered them no injury, but on the contrary, gave them as much honour and respect as if they had been sent from heaven.

[[1] It is hardly necessary to warn the reader against the manifest numerical exaggerations in the famous work of Las Casas.[d] They are so extravagant that they carry their own monition. It is rather necessary to warn the reader against discrediting his other statements. These seem to be based on irrefutable evidences and they can be corroborated from other eyewitnesses. Officially appointed "the Protector of the Indians," Las Casas gave his life to their defence, toiling in their behalf in the islands and in the court at Spain. In spite of him and others like him the depopulation of whole islands went on till slaves had to be stolen from Africa to replace those murdered in America. From his eloquence as an author, the unselfishness of his whole career, the bravery and the fervour of his lifelong battle for the oppressed, he has been accepted as one of the noblest figures in history. We quote from a translation published in 1699 of his tracts published in 1552 called *Breuissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias.*]

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The Spaniards arrived at Hispaniola in their first voyages, and here began to persecute and murder the Indians, taking away their wives and children, and using them, or rather abusing them at their pleasure. They devoured all that these poor creatures had amassed together for their subsistence with a great deal of care and labour. One Spaniard would consume in a day, that which would suffice three Indian families of ten persons each, for the space of a whole month. This ill treatment and spoil soon made the inhabitants of this island lose the esteem they had conceived of the Spaniards, whom they at first looked upon as messengers from heaven: so that at length they began to hide their wives and children, and whatever goods they had from them. Some retired into caves, others fled up into the mountains. The Spaniards did not content themselves to beat them, and to offer them many other indignities, but cut their throats in cold blood; and without any respect either to age or quality, put their princes and the governors of their cities to death. They came to that height of impudence and villany, that a Spanish captain had the insolence to abuse the wife of the greatest king of the island. This vile fact drove them quite to despair, so that from that time they sought means of driving the Spaniards out of their country; they betook themselves to arms, and did what they could to defend themselves against these tyrants: but the weapons they used were neither capable of defending them, nor of offending their enemies to any purpose; and were more like those that children use to play with, than such as are fit for soldiers to use in war.

The Spaniards, who were mounted on fine horses, and armed with lances and swords, looked upon enemies so meanly equipped with the greatest contempt and committed the most horrible slaughters with impunity. They passed through the several cities and towns, sparing neither age nor sex, but killed women and children as well as men. They ripped up women with child, that root and branch might be destroyed together. They laid wagers one with another, who should cleave a man with his sword most dexterously at one blow; or who should take his head from his shoulders most cleverly; or who should run a man through after the most artistic manner. They tore away children out of their mothers' arms, and dashed out their brains against the rocks, while others they threw into the river, diverting themselves with this brutish sport, and giving great shouts while they saw them in this misery; and to add insulting scoffs to their cruelty, they advised them to struggle in the water, and try if they could save themselves from drowning. They held up the bodies of mothers and children together upon their lances. They set up gibbets, and hanged up thirteen of these poor creatures in honour of Jesus Christ and his twelve apostles (as they blasphemously expressed themselves). They kindled a great fire under these gibbets, to burn those they had hanged upon them. They cut off the hands of those they saved alive, and sent them away in that miserable condition, bidding them carry the news of their calamities to those that were retired into the mountains to escape the Spaniards.

They erected a small scaffold, supported with forks and poles, upon which to execute their chiefs, and those of the most considerable quality among them. When they had laid them at length upon this scaffold, they kindled a gentle fire to make them feel themselves die gradually, till the poor wretches after the most exquisite pain and anguish, attended with horrible screeches and outcries, at length expired. I one day saw four or five of the highest rank in this island burned after this manner. But the dreadful cries this torment extorted from them, incommoding a Spanish captain, and hindering

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his sleep, he commanded them to be presently strangled. But a certain officer whose name I know, and whose relations are well known at Seville, put gags into their mouths to hinder them from making a noise, that he might not be deprived of the brutish pleasure of broiling them gently till they breathe out their souls in this torment. I have been an eye witness of all these cruelties and an infinite number of others, which I pass over in silence.

And because the Indians after they had been provoked with so many unheard of injuries now and then killed one of them when they met with them straggling: the Spaniards made a law among themselves to massacre a hundred Indians for every Spaniard they should kill.

After this unjust war was ended with the destruction and massacre of the inhabitants of these countries, having reserved few besides the women and children, they divided these among themselves, keeping thirty of them; others forty; others one hundred, some two hundred, according to the interest they had in the tyrant of the island, whom they honoured with the title of governor. These (as might well have been expected) took no care to instruct them; but confined the men to the mines to get out gold with incredible toil and labour; they used the women for husbandry and tillage, though this last was a labour hard enough for men of the most robust and vigorous constitution.

They fed them only with herbs, or such like food, that had but little substance or nourishment in it: So that the milk dried up in the breasts of the women that gave suck and their children in a little time pined away and died with faintness and hunger. The men having no conversation with the women, but dwelling in separate houses, there could be no farther propagation of children by them. Thus at length the men perished in the mines with hunger and labour, the women died under the pressure of their servitude in the fields; so that all the inhabitants of this populous island were exterminated in a short time. And indeed if the same course were taken everywhere else, all mankind would be destroyed in the space of a few years. The Spaniards obliged these poor creatures to carry burdens of fourscore or a hundred pound weight for one hundred or two hundred leagues. And that they might travel the more at ease, they would make these Indians carry them in chairs and horse-litters on their shoulders. But it would be endless to describe all the miseries these unfortunate people were made to suffer; it would require whole volumes and the reading of so deplorable a story would deeply affect and soften every mind not quite divested of humanity.

A rich and potent cacique named Hathuey was retired into the isle of Cuba to avoid that slavery and death with which the Spaniards menaced him; and being informed that his persecutors were upon the point of landing in this island, he assembled all his subjects and domestics together and made a speech to them after this manner: "You know the report that is spread abroad, that the Spaniards are ready to invade this island; and you are not ignorant of the ill usage our friends and countrymen have met with at their hands, and the cruelties they have committed at Hayei (so Hispaniola is called in their language), they are now coming hither with a design to exercise the same outrages and persecutions upon us. Are you ignorant of the ill intentions of the people of whom I am speaking? I'll tell you then that these Europeans worship a very covetous sort of God, so that it is difficult to satisfy him; and to perform the worship they render to this idol, they'll exact immense treasures of us, and will use their utmost endeavour to reduce us to a miserable state of slavery or else to put us to death." Upon which he took a box of gold and valuable jewels which he had with him, and exposing it to their view: "Here

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is (says he) the God of the Spaniards whom we must honour with our sports and dances, to see if we can appease him, and render him propitious to us; that so he may command the Spaniards not to offer us any injury." They all applauded this speech, and fell a leaping and dancing round the box, till they had quite tired and spent themselves. After which the cacique Hathuey resuming his discourse, continued to speak to them: "If we keep this God (says he) till he is taken away from us, he'll certainly cause our lives to be taken from us; and therefore I am of opinion it will be the best way to cast him into the river." They all approved of this advice, and went all together with one accord to throw this pretended God into the river.

The Spaniards were no sooner arrived in the isle of Cuba but this cacique unfortunately fell into their hands: and because he had taken all the precautions he could to avoid the persecutions of so cruel and impious a people, and had taken arms to defend his own life, as well as the lives of his subjects; this was made a capital crime in him, for which he was burned alive. While he was in the midst of the flames, tied to a stake, a certain Franciscan friar of great piety and virtue, took upon him to speak to him of God and our religion, and to explain to him some articles of the Catholic faith, of which he had never heard a word before, promising him eternal life, if he would believe, and threatening him with eternal torment, if he continued obstinate in his infidelity.

Hathuey reflecting on the matter, as much as the place and condition in which he was would permit, asked the friar that instructed him whether the gate of heaven was open to the Spaniards; and being answered that such of them as were good men might hope for entrance there. The cacique, without any further deliberation, told him, he had no mind to go to heaven for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked company as they were; but would much rather choose to go to hell, where he might be delivered from the troublesome sight of such kind of people. To so great a degree have the wicked actions and cruelties of the Spaniards dishonoured God and His religion in the minds of the Americans.

One day there came to us a great number of the inhabitants of a famous city, situated above ten leagues from the place where we lodged, to compliment us, and bring us all sorts of provisions and refreshments, which they presented us with great marks of joy, caressing us after the most obliging manner they could. But that evil spirit that possessed the Spaniards put them into such a sudden fury against them, that they fell upon them and massacred above three thousand of them, both men and women, upon the spot, without having received the least offence or provocation from them. I was an eye-witness of this barbarity; and whatever endeavours were used to appease these inhuman creatures, it was impossible to reduce them to reason; so resolutely were they bent to satiate their brutal rage by this barbarous action.

The Indians of Havana seeing themselves reduced to a state of severe slavery, that there was no remedy left, and that they were irrecoverably undone, began to seek refuge in the deserts and mountains, to secure themselves if possible from death. Some strangled themselves in despair; parents hanged themselves, together with their children, to put the speedier end to their miseries by death.

I saw with my own eyes above six thousand children die in the space of three or four months, their parents being forced to abandon them, being condemned to the mines. After this, the Spaniards took up a resolution to pursue those Indians that were retired into the mountains, and massacred

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multitudes of them; so that this island was depopulated and laid waste in a very little time. And it is a most lamentable spectacle to see so fine a country thus miserably ruined and unpeopled.

They massacred such as made a shift to escape the fire, or kept them for slaves; they used tortures to force them to tell where they had hid their gold. They printed marks on their bodies with red hot branding-irons, and after all these cruelties, used their utmost diligence to make a strict search for the gold of these miserable people, of which they got vast quantities together, besides pearls and diamonds which the Indians gave them to avoid their fury. All the Spaniards who had any office or place of trust, committed the same rapine, everyone sent as many soldiers as he could to make their progresses, and ravage all the country. The first bishop that was sent into America imitated the conduct of the covetous governors, and made use of his servants to procure himself a share of the spoil. That which contributed yet farther to unpeople the provinces was the liberty the Spaniards took to exact of the caciques, and richest Indians, a great number of slaves. This kind of tribute was authorised by the governor, and levied with a great deal of severity; for he threatened to burn them alive if they failed to send him a recruit of fifty slaves every three months, or as often as he should give order; though the Indians have no great number of slaves ordinarily, and it is much if a cacique has three or four among his other domestics. If a father had two children, the Spaniards would take away one of them, or two if he had three. The parent must submit, with how great reluctancy soever; but their children were not ravished from them without abundance of tears and dolorous complaints, for they have a very tender affection to their offspring, and breed them up with abundance of care. This kind of tribute being often extorted, all this kingdom was in a few years depopulated. There arrived five or six ships here every year which were laden with slaves, whom they transported into Peru and Panama, and there sold them, where they died in a little time; for it has been confirmed by many experiments that those Indians that are transported from their native country into other climates, seldom live long, and that which contributed to kill them the sooner was the neglect of supplying them with sufficient sustenance, and the excessive labour with which they were over-charged.

These inhuman creatures were wont when they declared war against any city or province, to bring with them as many of the conquered Indians as they could, to make them fight against their countrymen; sometimes they had fifteen or twenty thousand of those men subjects among them. But because they were not able to furnish them with all necessary provisions, they allowed them to eat those other Indians whom they took in war, so that in their camp they had shambles stored with human flesh. Infants were killed, and then broiled and eaten: men were slaughtered like beasts, and their legs and arms dressed for food; for the Indians like the taste of those parts better than others. The news of these terrible practices soon alarmed the neighbouring countries, and filled them with terror and consternation.

Many of the Indians were worn out with carrying the tackle of the Spanish ships which they would needs have brought from the north to the south sea, which are 130 leagues distant. They made them carry anchors of a great weight all this long way. They laid great guns upon the naked backs of these poor creatures, under the weight of which they were not able to stand; so that the greater part of them died by the way, not being able to endure these fatigues. To increase their misery, they divided their families, taking husbands from their wives, and wives from their husbands; their daughters were

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taken from them, and given to the seamen and soldiers to satisfy their lust and to appease their murmuring. They filled the ships with Indians, and suffered them to perish with hunger and thirst because they would take no care to furnish them with necessaries.

The Spaniards had two powerful fleets destined to the same purpose of destroying the poor Indians. How many parents have they bereaved of their children! How many children of their parents! Of how many adulteries and other infamous practices have they been the causes, the actors, and accomplices! How many people have they enslaved! What miseries and calamities have they not brought upon this new world! What fountains of tears have they opened! What rivers of blood have they poured out! How many lives have they taken away after such a manner as might render them yet more miserable in the other world! It is a melancholy reflection both in regard to the Indians who have suffered so many cruelties, and to the Spaniards who have been the authors of so much mischief and villany.

The Spaniards might have built great and flourishing cities in so pleasant and commodious a country, where they might have lived in the midst of pleasure and plenty as it were in another earthly paradise; but their stupidity, their avarice, and the enormous crimes they have committed in America rendered them unworthy of these advantages. These covetous wretches esteemed gold more than souls which were purchased by the blood of Jesus Christ, they made slaves of those whom they saved alive, and filled the ships they had brought to the coasts of the kingdom of Yucatan with them and so exchanged them for wine, oil, vinegar, salt pork, horses, and all other necessaries. They would give fifty or a hundred young girls for a measure of wine, oil, or vinegar, and would sell a hundred or two hundred lusty well-made young men at the same rate. They exchanged a prince's son for a cheese, and a hundred persons of eminency for a horse. They continued in this country till they heard of the riches of Peru, the news of which made them leave it immediately, and thus their persecutions ended in the kingdom of Yucatan. However, before they went they committed all the excesses and disorders that can be imagined against both God and man; so that those three hundred leagues of one of the finest countries in the world that was very rich and full of people before their arrival, were in a little time reduced to a vast desert. A certain pilot told me that in a voyage he once made from the Lucay Islands to Hispaniola, which is about seventy leagues, he had no need either of a compass, or the observation of the stars to guide his vessel; for he assured me the floating bodies of the Indians that had been thrown into the sea, served for his guide throughout this passage, and conducted him straight to the port to which he was bound.

The Spaniards feed their fierce dogs with human flesh on purpose to accustom them to tear men in pieces, and devour them. They carry these dogs with them wherever they go, and barbarously murder the poor Indians to feed these savage curs with their flesh. They say one to another, Give me a quarter of that Indian to make my dog a feast; and when I kill one I will pay you again. They commonly hunt in the morning with these dogs, and when asked by their fellows what luck they have had, they answer according to their success. Sometimes one will say I am content, my dogs have killed about a score of them; so that one would think they were speaking of wolves or wild boars. Can any thing be imagined that exceeds such horrible cruelty as this? And all these barbarities have been proved and averred by strict examinations made and produced before the Council of the Indies.

As for your majesty, they think you are the most cruel and impious prince

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in the world, while they see the cruelty and impiety your subjects so insolently commit; and they verily believe your majesty lives upon nothing but human flesh and blood. Probably this account may very much surprise your majesty, who perhaps have not yet received sufficient information about these matters; but this opinion is of long standing, and become inveterate among them. I could produce a great many instances of which I have been an eye-witness, to convince you of the truth of it; but I am afraid of making your majesty too uneasy and of filling the reader's mind with too much horror, by reciting such extraordinary and unparalleled stories, which may give a just occasion of wonder, that God has so long deferred to inflict some exemplary and terrible judgment upon Spain, to punish all the abominations the Spaniards have committed in the Indies.[d]

THE COLLISION OF SPANISH COLONISTS WITH FRENCH IN FLORIDA

While the Castilians were everywhere else victorious, Florida was wet with the blood of the invaders, who had still been unable to possess themselves of her soil. The coast of the Gulf of Mexico was not at this time, disputed by any other nation with Spain; while that power claimed, under the name of Florida, the whole seacoast as far as Newfoundland, and even to the remotest north. In Spanish geography, Canada was a part of Florida. Yet within that whole extent, not a Spanish fort was erected, not a harbour was occupied, not one settlement was planned. The first permanent establishment of the Spaniards in Florida was the result of jealous bigotry.[f]

Meanwhile a great religious revolution had occurred which divided western Europe into the two hostile and violent parties of Protestants and Catholics, a revolution not without very important influences on the colonisation of North America. The first attempt at a lodgment within the limits of what are now the United States, with colonisation, not conquest, as its principal object, was made by French Protestants called Huguenots, who constituted at that time a formidable party, embracing, besides a large body of the nobility, no small portion of the intelligent and industrious class, especially in the south of France.

The plan of an American settlement was patronised by Admiral de Coligny, celebrated in French history as one of the ablest leaders of the Protestants. An attempted settlement in Brazil having proved a failure, Jacques Ribault of Dieppe, was sent in 1562, with two ships on a voyage of exploration to Florida. He discovered the river St. John's, May, 1562, which he named the river of May[1]; and, following the coast toward the north, entered a spacious inlet, which he called Port Royal, a name it has ever since retained. On an island in this harbour he built a fort called Carolina, after Charles IX, then king of France — a name extended afterward to the circumjacent territory, and still retained by two of the United States.

The twenty-six men left by Ribault, while he returned for supplies, lonely tenants of a desolate coast, became discontented and uneasy, notwithstanding the hospitality of the neighbouring Indians. The attempt of the commandant to repress this feeling provoked a mutiny, in which he was killed. With such materials as they had, the home-sick colonists built and rigged a small bark, in which they set sail for France. But their provisions failed, and they were

[1] It is the St. Matheo of the Spaniards. The forests of mulberries were admired, and caterpillars readily mistaken for silkworms. The cape received a French name; as the ships sailed along the coast, the numerous streams were called after the rivers of France; and America, for a while, had its Seine, its Loire, and its Garonne. — BANCROFT.[f]

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reduced to the terrible expedient of feeding on the flesh of one of their companions. At length they were picked up by an English vessel, some of them landed on the coast of France, and the others carried to England.

Ribault, on his return to France, had found that kingdom distracted and attention occupied by civil war, then first breaking out between the Huguenots and the Catholics. Peace was presently patched up, and two years after the scheme of settlement was renewed. Three ships, furnished by the French government, were placed under the command of Laudonnière, one of Ribault's companions in the former voyage. Le Moyne or De Morgues, a draughtsman and painter, whose sketches, made upon the spot, were afterward engraved and published, accompanied the expedition. Laudonnière landed his people at the river of May, where he built a fort, called, also, Carolina. (June 22nd, 1564). But these colonists, like their predecessors, were an unruly set. Under pretence of searching for provisions, some of them seized two small vessels belonging to the colony, with which they sailed to cruise against the Spaniards, whose ships from Mexico and the West Indies offered tempting prizes[1] to freebooters. They took two or three small Spanish vessels, but escaped with difficulty from a superior force at Jamaica, and returned to Fort Carolina, where the ringleaders were tried and executed. In distress for food, of which their store was consumed, the colonists had made up their minds to abandon the settlement, when they were visited, August 3rd, 1564, by Sir John Hawkins, an English adventurer, on his way home from the Spanish West Indies, where he had just sold, at a great profit, a second cargo of slaves, kidnapped on the coast of Africa. Hawkins appears to have been the first Englishman who engaged in this detestable traffic. Moved by religious sympathy, he supplied the French colonists with provisions, and even gave them a vessel, in which they were just about to embark for France, when Ribault arrived, bringing with him a recruit of colonists, men, women, and children, abundance of provisions, and a supply of tools, seeds, and other necessaries.*g*

The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida. But Spain had never relinquished her claim to that territory; where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried many hundreds of her bravest sons. Should the proud Philip II abandon a part of his dominions to France? Should he suffer his commercial monopoly to be endangered by a rival settlement in the vicinity of the West Indies? Should the Romanist permit the heresy of Calvinism to be planted in the neighbourhood of his Catholic provinces? There had appeared at the Spanish court a bold commander, well fitted for acts of reckless hostility. Pedro Menendez [or Melendez] de Avilès had, in a long career of military service, become accustomed to scenes of blood; and his natural ferocity had been confirmed by his course of life. The wars against the Protestants of Holland had nourished his bigotry; and, as a naval commander, often encountering pirates, whom the laws of nations exclude from mercy, he had become inured to acts of prompt and unsparing vengeance. He had acquired wealth in Spanish America, which was no school of benevolence; and his conduct there had provoked an inquiry, which, after a long arrest, ended in his conviction. The nature of his offences is not apparent; the justice of the sentence is confirmed, for the king, who knew him well, esteemed his bravery, and received him again into his service, remitted only a moiety of his fine. The heir of Menendez had been shipwrecked among the

[[1] Thus the French were the aggressors in the first act of hostility in the new world, an act of crime and temerity, which was soon avenged.—BANCROFT.*f*]

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Bermudas; the father desired to return and search among the islands for tidings of his only son. Philip II suggested the conquest and colonisation of Florida; and a compact was soon framed and confirmed, March 20th, 1565, by which Menendez,[1] who desired an opportunity to retrieve his honour, was constituted the hereditary governor of a territory of almost unlimited extent.

The terms of the compact are curious. Menendez, on his part, promised, at his own cost, in the following May, to invade Florida with at least five hundred men; to complete its conquest within three years; to explore its currents and channels, the dangers of its coasts, and the depth of its havens; to establish a colony of at least five hundred persons, of whom one hundred should be married men; to introduce at least twelve ecclesiastics, besides four Jesuits. It was further stipulated, that he should transport to his province all kinds of domestic animals. Philip II had no scruples respecting slavery; Menendez contracted to import into Florida five hundred negro slaves. The sugar cane was to become a staple of the country.

The king, in return, promised the adventurer various commercial immunities; the office of governor for life, with the right of naming his son-in-law as his successor; an estate of twenty-five square leagues in the immediate vicinity of the settlement; a salary of two thousand ducats, chargeable on the revenues of the province; and a fifteenth part of all royal perquisites.

Meantime, news arrived, as the French writers assert, through the treachery of the court of France, that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with reinforcements. The cry was raised, that the heretics must be extirpated; the enthusiasm of fanaticism was kindled, and Menendez readily obtained all the forces which he required. More than twenty-five hundred persons — soldiers, sailors, priests, Jesuits, married men with their families, labourers, and mechanics, and, with the exception of three hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Menendez — engaged in the invasion. After delays occasioned by a storm, the expedition set sail; and the trade-winds soon bore them rapidly across the Atlantic. A tempest scattered the fleet on its passage; it was with only one third part of his forces that Menendez arrived at the harbour of St. John in Porto Rico (August 9th). But he esteemed celerity the secret of success; and, refusing to await the arrival of the rest of his squadron, he sailed for Florida. It had ever been his design to explore the coast; to select a favourable site for a fort or a settlement; and, after the construction of fortifications, to attack the French. It was on the day (August 28th) which the customs of Rome have consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent sons of Africa, and one of the most venerated of the fathers of the church [St. Augustine], that he came in sight of Florida. For four days he sailed along the coast, uncertain where the French were established; on the fifth day, he landed, and gathered from the Indians accounts of the Huguenots. At the same time [Sept. 2nd] he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river; and, remembering the saint, on whose day he came upon the coast, he gave to the harbour and to the stream the name of St. Augustine. Sailing, then, to the north, he discovered a portion of the French fleet, and observed the nature of the road where they were anchored. The French demanded his name and objects. "I am Menendez of Spain," replied he; "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic, I will spare; every heretic shall die." The French fleet, unpre-

[[1] Parkman[b] says of Menendez and Ribault: "Menendez was a leader fit to stand with Cortes and Pizarro; but he was matched with a man as cool, skilful, prompt, and daring as himself."]

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pared for action, cut its cables; the Spaniards, for some time, continued an ineffectual chase.

It was at the hour of vespers, on the evening preceding the festival of the nativity of Mary, that the Spaniards returned to the harbour of St. Augustine. At noonday of the festival itself, the governor went on shore, to take possession of the continent in the name of his King. Philip II was proclaimed monarch of all North America. The solemn mass of Our Lady was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine was immediately laid, Sept. 8th, 1565. It is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States. Houses in it are yet standing, which are said to have been built many years before Virginia was colonised.

By the French it was debated, whether they should improve their fortifications, and await the approach of the Spaniards, or proceed to sea, and attack their enemy. Against the advice of his officers, Ribault resolved upon the latter course. Hardly had he left the harbour for the open sea, before there arose a fearful storm, which continued till October, and wrecked every ship of the French fleet on the Florida coast. The vessels were dashed against the rocks about fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina; most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish ships also suffered, but not so severely; and the troops at St. Augustine were entirely safe. They knew that the French settlement was left in a defenceless state: with a fanatical indifference to toil Menendez led his men through the lakes, and marshes, and forests, that divided the St. Augustine from the St. John's, and, on September 21st, with a furious onset, surprised the weak garrison, who had looked only towards the sea for the approach of danger. After a short contest, the Spaniards were masters of the fort. A scene of carnage ensued; soldiers, women, children, the aged, the sick, were alike massacred. The Spanish account of Barcia[h] asserts, that Menendez ordered women and young children to be spared; yet not till after the havoc had long been raging.

Nearly two hundred persons were killed. A few escaped into the woods, among them Laudonnière,[i] Challus,[j] and Le Moyne,[k] who have related the horrors of the scene. But whither should they fly? Death met them in the woods; and the heavens, the earth, the sea, and men, all seemed conspired against them. Should they surrender, appealing to the sympathy of their conquerors? "Let us," said Challus, "trust in the mercy of God, rather than of these men." A few gave themselves up, and were immediately murdered. The others, after the severest sufferings, found their way to the sea-side, and were received on board two small French vessels which had remained in the harbour. The Spaniards, angry that any should have escaped, insulted the corpses of the dead with wanton barbarity.[1]

The victory had been gained on the festival of St. Matthew; and hence the Spanish name of the river May. After the carnage was completed, mass was said; a cross was raised; and the site for a church selected, on ground still smoking with the blood of a peaceful colony.

The shipwrecked men were, in their turn, soon discovered. They were in a state of helpless weakness, wasted by their fatigues at sea, half famished, destitute of water and of food. Should they surrender to the Spaniards? Menendez invited them to rely on his compassion; the French capitulated, and were received among the Spaniards in such successive divisions as a boat could at once ferry across the intervening river. As the captives stepped upon

[[1] Such as tearing out the eyes and flicking them from the points of their daggers at the French ships.]

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the bank which their enemies occupied, their hands were tied behind them; and in this way they were marched towards St. Augustine, like a flock of sheep driven to the slaughter-house. As they approached the fort, a signal was given; and, amidst the sound of trumpets and drums, the Spaniards fell upon the unhappy men, who had confided in their humanity, and who could offer no resistance. A few Catholics were spared; some mechanics were reserved as slaves; the rest were massacred, "not as Frenchmen, but as Calvinists."[1] The whole number of the victims of bigotry, here and at the fort, is said, by the French, to have been about nine hundred; the Spanish accounts diminish the number of the slain, but not the atrocity of the deed. Menendez returned to Spain, impoverished, but triumphant. The French government heard of the outrage with apathy, and made not even a remonstrance on the ruin of a colony, which, if it had been protected, would have given to its country a flourishing empire in the south, before England had planted a single spot on the new continent. History has been more faithful, and has assisted humanity by giving to the crime of Menendez an infamous notoriety. The first town in the United States sprung from the unrelenting bigotry of the Spanish king. Its origin should be carefully remembered, for it is a fixed point, from which to measure the liberal influence of time; the progress of modern civilisation; the victories of the American mind, in its contests for the interests of humanity.[2]

The Huguenots and the French nation did not share in the apathy of the court. Dominique de Gourgues — a bold soldier of Gascony, whose life had been a series of adventures, now employed in the army against Spain, now a prisoner and a galley-slave among the Spaniards, taken by the Turks with the vessel in which he rowed, and redeemed by the commander of the knights of Malta — burned with a desire to avenge his own wrongs and the honour of his country. The sale of his property, and the contributions of his friends, furnished the means of equipping three ships, in which, with one hundred and fifty men, he embarked (August 22nd, 1567), for Florida. His strength was not sufficient to occupy the country permanently; he desired only to destroy and revenge. He was able to surprise two forts near the mouth of the St. Matheo; and, as terror magnified the number of his followers, the consternation of the Spaniards enabled him to gain possession of the larger fort, near the spot which the French colony had fortified. But he was not strong enough to maintain his position; he, therefore, hastily retreated, and sailed to Europe, having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." The natives, who had been ill-treated both by the Spaniards and the French, enjoyed the savage consolation of seeing their enemies butcher one another.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. France disavowed the expedition, and relinquished all pretension to Florida. Spain grasped at it, as a portion of her dominions; and, if discovery could confer a right, her claim was founded in justice. Cuba now formed the centre of her West

[[1] The statement that Menendez hung such a legend round the necks of the hanged does not appear in the earliest accounts, and is doubted by some historians, as being a mere replica of the expression used later by De Gourgues. Of the killing of his prisoners, Menendez[l] says in his own letter to Philip II: "It appeared to me that to chastise them in this manner was a service to God our Lord and your Majesty (*Dios, Nuestro Señor y V. Mag*[d.]) by which means we were left freed of this wicked sect for the planting of the gospel in these regions."]

[[2] As J. G. Shea[m] points out, a French expedition under Jacques de Sorie had captured Havana, in 1555, and in spite of promises to spare those who surrendered, put the prisoners to death. In 1570 the French captured a Portuguese ship with forty Jesuit missionaries on board, all of whom were put to death. Shea adds: "In all my reading I find no case where the French in Spanish waters then gave quarter to Spaniards, except in hope of large ransom."]

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Indian possessions, and everything around it was included within her empire. Sovereignty was asserted, not only over the archipelagoes within the tropics, but over the whole continent round the inner seas. From the remotest south-eastern cape of the Caribbean, along the whole shore to the Cape of Florida and beyond it, all was hers. The Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within her territories.

H. H. BANCROFT'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE SPANISH IN NEW MEXICO

New Mexico was revisited and finally occupied before 1600. In 1581 Rodriguez, with two other Franciscans and a few soldiers, went from San Bartolomé down the Conchos and up the Rio del Norte to the land of the Tiguas, Coronado's Tiguex. The soldiers soon returned, but the friars remained to be killed. In 1582–3, Espejo with a strong force went in search of Rodriguez, learning at Puara, near Sandia, of the friars' fate and of Coronado's former ravages in that region. Espejo explored eastward to the Buffalo plains, northward to Cia and Galisteo, and westward to Zuñi and the region of the modern Prescott, returning by way of the Rio Pecos. In 1590–1 Castaño de Sosa went up the Pecos and across to the Pueblo towns of the Rio Grande with a colony of one hundred and seventy men, women, and children. After receiving the submission of thirty-three towns, he was carried back to Mexico in chains by Captain Morlete, on the charge of having made an illegal *entrada*, or expedition. About 1595, Bonilla and Humaña, sent out against rebellious Indians, marched without licence to New Mexico and sought Quivira in the northeastern plains. Humaña murdered his chief, and was himself killed with most of his party by the natives. In 1595, the viceroy made a contract for the conquest of New Mexico with Oñate, who, as governor and captain-general left Mexico with a large force of soldiers and colonists in 1596. Vexatious complications hindered Oñate's progress and exhausted his funds, so that it was not until 1598 that he entered the promised land. San Juan was made the capital; all the towns submitted; the Franciscans were stationed in six nations; Oñate visited Zuñi; and the rebellious warriors of the Acoma peñol were conquered in a series of hard-fought battles, all before the summer of 1599.

Prosperity ceased for a long time on account of controversies between Oñate, the colonists, and the Franciscan friars. The latter abandoned the province in 1601, but were sent back to reoccupy the missions. Oñate made some explorations; Santa Fé was founded and became the capital; and in 1608 eight padres were at work, having baptised eight thousand natives. Thirty new friars came in 1629, and the next year fifty missionaries were serving sixty thousand converts in ninety pueblos. This was the date of New Mexico's highest prosperity, though the decline was very slight for fifty years, a period whose history offers nothing but petty local happenings. But in 1680 a general revolt occurred, in which four hundred Spaniards, including twenty-one friars, were killed and the survivors driven out of the country. While the refugees founded El Paso and did some missionary work in that region, the New Mexicans fought among themselves and threw away their chances for continued independence. After several unsuccessful efforts by different leaders, Governor Vargas reconquered the province after many a hard-fought battle in 1693–4; but two years later a new revolt occurred, in which five missionaries and twenty other Spaniards were killed, and the year 1696 may

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be regarded as the date of New Mexico's permanent submission to Spanish authority.[e]

CARTIER AT MONTREAL

The description which Cartier had given of the country bordering on the St. Lawrence, furnished arguments against attempting a colony. The intense severity of the climate terrified even the inhabitants of the north of France; and no mines of silver and gold, no veins abounding in diamonds and precious stones, had been promised by the faithful narrative of the voyage. Three or four years, therefore, elapsed, before plans of colonisation were renewed. Yet imagination did not fail to anticipate the establishment of a state upon the fertile banks of a river, which surpassed all the streams of Europe in grandeur, and flowed through a country situated between nearly the same parallels as France.

Soon after a short peace had terminated the third desperate struggle between Francis I and Charles V, attention to America was again awakened; there were not wanting men at court, who deemed it unworthy a gallant nation to abandon the enterprise; and a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque [or Roche], lord of Roberval, a man of considerable provincial distinction, sought and obtained a commission (January 15th, 1540). It was easy to confer provinces and plant colonies upon parchment; Roberval could congratulate himself on being the acknowledged lord of the unknown "Norumbega,"[1] and viceroy, with full regal authority, over the immense territories and islands which lie near the gulf or along the river St. Lawrence. But the ambitious nobleman could not dispense with the services of the former naval commander, who possessed the confidence of the king; and Cartier also received a commission. Its terms merit consideration. He was appointed captain-general and chief pilot of the expedition (October 17th, 1540); he was directed to take with him persons of every trade and art; to repair to the newly discovered territory; and to dwell there with the natives. But where were the honest tradesmen and industrious mechanics to be found, who would repair to this New World? The commission gave Cartier full authority to ransack the prisons; to rescue the unfortunate and the criminal; and to make up the complement of his men from their number. Thieves or homicides, the spendthrift or the fraudulent bankrupt, the debtors to justice or its victims, prisoners rightfully or wrongfully detained, excepting only those arrested for treason or counterfeiting money — these were the people by whom the colony was, in part, to be established.

The division of authority between Cartier and Roberval of itself defeated the enterprise. Roberval was ambitious of power; and Cartier desired the exclusive honour of discovery. They neither embarked in company, nor acted in concert. Cartier sailed (May 23rd, 1541) from St. Malo the next spring after the date of his commission; he arrived at the scene of his former adventures, ascended the St. Lawrence, and, near the site of Quebec, built a fort for the security of his party; but no considerable advances in geographical knowledge appear to have been made. The winter passed in sullenness and gloom. In June of the following year, he and his ships stole away and returned

[[1] Norumbega is a name that attained an almost mystic significance. In 1529, on a map of Hieronymus da Verrazano, it appeared as Aranbaga. In 1539 it is called a region of untold wealth stretching between the capes of Breton and Florida. The name became gradually restricted to New England and part of Canada. The name probably came from a considerable Indian settlement that later disappeared.]

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to France, just as Roberval arrived with a considerable reinforcement. Unsustained by Cartier, Roberval accomplished no more than a verification of previous discoveries. Remaining about a year in America, he abandoned his immense viceroyalty. Estates in Picardy were better than titles in Norumbega. His subjects must have been a sad company; during the winter, one was hanged for theft; several were put in irons; and "divers persons, as well women as men," were whipped. By these means quiet was preserved. Perhaps the expedition on its return entered the bay of Massachusetts; the French diplomatists always remembered, that Boston was built within the original limits of New France. The commission of Roberval was followed by no permanent results. It is confidently said, that, at a later date (1549), he again embarked for his viceroyalty, accompanied by a numerous train of adventurers; and, as he was never more heard of, he may have perished at sea.

Can it be a matter of surprise, that, for the next fifty years, no further discoveries were attempted by the government of a nation, which had become involved in the final struggle of feudalism against the central power of the monarch, of Calvinism against the ancient religion of France? The colony of Huguenots at the south sprung from private enterprise; a government which could devise the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was neither worthy nor able to found new states.

At length, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV, the star of France emerged from the clouds of blood, treachery, and civil war, which had so long eclipsed her glory. The number and importance of the fishing stages had increased; in 1578 there were one hundred and fifty French vessels at Newfoundland, and regular voyages, for traffic with the natives, began to be successfully made. One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the American coast. The purpose of founding a French Empire in America was renewed in 1598, and an ample commission was issued to the marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany. Yet his enterprise entirely failed. Sweeping the prisons of France, he established their tenants on the desolate Isle of Sable; and the wretched exiles sighed for their dungeons. After some years, the few survivors received a pardon. The temporary residence in America was deemed a sufficient commutation for a long imprisonment.

The prospect of gain prompted the next enterprise. A monopoly of the fur trade, with an ample patent, was obtained by Chauvin in 1600; and Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, shared the traffic. The voyage was repeated, for it was lucrative. The death of Chauvin prevented his settling a colony.

CHAMPLAIN: NEW FRANCE: ACADIA

A firmer hope of success was entertained, when a company of merchants of Rouen was formed by the governor of Dieppe in 1603; and Samuel de Champlain, of Brouage, an able marine officer and a man of science, was appointed to direct the expedition. By his natural disposition, "delighting marvellously in these enterprises," Champlain became the father of the French settlements in Canada. He possessed a clear and penetrating understanding, with a spirit of cautious inquiry; untiring perseverance, with great mobility; indefatigable activity, with fearless courage. The account of his first expedition gives proof of sound judgment, accurate observation, and historical fidelity. It is full of exact details on the manners of the savage tribes, not less than the geography of the country; and Quebec was already selected as the appropriate site for a fort.

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Champlain returned to France (November 8th, 1603), just before an exclusive patent had been issued to a Calvinist, the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia and its confines, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude, that is, from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider monopoly of the fur trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants — these were the privileges which the charter conceded. Idlers, and men without a profession, and all banished men, were doomed to lend him aid. A lucrative monopoly was added to the honours of territorial jurisdiction. Wealth and glory were alike expected.

An expedition was prepared without delay, and left the shores of France (March 7th, 1604), not to return till a permanent French settlement should be made in America. All New France was now contained in two ships, which followed the well-known path to Nova Scotia. The summer glided away, while the emigrants trafficked with the natives and explored the coasts. The harbour called Annapolis after the conquest of Acadia by Queen Anne, an excellent harbour, though difficult of access, possessing a small but navigable river, which abounded in fish, and is bordered by beautiful meadows, so pleased the imagination of Poutrincourt, a leader in the enterprise, that he sued for a grant of it from De Monts, and, naming it Port Royal, determined to reside there with his family. The company of De Monts made their first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, in 1604, at the mouth of the river of the same name. The remains of their fortifications were still visible in 1798. Yet the island was so ill suited to their purposes, that, in the following spring, they removed to Port Royal.

For an agricultural colony, a milder climate was more desirable; in view of a settlement at the south, De Monts explored and claimed for France the rivers, the coasts and the bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod. The numbers and hostility of the savages led him to delay a removal, since his colonists were so few. Yet the purpose remained. Thrice in the spring of the following year, did Dupont, his lieutenant, attempt to complete the discovery. Twice he was driven back by adverse winds; and at the third attempt, his vessel was wrecked (August 28th, 1606). Poutrincourt, who had visited France, and was now returned with supplies, himself renewed the design; but, meeting with disasters among the shoals of Cape Cod (November 14th, 1605), he, too, returned to Port Royal. There the first French settlement on the American continent had been made; two years before the James river was discovered and three years before a cabin had been raised in Canada.

The possessions of Poutrincourt were confirmed by Henry IV, in 1607; the apostolic benediction of the Roman pontiff was solicited on families which exiled themselves to evangelise infidels; Mary of Medici herself contributed money to support the missions, which the marchioness de Guercheville protected; and by a compact with De Biencourt, the proprietary's son, the order of the Jesuits was enriched, in 1610, by an imposition on the fisheries and fur trade.

The arrival of Jesuit priests was signalised by conversions among the natives. In the following year, De Biencourt and Father Biart explored the coast as far as the Kennebec, and ascended that river. The Canibas, Algonquins of the Abenaki nations, touched by the confiding humanity of the French, listened reverently to the message of redemption; and, already hostile towards the English who had visited their coast, the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec became the allies of France, and were cherished as a barrier against danger from English encroachments.

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A French colony within the United States followed (1613), under the auspices of De Guercheville and Mary of Medici; the rude intrenchments of St. Sauveur were raised by De Saussaye on the northern bank of the Penobscot. The conversion of the heathen was the motive to the settlement; the natives venerated Biart as a messenger from heaven; and under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted. France and the Roman religion had appropriated the soil of Maine.

Meantime the remonstrances of French merchants had effected the revocation of the monopoly of De Monts, and a company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo had founded Quebec (July 3rd, 1608). The design was executed by Champlain, who aimed not at the profits of trade, but at the glory of founding a state. The city of Quebec was begun; that is to say, rude cottages were framed, a few fields were cleared, and one or two gardens planted. The next year, that singularly bold adventurer, attended but by two Europeans, joined a mixed party of Hurons from Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the north of New York. He ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name, and perpetuates his memory.

The Huguenots had been active in plans of colonisation. The death of Henry IV, in 1610, deprived them of their powerful protector. Yet the zeal of De Monts survived, and he quickened the courage of Champlain. After the short supremacy of Charles de Bourbon, the prince of Condé, an avowed protector of the Calvinists, became viceroy of New France; through his intercession, merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and La Rochelle, obtained a colonial patent from the king, in 1615; and Champlain, now sure of success, embarked once more for the New World, accompanied by monks of the order of St. Francis. Again he invades the territory of the Iroquois in New York. Wounded, and repulsed, and destitute of guides, he spends the first winter after his return to America in the country of the Hurons; and a knight errant among the forests carries his language, religion, and influence, even to the hamlets of Algonquins, near Lake Nipissing.

Religious disputes combined with commercial jealousies to check the progress of the colony; yet in the summer of 1620, when the Pilgrims were leaving Leyden, in obedience to the wishes of the unhappy Montmorenci, the new viceroy, Champlain, began a fort. The merchants grudged the expense. "It is not best to yield to the passions of men," was his reply; "they sway but for a season; it is a duty to respect the future"; and in 1624 the castle St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, was durably founded on "a commanding cliff."

In the same year, the viceroyalty was transferred to the religious enthusiast Henri de Levi; and through his influence, in 1625, just a year after Jesuits had reached the sources of the Ganges and Thibet, the banks of the St. Lawrence received priests of the order which was destined to carry the cross to Lake Superior and the west.

The presence of Jesuits and Calvinists led to dissensions. The savages caused disquiet. But the persevering founder of Quebec appealed to the royal council and to Richelieu; and though disasters intervened, Champlain successfully established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the territory which became his country in 1627. "The father of New France" [dying December 25th, 1635], lies buried in the land which he colonised. Thus the humble industry of the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany promised their country the acquisition of an empire.

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RALEIGH'S ATTEMPTS AT ENGLISH COLONISATION

The attempts of the French to colonise Florida, though unprotected and unsuccessful, were not without an important influence on succeeding events. About the time of the return of De Gourgues, Walter Raleigh, a young Englishman, had abruptly left the University of Oxford, to take part in the civil contests between the Huguenots and the Catholics in France, and with the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV, was learning the art of war under the veteran Coligny. The Protestant party was, at that time, strongly excited with indignation at the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged; and Raleigh could not but gather from his associates and his commander intelligence respecting Florida and the navigation to those regions. Some of the miserable men who escaped from the first expedition, had been conducted to Elizabeth, and had kindled in the public mind in England a desire for the possession of the southern coast of North America; the reports of Hawkins, who had been the benefactor of the French on the river May, increased the national excitement; and De Morgues, the painter, who had sketched in Florida the most remarkable appearances of nature, ultimately found the opportunity of finishing his designs, through the munificence of Raleigh.

The bold spirit of Raleigh was not disheartened by the sad fate of his step-brother [Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose voyages, in one of which Raleigh took part, we have already described]. He was determined to secure to England those delightful countries from which the Protestants of France had been expelled. Having presented a memorial, he readily obtained from Elizabeth a patent (March 25th, 1584), as ample as that which had been conferred on Gilbert. Two vessels, well laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas [or Amadas] and Arthur Barlow, set sail for the New World (April 27th). They pursued the circuitous route by the Canaries and the islands of the West Indies; after a short stay in those islands, they sailed for the north, and were soon opposite the shores of Carolina. As they drew near land (July 2nd), the fragrance was "as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." They ranged the coast for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbour; they entered the first haven which offered, and, after thanks to God for their safe arrival, they landed (July 13th) to take possession of the country for the queen of England.

The spot on which this ceremony was performed, was in the island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock inlet. The desire of traffic overcame the timidity of the natives, and the English received a friendly welcome. On the island of Roanoke, they were entertained by the wife of Granganimeo, father of Wingina, the king, with the refinements of Arcadian hospitality. "The people were most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age," says Barlow.[n] And yet it was added, with singular want of comparison, that the wars of these guileless men were cruel and bloody; that domestic dissensions had almost exterminated whole tribes; that they employed the basest stratagems against their enemies; and that the practice of inviting men to a feast, that they might be murdered in the hour of confidence, was not merely a device of European bigots, but was known to the natives of Secotan. The English, too, were solicited to engage in a similar enterprise, under promise of lucrative booty.

The adventurers were satisfied with observing the general aspect of the New World; no extensive examination of the coast was undertaken; Pamlico

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and Albemarle sounds and Roanoke Island were explored, and some information gathered by inquiries from the Indians; the commanders had not the courage or the activity to survey the country with exactness. Having made but a short stay in America, they arrived in September in the west of England, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries, as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among "the hundred islands" of North Carolina. Elizabeth, as she heard their reports, esteemed her reign signalised by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia.

Nor was it long before Raleigh, elected to represent in parliament the county of Devon, obtained a bill confirming his patent of discovery; and while he received the honour of knighthood, as the reward of his valour, he also acquired a lucrative monopoly of wines, which enabled him to continue with vigour his schemes of colonisation. While a new patent was issued to his friend, for the discovery of the northwestern passage, and the well-known voyages of Davis, sustained, in part, by the contributions of Raleigh himself, were increasing the acquaintance of Europe with the Arctic sea, the plan of colonising Virginia was earnestly and steadily pursued.

The new expedition was composed of seven vessels, and carried one hundred and eight colonists to the shores of Carolina. Ralph Lane, a man of considerable distinction, and so much esteemed for his services as a soldier, that he was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, was willing to act for Raleigh as governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville, the most able and celebrated of Raleigh's associates, distinguished for bravery among the gallant spirits of a gallant age, assumed the command of the fleet. It sailed (April 9th, 1585) from Plymouth, accompanied by several men of merit, whom the world remembers — by Cavendish, who soon after circumnavigated the globe; Hariot, the inventor of the system of notation in modern algebra, the historian of the expedition; and With, an ingenious painter, whose sketches of the natives, their habits, and modes of life, were taken with beauty and exactness, and were the means of encouraging an interest in Virginia, by diffusing a knowledge of its productions.

To sail by the Canaries and the West Indies, to conduct a gainful commerce with the Spanish ports by intimidation; to capture Spanish vessels — these were but the expected preliminaries of a voyage to Virginia. At length the fleet fell in with the main land of Florida; it was in great danger of being wrecked on the cape which was then first called the Cape of Fear; and two days after, on June 26th, it came to anchor at Wocoken. It was through Ocracock inlet that the fleet made its way to Roanoke.

THE LOST COLONY OF ROANOKE

But the fate of this colony was destined to be influenced by the character of the natives. Manteo, the friend of the English, and who returned with the fleet from a visit to England, was sent to the main to announce their arrival. Grenville, accompanied by Lane, Hariot, Cavendish, and others, in an excursion of eight days, explored the coast as far as Secotan, and, as they relate, were well entertained by the savages. At one of the Indian towns, a silver cup had been stolen; its restoration was delayed; with hasty cruelty, Grenville ordered the village to be burned and the standing corn to be destroyed. Not long after this action of inconsiderate revenge, the ships having landed the colony,

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sailed for England; a rich Spanish prize, made by Grenville on the return voyage, secured him a courteous welcome as he entered the harbour of Plymouth. The transport ships of the colony were at the same time privateers.

The employments of Lane and his colonists, after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville, could be none other than to explore the country; and in a letter, which he wrote while his impressions were yet fresh, Lane [o] expressed himself in language of enthusiastic admiration. "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome, that we have not one sick, since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."

SIR WALTER RALEIGH
(From an old print)
(1552–1618)

The keenest observer was Hariot [p]; and he was often employed in dealing with "the natural inhabitants." He carefully examined the productions of the country, those which would furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He observed the culture of tobacco; accustomed himself to its use, and was a firm believer in its healing virtues. The culture of maize, and the extraordinary productiveness of that grain, especially attracted his admiration; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food. The inhabitants are described as too feeble to inspire terror. The country which Hariot explored was on the boundary of the Algonquin race, where the Lenni Lenape tribes melted into the widely-differing nations of the south. In every town which Hariot entered, he displayed the Bible, and explained its truths; the Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrines; and, with a fond superstition, they embraced the book, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as if it had been an amulet. As the colonists enjoyed uniform health, and had no women with them, there were some among the Indians who imagined the English were not born of woman, and therefore not mortal; that they were men of an old generation, risen to immortality. The terrors of fire-arms the natives could neither comprehend nor resist; every sickness which now prevailed among them, was attributed to wounds from invisible bullets, discharged by unseen agents, with whom the air was supposed to be peopled.

Was it strange, then, that the natives desired to be delivered from the presence of guests by whom they feared to be supplanted? The colonists were mad with the passion for gold; and a wily savage invented, respecting the river Roanoke and its banks, extravagant tales, which nothing but cupidity could have credited. The river, it was said, gushed forth from a rock, so near the Pacific Ocean, that the surge of the sea sometimes dashed into its fountain; its banks were inhabited by a nation skilled in the art of refining the rich ore in which the country abounded. The walls of the city were described as glittering from the abundance of pearls. Lane was so credulous, that he

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attempted to ascend the rapid current of the Roanoke; and his followers, infatuated with greedy avarice, would not return till their stores of provisions were exhausted, and they had killed and eaten the very dogs which bore them company. On this attempt to explore the interior, the English hardly advanced higher up the river than some point near the present Williamstown.

The Indians had hoped to destroy the English by thus dividing them; but the prompt return of Lane prevented open hostilities. The English believed that a general conspiracy was preparing; it is certain that, in the contest of dissimulation, they proved themselves the more successful adepts. Desiring an audience of Wingina, the most active among the native chiefs, Lane and his attendants were quickly admitted to his presence (June 1st, 1586). A preconcerted watchword was given; and the Christians, falling upon the unhappy king and his principal followers, put them without mercy to death.

It was evident that Lane did not possess the qualities suited to his station. Yet some general results of importance were obtained. The climate was found to be salubrious; during the year not more than four men had died, and of these, three brought the seeds of their disease from Europe. The hope of finding better harbours at the north was confirmed; and the Bay of Chesapeake was already regarded as the fit theatre for early colonisation. But in the island of Roanoke, the men began to despond; they looked in vain towards the ocean for supplies from England; they were sighing for the luxuries of the cities in their native land; when of a sudden it was rumoured, that the sea was white with the sails of three-and-twenty ships; and (June 8th) Sir Francis Drake had anchored his fleet at sea outside of Roanoke inlet, in "the wild road of their bad harbour."

He had come, on his way from the West Indies to England, to visit the domain of his friend. With the celerity of genius, he discovered the measures which the exigency of the case required, and supplied the wants of Lane to the uttermost; but Lane shared the despondency of his men; and Drake yielded to their unanimous desire of permission to embark in his ships for England (June 19th). Thus ended the first actual settlement of the English in America. The exiles of a year had grown familiar with the favourite amusement of the lethargic Indians; and they introduced into England the general use of tobacco.

The return of Lane was a precipitate desertion; a little delay would have furnished the colony with ample supplies. A few days after its departure, a ship arrived, laden with all stores needed by the infant settlement. It had been despatched by Raleigh; but finding "the paradise of the world" deserted, it could only return to England. Another fortnight had hardly elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well-furnished ships, and renewed the vain search for the departed colony. Unwilling that the English should lose possession of the country, he left fifteen men on the island of Roanoke, to be the guardians of English rights.

Raleigh was not dismayed by ill success, nor borne down by losses. The enthusiasm of the people of England was diminished by the reports of the unsuccessful company of Lane; but the decisive testimony of Hariot to the excellence of the country still rendered it easy to collect a new colony for America. The wisdom of Raleigh was particularly displayed in the policy which he now adopted. He determined to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should at once make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, he granted a charter of incorporation (January 7th, 1587) for the settlement, and established a municipal government for "the city of Raleigh." John White was

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appointed its governor; and to him, with eleven assistants, the administration of the colony was intrusted. A fleet of transport ships was prepared at the expense of the proprietary; "Queen Elizabeth, the godmother of Virginia," declined contributing "to its education." The company as it embarked April 26th), was cheered by the presence of women; and an ample provision of the implements of husbandry gave a pledge for successful industry. In July, they arrived on the coast of North Carolina; they were saved from the dangers of Cape Fear; and, passing Cape Hatteras, they hastened to the isle of Roanoke, to search for the handful of men whom Grenville had left there as a garrison. They found the tenements deserted and overgrown with weeds; human bones lay scattered on the field; wild deer were reposing in the untenanted houses, and were feeding on the productions which a rank vegetation still forced from the gardens. The fort was in ruins. No vestige of surviving life appeared. The miserable men whom Grenville had left, had been murdered by the Indians.

The fort of Governor Lane, "with sundry decent dwelling-houses," had been built at the northern extremity of the island; it was there that the foundations of the city of Raleigh were laid (July 23rd). The island of Roanoke is now almost uninhabited; commerce has selected securer harbours for its pursuits; the inquisitive stranger may yet discern the ruins of the fort, round which the cottages of the new settlement were erected.

But disasters thickened. A tribe of savages displayed implacable jealousy, and murdered one of the assistants. The mother and the kindred of Manteo welcomed the English to the island of Croatan; and a mutual friendship was continued. But even this alliance was not unclouded. A detachment of the English, discovering a company of the natives whom they esteemed their enemies, fell upon them by night, as the harmless men were sitting fearlessly by their fires; and the havoc was begun, before it was perceived that these were friendly Indians.

The vanities of life were not forgotten in the New World; and Manteo, the faithful Indian chief, "by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh," received Christian baptism, and was invested with the rank of a feudal baron, as the lord of Roanoke. It was the first peerage erected by the English in America, and remained a solitary dignity, till Locke and Shaftesbury suggested the establishment of palatinates in Carolina, and Manteo shared his honours with the admired philosopher of his age. As the time for the departure of the ship for England drew near, the emigrants became gloomy with apprehensions; they were conscious of their dependence on Europe; and they, with one voice, women as well as men, urged the governor to return and use his vigorous intercession for the prompt despatch of reinforcements and supplies. It was in vain that he pleaded a sense of honour, which called upon him to remain and share in person the perils of the colony, which he was appointed to govern. He was forced to yield to the general importunity.

Yet, previous to his departure, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, the wife of one of the assistants, gave birth (August 18th) to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States. The infant was named from the place of its birth. The colony, now composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children, whose names are all preserved, might reasonably hope for the speedy return of the governor, who, as he sailed for England, left with them, as hostages, his daughter and his grandchild, Virginia Dare.

And yet even those ties were insufficient. The colony received no seasonable relief; and the further history of this neglected plantation is involved in

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gloomy uncertainty. The inhabitants of the city of Raleigh, the emigrants from England and the first-born of America, failed, like their predecessors, in establishing an enduring settlement; but, unlike their predecessors, they awaited death in the land of their adoption. If America had no English towns, it soon had English graves.

For when White reached England, he found its whole attention absorbed by the threats of an invasion from Spain; and Grenville, Raleigh, and Lane, not less than Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins, were engaged in planning measures of resistance. Yet Raleigh, whose patriotism did not diminish his generosity, found means to despatch White with supplies in two vessels (April 22nd, 1588). But the company, desiring a gainful voyage rather than a safe one, ran in chase of prizes; till, at last, one of them fell in with men-of-war from Rochelle, and, after a bloody fight, was boarded and rifled. Both ships were compelled to return immediately to England, to the ruin of the colony and the displeasure of its author. The delay was fatal; the independence of the English kingdom, and the security of the Protestant reformation, were in danger; nor could the poor colonists of Roanoke be again remembered, till after the discomfiture of the invincible armada.

Even when complete success against the Spanish fleet had crowned the arms of England, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had already incurred a fruitless expense of forty thousand pounds, found himself unable to continue the attempts at colonising Virginia. Yet he did not despair of ultimate success; and as his fortune did not permit him to renew his exertions, he used the privilege of his patent to form a company of merchants and adventurers, who were endowed by his liberality with large concessions, and who, it was hoped, would replenish Virginia with settlers. Among the men who thus obtained an assignment of the proprietary's rights in Virginia, is found the name of Richard Hakluyt; it is the connecting link between the first efforts of England in North Carolina and the final colonisation of Virginia. The colonists at Roanoke had emigrated with a charter; the new instrument (March 7th, 1589) was not an assignment of Raleigh's patent, but extended a grant, already held under its sanction, by increasing the number to whom the rights of that charter belonged.

Yet the enterprise of the adventurers languished, for it was no longer encouraged by the profuse liberality of Raleigh. More than another year elapsed, before White could return to search for his colony and his daughter; and then the island of Roanoke was a desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan; but the season of the year and the dangers from storms were pleaded as an excuse for an immediate return. Had the emigrants already perished? or had they escaped with their lives to Croatan, and, through the friendship of Manteo, become familiar with the Indians? The conjecture has been hazarded, that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. This was the tradition of the natives at a later day, and was thought to be confirmed by the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and the Indian race seemed to have been blended. Raleigh long cherished the hope of discovering some vestiges of their existence; and though he had abandoned the design of colonising Virginia, he yet sent at his own charge, and, it is said, at five several times, to search for his liege-men.[1] But it was all in vain; imagination received no help in its attempts to trace the fate of the colony of Roanoke./

[[1] In 1602, Raleigh made his fifth effort to afford them help by sending them Captain Mace, a mariner of experience, with instructions to search for them. Mace returned without executing his orders, and Raleigh wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on the 21st of August that he would

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After the founding of Jamestown, according to Strachey,[q] the English were told by the Indians that the Roanoke settlers had finally intermingled with the natives and had been massacred at the command of Powhatan and his priests just about the time when the English reached Jamestown. One chief had saved the lives of four men, two boys, and a girl, and from their intermarriage came the so-called Hatteras Indians found near Roanoke Island early in the eighteenth century, and notable for their grey eyes, and their traditions of white ancestry.[a]

GEORGE BANCROFT'S ESTIMATE OF RALEIGH

The name of Raleigh stands highest among the statesmen of England, who advanced the colonisation of the United States; and his fame belongs to American history. No Englishman of his age possessed so various or so extraordinary qualities. Courage which was never daunted, mild self-possession, and fertility of invention, insured him glory in his profession of arms; and his services in the conquest of Cadiz, or the capture of Fayal, were alone sufficient to establish his fame as a gallant and successful commander. In every danger, his life was distinguished by valour, and his death was ennobled by true magnanimity.

He was not only admirable in active life as a soldier; he was an accomplished scholar. No statesman in retirement ever expressed the charms of tranquil leisure more beautifully than Raleigh; and it was not entirely with the language of grateful friendship, that Spenser described his "sweet verse as sprinkled with nectar," and rivalling the melodies of "the summer's nightingale." When an unjust verdict, contrary to probability and the evidence, "against law and against equity," on a charge which seems to have been a pure invention, left him to languish for years in prison, with the sentence of death suspended over his head, his active genius plunged into the depths of erudition; and he who had been a soldier, a courtier, and a seaman, now became the elaborate author of a learned *History of the World*.

His career as a statesman was honourable to the pupil of Coligny and the contemporary of L'Hopital. In his public policy, he was thoroughly an English patriot; jealous of the honour, the prosperity, and the advancement of his country; the inexorable antagonist of the pretensions of Spain. In parliament, he defended the freedom of domestic industry. When, by the operation of unequal laws, taxation was a burden upon industry rather than wealth, he argued for a change: himself possessed of a lucrative monopoly, he gave his voice for the repeal of all monopolies; and, while he pertinaciously used his influence with his sovereign to mitigate the severity of the judgments against the non-conformists, as a legislator he resisted the sweeping enactment of persecuting laws.

In the career of discovery, his perseverance was never baffled by losses. He joined in the risks of Gilbert's expedition; contributed to the discoveries of Davis in the northwest; and himself personally explored "the insular regions and broken world" of Guiana. The sincerity of his belief in the wealth of the latter country has been unreasonably questioned. If Elizabeth had hoped for a hyperborean Peru in the Arctic seas of America, why might not Raleigh expect to find the city of gold on the banks of the Orinoco? His lavish efforts in colonising the soil of America, his sagacity which enjoined a

send Mace back, and expressed his faith in the colonisation of Virginia in these words: "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." He lived, indeed, to see his prediction verified, but not until he was immured in the Tower of London.—WM. WIRT HENRY.[r]]

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settlement within the Chesapeake Bay, the publications of Hariot,[p] and Hakluyt,[s] which he countenanced, if followed by losses to himself, diffused over England a knowledge of America, as well as an interest in its destinies, and sowed the seeds, of which the fruits were to ripen during his lifetime, though not for him.

Raleigh had suffered from palsy before his last expedition. He returned broken hearted by the defeat of his hopes, by the decay of his health, and by the death of his eldest son. What shall be said of King James, who would open to an aged paralytic no other hope of liberty but through success in the discovery of mines in Guiana? What shall be said of a monarch who could, at that time, under a sentence which was originally unjust, and which had slumbered for fifteen years, order the execution (in 1618) of the decrepit man, whose genius and valour shone brilliantly through the ravages of physical decay, and whose English heart, within a palsied frame, still beat with an undying love for his country?

The judgments of the tribunals of the Old World are often reversed at the bar of public opinion in the New. The family of the chief author of early colonisation in the United States was reduced to beggary by the government of England, and he himself was beheaded. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the state of North Carolina, in 1792, by a solemn act of legislation, revived in its capital the city of Raleigh, and thus expressed its confidence in the integrity, and a grateful respect for the memory, of the extraordinary man, who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual, and whose name is indissolubly connected with the early period of American history.

VOYAGES OF GOSNOLD AND PRING

Some traffic with Virginia may perhaps have been continued. But at the north, the connection of the English merchants was become so intimate, that, in 1593, Sir Walter Raleigh in the house of commons had declared the fishing of Newfoundland to be the stay of the west countries. These voyages, and the previous exertions of Raleigh, had trained men for the career of discovery; and Bartholomew Gosnold, who, perhaps, had already sailed to Virginia, in the usual route, by the Canaries and West Indies, now conceived the idea of a direct voyage to America, and, with the concurrence of Raleigh, had well nigh secured to New England the honour of the first permanent English colony. Steering, in a small bark, directly across the Atlantic, in seven weeks he reached (March 26th, 1602) the continent of America in the bay of Massachusetts, not far to the north of Nahant. He failed to observe a good harbour, and, standing for the south, discovered (May 14th, 1602) the promontory which he called Cape Cod — a name which would not yield to that of the next monarch of England. Here he and four of his men landed; Cape Cod was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, they again landed on a little island, now called No Man's land, and afterwards passed round the promontory of Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff. At length they entered Buzzard's Bay — a stately sound, which they called Gosnold's Hope. The westernmost of the islands was named Elizabeth, from the queen — a name which has been transferred to the whole group. There is on the island a pond, and within it lies a rocky islet; this was the position which the adventurers selected for their residence. Here they built their storehouse and their fort; and here the foundations of the first New England colony were to be laid.

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A traffic with the natives on the main land, soon enabled Gosnold to complete his freight, which consisted chiefly of sassafras root, then greatly esteemed in pharmacy as a sovereign panacea. The little band, which was to have nestled on the Elizabeth Islands, finding their friends about to embark for Europe, despaired of obtaining seasonable supplies of food, and determined not to remain. Fear of an assault from the Indians, who had ceased to be friendly, the want of provisions, and jealousy respecting the distribution of the risks and profits, defeated the design. The whole party soon set sail and bore for England. The return voyage lasted but five weeks; and the expedition was completed in less than four months, during which entire health had prevailed.

Gosnold and his companions spread the most favourable reports of the regions which he had visited. The merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh, and at the instance of Richard Hakluyt, determined to pursue the career of investigation. The *Speedwell*, a small ship of fifty tons and thirty men, and the *Discoverer*, a bark of twenty-six tons and thirteen men, under the command of Martin Pring, set sail for America (April 10th, 1603) a few days after the death of the queen. It was a private undertaking, and therefore not retarded by that event. It reached the American coast among the islands which skirt the harbours of Maine. The mouth of the Penobscot offered good anchorage and fishing. Pring made a discovery of the eastern rivers and harbours — the Saco, the Kennebunk, and the York; and the channel of the Piscataqua was examined for three or four leagues. Finding no sassafras, he steered for the south; doubled Cape Ann; and went on shore in Massachusetts; but, being still unsuccessful, he again pursued a southerly track, and finally anchored in Old Town harbour, on Martha's Vineyard. The whole absence lasted about six months, and was completed without disaster or danger. Pring, a few years later, in 1606, repeated his voyage, and made a more accurate survey of Maine.

Enterprises for discovery were now continuous. Bartholomew Gilbert, returning from the West Indies, made an unavailing search for the colony of Raleigh. It was the last attempt to trace the remains of those unfortunate men. But as the testimony of Pring had confirmed the reports of Gosnold, the career of navigation was vigorously pursued. An expedition, in 1605, promoted by the earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, of Wardour, and commanded by George Weymouth, who, in attempting a northwest passage, had already explored the coast of Labrador, now discovered the Penobscot river. Weymouth left England in March, and, in about six weeks, came in sight of the American continent near Cape Cod. Turning to the north, he approached the coast of Maine, and ascended the western branch of the Penobscot beyond Belfast Bay. Five natives were decoyed on board the ship, and Weymouth, returning to England, gave three of them to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a friend of Raleigh, and governor of Plymouth.

Such were the voyages which led the way to the colonisation of the United States. The daring and skill of these earliest adventurers upon the ocean deserve the highest admiration. The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic were new, and it required great courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers, exceedingly great. The ships at first employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons burthen; Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a deck; and so perilous were the voyages

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deemed, that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, to perform solemn acts of devotion, as if to prepare for eternity. The anticipation of disasters was not visionary; Columbus was shipwrecked twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilised world; Hudson was turned adrift in a small boat by a crew whom suffering had rendered mutinous; Willoughby perished with cold; Roberval, Parmenius, Gilbert — and how many others? — went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation, that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favour of heaven.[f]

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CHAPTER V

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND TO THE RESTORATION

[1606-1660 A.D.]

"Being for most part of such tender educations, and small experience in Martiall accidents because they found not Loyalist Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plentie of gold and silver and dissolute libertie as they expected, they had little or no care of anything but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne to England. For the country was to them a misery, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their actions there according."—CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.[b]

THE accession of James I in 1603 to the English throne and the peace which he negotiated with Spain having put an end to privateering expeditions against the Spanish settlements, the attention of English merchants, navigators, and adventurers was now directed to more peaceful enterprises. Commerce and colonisation took the place of piracy and plunder. Sir Walter Raleigh was in the Tower, attainted of high treason for his attempt to substitute Arabella Stuart instead of James I as Elizabeth's successor. His patent being forfeit by his attainder, James I granted a new charter (April 10th, 1606), by which the American coast, between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth degree of north latitude—from Cape Fear to Passamaquoddy Bay—was set apart to be colonised by two rival companies [or rather, one company in two divisions], one composed chiefly of London adventurers, the other of residents in the west of England, especially at Plymouth and Bristol, at that time the chief seats of the west country trade. Liverpool, as yet, was an inconsiderable village, and the north of England a pastoral country.

The advancement of the divine glory, "by bringing the Indians and savages resident in those parts to human civility and a settled and quiet

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government," was alleged as the principal motive of James's grant. The undertakers, however, looked chiefly to a gainful commerce and profitable returns.

By the provisions of the charter, the London Company, whose settlement was to be distinguished as the First Colony of Virginia, might plant anywhere between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of north latitude, or between Cape Fear and the east end of Long Island. The Plymouth Company, whose settlement was to be called the Second Colony of Virginia, might plant anywhere between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, or between Delaware Bay and Halifax; but neither company was to begin its settlement within a hundred miles of any spot previously occupied by the other. Each colony was to extend along the coast fifty miles either way from the point first occupied, and from the same point inland and seaward, either way, one hundred miles, including all islands within that distance, and embracing ten thousand square miles of continental territory. A council, resident in each colony, to be composed of thirteen members nominated by the king, was to manage local affairs. No settlement was to be allowed inland of either colony without the express consent of its council. A "Council of Virginia," resident in England, its members also appointed by the king, was to exercise a general superintendence over both colonies.

The two companies were authorised to search for mines, paying the king a fifth of all gold and silver, and a fifteenth of all copper. They were empowered to coin money, to invite and carry over adventurers, to repel intruders, to levy duties for their own use during twenty-one years, and to export goods from England free of all imposts for seven years. Lands in the colony were to be held of the king, on the most favourable tenure; the colonists and their children to have all the rights of native-born Englishmen.

A few months after the grant of this charter, James issued "Instructions for the government of Virginia," in which he appointed a council, as provided for in the charter, to be increased or altered at the king's pleasure, and authorised to nominate and superintend the local councils, reduced by these instructions to seven members each, who annually were to choose a president from their own number, with power to suspend him or any councillor for good cause, and to fill vacancies till new appointments came from England; the president to have a double vote. It was made the especial duty of these councils to provide that "the true word and service of God, according to the rites and service of the Church of England, be preached, planted, and used in the colonies and among the neighbouring savages." Tumults, rebellion, conspiracy, mutiny, and sedition, along with five other offenses, all triable by jury, were declared capital. For five years after their first plantation, the trade and industry of the colonists were to remain a common stock, or "two or three stocks at the most," to be managed, in each colony, by a factor selected annually by the local council, and in England by committees appointed for that purpose. A knowledge of these provisions is necessary to make the early history of Virginia intelligible.

THE LONDON COMPANY SETTLES VIRGINIA AT JAMESTOWN (1607 A.D.)

The persons named in the charter of Virginia as founders of the London Company were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and Edwin Maria Wingfield. Others were persuaded, or had previously agreed to take part in the enterprise, especially Sir Thomas Smith, an eminent merchant of London, one of the assignees of Raleigh's patent, who was chosen

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treasurer of the new company. For every sum of £12 10s., about $60, paid into the company's treasury, the contributor was entitled to a hundred acres of land, and as much more when the first lot was cultivated. This was called "the adventure of the purse." Under the head of "personal adventure," whosoever emigrated to Virginia, or carried others thither at his own expense, was to be allowed a hundred acres for each person so transported. It was expected by this allowance not only to encourage the voluntary emigration of persons able to pay their own expenses, but to promote the transportation, at the expense of private individuals, of servants indented or bound for a term of years — a species of emigrants esteemed essential to the industry of the colony, and which we shall find as a distinct class in all the Anglo-American settlements. On all grants of land a quit-rent was reserved.

The company thus organised fitted out three vessels, under the command of Christopher Newport, who had acquired a maritime reputation by former expeditions against the Spaniards. One hundred and five men embarked in these vessels (December 19, 1606), destined to form the first colony of Virginia, but not very well selected for such a purpose. Of this small number forty-eight were "gentlemen," persons brought up to esteem manual labour as degrading. There were but twelve labourers, four carpenters, and a few other mechanics. The rest were soldiers and servants. The leaders were Wingfield, a merchant, one of those named in the charter as projector of the colony; Gosnold, whose voyage, already mentioned, had revived the spirit of colonisation; Hunt, the chaplain; and John Smith [not yet twenty-eight years old], an energetic adventurer,the historian of the enterprise, in which he played a conspicuous part. While a mere boy, impelled by a restless spirit, he had left home, and, finding his way across Europe, had engaged in the Austrian service in the war against the Turks, still regarded, at that time, as the common enemy of Christendom. After many adventures, in which he gave repeated proofs of remarkable courage and resolution, Smith had returned to England, and accidentally forming an acquaintance with Gosnold, entered with characteristic zeal into the scheme for colonising Virginia.

The names of the future councillors to whom the government of the colony was to be intrusted were carried to Virginia a profound secret, carefully sealed up in a tin box, along with King James's instructions. Newport proceeded by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, and during the long passage cabals arose. Wingfield, jealous of Smith's reputation, accused him of a design to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia; and on this extraordinary charge Smith was arrested, and kept in confinement during the remainder of the passage. Several weeks were spent among the Caribbee Islands. Sailing thence in search of the coast of Virginia, a fortunate storm drove the vessels past Roanoke, and after a four months' passage from England they entered Chesapeake Bay April 26th, 1607. The two headlands at the entrance were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles, after the king's two sons. A party of thirty landing on Cape Henry were attacked by five of the natives, and had two of their number wounded. Presently the ships came to anchor at old Point Comfort, at the mouth of a broad river or estuary. The sealed box was now opened and the names of Wingfield, Newport, Gosnold, Smith and three others were found in it, appointed to compose the council.

Nearly three weeks were employed in exploring the country, during which the vessels ascended the great river Powhatan, a principal tributary of the Chesapeake. The new comers were kindly received at several places by the natives, who now saw white men for the first time. A spot was chosen for

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settlement May 13th on the north bank of the river, about fifty miles from the bay—a peninsula which afforded, on the water side, good anchorage, and on the land side might be easily defended, but with a low and marshy situation unfavourable to health. This spot was called Jamestown,[1] and the river soon became known as James, or King's river.[d]

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S OWN ACCOUNT OF THE LANDING AT JAMESTOWN

Kinde Sir, commendations remembred, &c. you shall vnderstand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests wee arriued safely uppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within foure or fiue daies after we set saile for Dominica, the 26. of April: the first land we made, we fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the Bay of Chissiapiacke, which at that present we little expected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward: anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in coming aboard, they were assalted with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: whereupon, Captaine Newport seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but hauing spent their arrowes retyred without harme, and in that place was the box opened, wherein the counsell for Virginia was nominated: and arriuing at the place where wee are now seated, the Counsel was sworn, and the president elected, which for that yeare was Maister Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our scituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our prouision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

The two and twenty day of Aprill, Captain Newport and myselfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons set forward to discouer the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, & in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in places kindely intreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with strawberries, Mulberries, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindely requited their least fauours, with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades, or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs, from place to place, and euer kindely to respect vs.

In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile foure or fiue sauages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs trading with vs for such prouision as wee had, and arriuing at Arsatecke, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindely entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs up the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindely. But to finish this discourie, we passed on further, where within an ile we were intercepted with great craggy stones ye in the midst of the riuer where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the streame, as there is not past fiue or

[[1] As this settlement was in the vast region claimed by Spain under the name of Florida, there was constant danger of incursions like that of Menendez against the French, as described in the last chapter. Indeed Dr. Alexander Brown[e] has recently published the correspondence between the king of Spain and his minister at London, both of them eager to wipe out the Jamestown settlement, but deferring hostilities in the hope that this colony would be abandoned as had so many others.]

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sixe Foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8 or 9 foote: the South side is plaine low ground, and the north side high mountaines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistring spangles.

That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to Arsetecke, and stayed there the next day to obserue the height thereof, & so with many signes of loue we departed.[b]

EARLY JEALOUSIES

Exercising the powers conferred upon them by the royal instructions, the council excluded Smith, and chose Wingfield president. It was proposed to send Smith to England; nor was it without difficulty that he obtained the privilege of being tried in the colony. Meanwhile, with Newport, he explored James river as high up as the falls, where they were hospitably entertained at an Indian village there. On their return, they found the colonists at Jamestown already in a quarrel with the natives; but this difficulty was soon arranged. Smith was tried, and, being honorably acquitted by the jury, who levied heavy damages on Wingfield, his accuser, he was now, by the mediation of Hunt, restored to his seat in the council.

All that part of the present state of Virginia below the falls of the rivers was found by the English in the possession of native tribes of Algonquin speech, united in a confederacy, called by the settlers the Powhatans, plural of the name by which they distinguished the great chief at its head. This chief, "a tall, sour, athletic man, about sixty years old," who dwelt sometimes at Werowocomo, on the north bank of the York river, and sometimes at the falls of the James river, was magnified by the colonists into the "emperor of Virginia."

The Powhatan confederacy embraced more than forty clans or petty tribes, scattered over a great space, living together in little hamlets, few of which had so many as two or three hundred inhabitants. James river, above the falls, was inhabited by the five tribes of the Monicans, generally hostile to the Powhatans, as were the Mannahoacs, a confederacy of eight tribes inhabiting the upper courses of the Rappahannock and the Potomac. These two confederacies appear to have spoken dialects of the Wyandot language. The total population of the three confederacies, including all the Indians west of Chesapeake Bay, as far as the Blue Ridge, did not probably exceed fifteen or twenty thousand. But to the few English they appeared very numerous.

Shortly after Newport's departure for England in June, the colonists began to suffer from disease, aggravated by want of proper food. The water was bad; their provisions, doled out in small allowances from the common store, consisted principally of wheat and barley heated and damaged on the long voyage. To this they added crabs and sturgeons, with which the river abounded. The natives began again to grow unfriendly. Disease was aggravated by melancholy and despair. From May to Septem-

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ber half the colonists died, among others Gosnold, after whose death the council could hardly agree.[d]

Wingfield, the president at that time, has left an account from which we quote; he refers to himself in the third person.[a]

WINGFIELD, THE FIRST PRESIDENT'S ACCOUNT OF EARLY PRIVATIONS

About this tyme, diuers of our men fell sick. We myssed aboue fforty before September did see us; amongst whom was the worthy and religious gent, Captn. Bartholomew Gosnold, upon whose liefs stood a great part of the good succes and fortune of our gouernment and colony. In his sicknes tyme, the President did easily foretel his owne deposing from his command; so much differed the President and the other Councellors in managing the government of the Collonye.

Sicknes had not now left us vj able men in our towne. God's onely mercy did now watch and warde for us: but the President hidd this our weaknes carefully from the salvage; neuer suffring them, in all his tyme to come into our towne. The vj[th] of September, Pasyaheigh sent vs a boy that was run from vs. This was the first assurance of his peace wth vs; besides, wee found then no canyballs.

The Council demanded some larger allowance for themselues, and for some sick, their fauorites; w[ch] the President would not yeeld vnto, wth out their warrants. This matter was before ppounded by Captn. Martyn, but so nakedly as that he neyther knew the quantity of the stoare to be but for xiij weekes and a half, under the Cap Merchaunt's hand. He prayed them further to consider the long tyme before we expected Captn. Newport's retorne; the incertainty of his retorne, if God did not fauor his voyage; the long tyme before our haruest would bee ripe; and the doubtfull peace that wee had wth the Indyans, w[ch] they would keepe no longer than opportunity served to doe vs mischief.

It was then therefore ordered that euery meale of fish or fleshe should excuse the allowance for poridg, both against the sick and hole. The Councell, therefore, sitting againe upon this proposition, instructed in the former reasons and order, did not thinke fit to break the former order by enlarging their allowance, as will appeare by the most voyces reddy to be shewed under their handes. Now was the common store of oyle, vinigar, sack, & aquavite ali spent, saueing twoe gallons of each: the sack reserued for the Communion Table, the rest for such extreamityes as might fall upon us, w[ch] the President had onely made knowne to Captn. Gosnold; of w[ch] course he liked well. The vessells wear, therefore, boonged vpp. When Mr. Gosnold was dead, the President did acquaint the rest of the Counsell wth the said remnant! but, Lord, how they then longed for to supp up that little remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their own bottles and all other that they could smell out.

The President, well seeing to what end their ympacience would grow, desired them earnestly & often tymes to bestow the Presidentshipp amonge themselues; that he would obey, a private man, as well as they could comand But they refused to discharge him of the place; sayeing they mought not doe it, for that hee did his Ma[tie] good service in yt. In this meane tyme, the Indians did daily relieue us wth corne and fleshes, that, in three weekes, the President had reared vpp xx men able to worke; for, as his stoare increased, he mended the comon pott; he had laid vp, besides, prouision for 3 weekes' wheate before hand.[e]

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CAPT. JOHN SMITH'S ADVENTURES

Wingfield was accused of appropriating the best stores to his own private use, and of living in luxury while the others were starving. He attempted to escape from the unfortunate colony in a bark which Newport had left, but was detected, deposed from his office of president, and, along with Kendall, one of his confederates, was expelled the council. That body was now reduced to three members, the vacancies occasioned by the departure of Newport, the death of Gosnold, and the recent expulsions remaining unfilled. Ratcliffe, the new president, was inefficient, and the management of affairs fell chiefly into the hands of Smith. Inspiring his companions with a portion of his own energy, he induced them to build a palisadoed fort as a protection against the Indians, and to erect huts for the winter. As the season approached for gathering the Indian corn, with a few attendants he visited the neighbouring tribes, and by presents and caresses among the friendly, and open force upon the unwilling, obtained a much-needed supply. Plots still continued to be formed by Wingfield, Kendall, and others, for leaving the colony, and an encounter presently took place, in which these plotters were defeated, and Kendall was killed. As winter set in, abundance of game and wild fowl dissipated all apprehensions of famine.

Matters thus in a more favourable train, Smith set out to explore the Chickahominy, a tributary which entered James river a little above Jamestown. No just ideas were yet entertained as to the breadth of the continent, which was still believed to be as narrow at the north as it was known to be in Mexico. The colonists were specially instructed to seek for a passage to the South Sea; and it was thought that possibly the Chickahominy might lead thither. Having ascended as high as he could in his barge, Smith followed up the stream in a canoe, with two colonists and two Indians for companions, and when the canoe would float no longer, he left the two colonists to guard it, and struck inland with a single Indian as a guide.

Set upon unexpectedly by a large party of natives, who had already surprised and killed the two men left to guard his canoe, Smith bound his Indian guide to his arm as a buckler, and made a vigorous defense, killing three of his assailants; but as he retreated backward, he presently sank into a miry swamp, and was taken prisoner. His captors would have killed him, but he amused them with a pocket compass. Carried in a sort of triumph through several villages, he was taken before Powhatan at Werowocomo, about fourteen miles north of the English settlement. An attempt was made to engage his services — at least so Smith understood it — in surprising the colonists at Jamestown. Having failed in this, after much consultation it was resolved to put him to death. He was dragged to the ground and [according to Smith's own story] his head placed upon a stone; Powhatan raised a club to dash out his brains, when Pocahontas, the sachem's favourite daughter, a child ten or twelve years old, rushed through the crowd, clasped in her arms the head of the victim, and, resting her own upon it, averted the fatal blow. His life was saved; many new ceremonies passed between him and the Indians, and after seven weeks' captivity, accompanied by twelve Indian guides, he was sent back to Jamestown in January, 1608.[d] This is Smith's own account of the transaction, in his letter introducing Pocahontas to the queen:

"Some ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquans, the most manliest, come-

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liest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage, and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate pitiful heart, of desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her. I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw, and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of these my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks falling amongst these savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating of her own brains to save mine, and not only that, but so prevailed with her father that I was safely conducted to James Town." [f]

THE TRADITIONAL POCAHONTAS

Romance has nothing stranger than the life of Captain John Smith. He attracted adventures as a magnet gathers iron filings. His own account of his life has overtaxed the credulity of many a person versed in the possibilities of history. And yet side evidences verify some of his most improbable feats, as that of the three Turks he claimed to have beheaded in successive single combats. On the other hand, the Hungarians laugh at his accounts of his life and honours among them as absolutely impossible. But strip from his narration all that the severest critics disallow, and there is left enough incident to furnish forth a dozen ordinary lives. The remarkable accuracy with which Smith made maps and surveys under greatest hardships argues for a mind not wholly averse to exact truth, although the comparison of his earlier writings with his later show that his stories had a tendency to grow. Those were times when adventures were to be had for the asking in all parts of the world, and Smith's adventures are only a little more varied than the sober record of the life of the novelist and playwright Cervantes.

JOHN SMITH
(1579–1631)

Smith's story of Pocahontas has been a chess-board of critical ingenuity and exercise. People who know nothing else of colonial history know the story of how Pocahontas rescued Smith by laying her pretty head upon his as the clubs of the executioners were about to descend. It is among the most fascinating pictures in history or fiction. It was not till 1860 that any historian ever hinted at an inaccuracy in the story. In that year Charles Deane [g] (in a note to a privately printed edition of Wingfield's *Discourse* from which we have already quoted) called attention to a discrepancy in Smith's accounts. He showed how Smith did not mention the Pocahontas rescue in his first account; but many years afterward, when Pocahontas was the sensation of London, and it would add romance to his own career to be associated with her, he developed the story. Deane's theory was more fully exploited in 1867 by Henry Adams [h].

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Here is an example of Smith's improvements; in his first account, the *True Relation* of 1608, he says that when he returned from his captivity, he was tried for losing the lives of the two men who had accompanied him and was to have been put to death the next day, but "in the midst of my miseries it pleased God to send Captain Nuport," who saved his life. In his later account, the *General Historie* of 1624, he says that on his return from captivity he found out the conspirators against him and "he quietly tooke such order with such lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for England."

It is impossible here to go into the arguments pro and con the Pocahontas story. The arguments against its credibility are numerous and attractive, but they are not without flaws. The arguments in support of Smith are even less complete. But, after all, the adventure is one the like of which has frequently happened in Indian history; there is nothing in the least incredible about it, and as to the inconsistencies in its publication, we have but to study published accounts of any event of our own day to see how deeply inconsistencies are imbedded in all human chronicle. Among those who had cordially accepted the Pocahontas story, in the face of the assaults upon it, have been John Fiske[i] and John Esten Cooke.[j] On the opposite side are those mentioned and most of the late historians, especially E. D. Neill.[k] Leaving the controversy, then, as what it must always remain, a matter of controversy and individual opinion, we return to the chronicle. Certain it is that Smith's career has importance and romance enough even after Pocahontas is subtracted from it, and that on his return from captivity, after being ransomed for "two great guns and a grindstone," he found work enough for his hand to do.[a]

JOHN SMITH AS PRESIDENT

Smith found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, wholly discouraged and disheartened, and some of them again planning an escape in the bark. For the third time, mingling threats and entreaties, he induced them to remain, and having procured from the Indians, with whom he was now in great favour, abundance of provisions, he maintained plenty in the colony till Newport arrived, bringing supplies and a hundred and twenty new settlers. But of the two ships of which this expedition consisted one was driven by rough weather to the West Indies, and thus kept back for several weeks.

This new company were much the same sort of people who had composed the first colony, vagabond gentlemen, unaccustomed to labour and disdainful of it, with three or four bankrupt London jewelers, goldsmiths, and refiners, sent out to seek for mines. In a small stream near Jamestown they presently discovered some glittering bits of yellow mica, which they mistook for gold dust. Everything else was now neglected; there was no thought nor conversation but about digging, washing, and refining gold. Newport, whom Smith[l] describes as "empty, idle, timid, and ostentatious," went to Werowocomo to visit Powhatan, and deliver to him some presents he had brought. His ship was thus kept waiting, the crew trenching on the supply of provisions, diminished also by an accidental fire, which destroyed the storehouse and most of the huts. At last Newport's ship set sail for England, laden with fancied wealth. Wingfield and some of his partisans went in her. Martin, one of the councillors, returned to England in the other vessel, to claim the reward promised to the first discoverer of a mine. With much difficulty Smith pre-

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vailed to load that vessel with cedar, which, with a quantity of skins and furs, constituted the first valuable remittance from Virginia. Martin's place in the council was supplied by Scrivener, who had come out in Newport's vessel.

While the colonists rebuilt their huts and tended their corn-fields, Smith employed himself in the exploration of Chesapeake Bay, for which purpose he made two voyages in an open boat of five tons, attended by a surgeon, six gentlemen, and five soldiers. He explored the numerous rivers and inlets, especially on the west side of the bay; entered the Susquehanna, the Patapsco, and the Potomac, all of which he ascended to their first falls; and, after sailing more than three thousand miles, drew the first chart of the Chesapeake, which was transmitted to England, and presently published, with a description of the country. Smith found the Susquehannas, and other Indians at the head of the bay, already in possession of iron hatchets, obtained probably by way of Canada from the French fur traders in the St. Lawrence. These Indians lived in constant terror of the formidable Massawomacs, no doubt the Iroquois or Five Nations. Smith himself met with a party of that dreaded race returning in canoes from a war expedition. After visiting the Mannahoacs at the head of the Rappahannock, and, in the same expedition, the Nansemonds and Chesapeakes, at the south part of the bay, he returned in September to Jamestown with a cargo of corn. The settlers now also gathered the first corn of their own planting.

On his return from his second voyage of exploration Smith became president of the council, an office held for some time previously by Scrivener, to whom the sick and inefficient Ratcliffe had yielded it. Newport arrived soon after with seventy additional people, among whom were two new councillors and two women, the first who visited the colony. There came, also, eight Poles and Germans, sent to teach the art of making pitch, tar, potashes, and glass. The officers of the company wrote by this opportunity in an angry strain. They were much disturbed by a story, started probably by Wingfield and the other returned emigrants, that the starving and discontented colonists, who desired nothing so much as to get away, intended to seize the territory of Virginia, and to divide it among themselves. They expressed great dissatisfaction that their heavy outlays had yet produced no adequate return; and Newport brought special orders to obtain certain intelligence of a passage to the South Sea, to send home a lump of real gold, or to find some of the lost company formerly planted on the island of Roanoke. Unless valuable commodities were remitted sufficient to pay the expense of this voyage, amounting to £2,000, about $10,000, the colonists were threatened to be left to shift for themselves, "as banished men."

Resolved to make the best of such materials as he had, Smith exerted his authority with vigour. The gentlemen, taught to wield the axe, and converted into dexterous woodcutters, were employed in preparing a cargo for the ship. To eat, they must work. The common store from which the colonists were fed was mainly dependent on corn purchased from the Indians with goods sent out by the company. Newport again visited Powhatan, carrying as presents a scarlet cloak and gilded crown. He wished to engage that chief to assist him in exploring the country of the Monicans above the falls of James river, and, notwithstanding Powhatan's refusal, he undertook an expedition for that purpose, from which he returned with some specimens of alleged silver ore, his men starving, sick, and dispirited. Great exertions now became necessary to secure a supply of provisions. Contributions were levied on the neighbouring Indian villages. Smith also visited Powhatan for

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the same purpose, but found him hostile and treacherous. Again he was saved [he claims] by Pocahontas, who came through a storm at midnight to inform him of his danger.

Already Newport's vessel was dispatched with a cargo of wainscot and clapboards, and specimens of tar, pitch, and potashes, prepared by the Germans. Smith wrote, in reply to the complaints of the company, that it were better to send out thirty working men tnan a thousand like the present colonists. Whatever disappointment might be expressed in their letters to Virginia, the London Company put a good face upon matters at home. Means were taken to make the speculation popular, and the number of adventurers was greatly increased. Besides many noblemen, knights, gentlemen, merchants, and wealthy tradesmen, most of the incorporated trades of London were induced to take shares in the stock.

THE SECOND CHARTER OF VIRGINIA (1609 A.D.)

A new charter was also obtained May 23, 1609, by which the enterprise was placed upon quite a new footing. "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the First Colony in Virginia," were made a corporation, its affairs to be managed by a council, of which the first members were named in the patent; but all vacancies were to be filled by the stockholders, who were also empowered to choose the treasurer, the chief executive officer of the company. To this corporation was granted a territory extending two hundred miles north from Old Point Comfort, the same distance south, and west to the Pacific. The local council of the colony, distracted as it had been by cabals and personal jealousies, the universal fate of a divided executive, was superseded by a governor, to be appointed by the company's council in England, and to have the sole superintendence of local affairs. That same council was also empowered to make laws for the colony, conformable, however, "as near as might be," to those of England — a restriction inserted into all subsequent charters, and, independently of any charter, a fundamental limitation on colonial legislation. To guard against the intrusion of "Romish superstitions," the oath of supremacy was to be taken by all persons sailing for the colony. Under this new charter Lord Delawarr was appointed governor, Sir Thomas Gates lieutenant-governor, Sir George Somers admiral, Newport vice-admiral, and Sir Thomas Dale high marshal, all for life.

Lord Delawarr's affairs detained him for some time in England; but a fleet of nine vessels set sail at once, with five hundred colonists on board, including twenty women and children. Gates, Somers, and Newport sailed in this fleet, with authority to administer the government till Lord Delawarr's arrival. Not able to agree about precedence, these three commanders embarked in the same vessel, and, in a violent storm which dispersed the fleet, they were cast ashore on one of the Bermudas. The other ships, except one which was lost, arrived safely in James river. Most of the new comers were of the same sort with those formerly sent out, poor gentlemen, indolent, dissolute, and insubordinate, or else broken tradesmen, "fitter to breed a riot than to found a colony." The old system had been abrogated; but, owing to the non-arrival of the three commissioners, there was no person in the colony authorised to act under the new charter.

The new comers disputed the authority of Smith, who struggled, however, to maintain his power, in which, indeed, he was justified by the express provisions of the new charter, which continued the old government until the

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new one should be formally organised. To rid himself in part of these troublesome guests, he established two new settlements, one at the falls of James river, the other at Nansemond, near the present site of Norfolk. These settlers conducted with great insolence, and soon involved themselves in dispute with the neighbouring Indians. Smith quieted matters for the moment; but the colony soon lost his valuable services. Severely wounded by the accidental explosion of his powder-bag as he was sleeping in his boat, he was obliged in October to return to England, in one of the newly arrived vessels, for surgical aid.[1] He left near five hundred persons in Virginia, well supplied with arms, provisions, and goods for the Indian traffic. Jamestown had a fort, church, store-house, and about sixty dwelling houses, with a stock of hogs, goats, sheep, fowls, and a few horses; but the cultivated land, the produce of which went into the colony store, was limited to thirty or forty acres. The main resource for food was corn purchased or extorted from the Indians, and dealt out from the common store.

THE STARVING TIME; DALE'S ADMINISTRATION

At Smith's departure the colonists gave themselves up to riot and idleness. They wastefully consumed the store of provisions, killed the stock, traded away their arms with the natives, and presently suffered severely from famine. Ratcliffe, with a numerous party, on a trading expedition for corn, was waylaid by the Indians, and cut off with all his company. Many stragglers, wandering about in search of food, suffered the same fate. A company of thirty seized a small vessel belonging to the colony, and sailed away to turn pirates. In the traditions of Virginia, this period was long remembered as "the Starving Time." In six months there were only sixty persons remaining, and those so feeble, dejected, and destitute that, without aid, they could not have survived for ten days longer.

At this critical moment (May 26th, 1610) Newport, Gates, and Somers, with an hundred and fifty men, arrived from Bermuda, in two small vessels built of the cedar of that island and the fragments of their stranded ship. Even shipwreck had not reconciled the jealous commissioners, who had formed two parties, and had built separate vessels. Arriving from such a land of plenty, the new comers were horror-struck at the starving condition of the colony. They had themselves but sixteen days' provisions. It was resolved to abandon Virginia, and to sail for Newfoundland, there to seek food and a passage home from the fishermen. So great was the disgust of the disappointed colonists that on leaving Jamestown they were hardly restrained from setting fire to the buildings.

As they descended the river, June 10, a boat was seen coming up. It was Lord Delawarr, the governor, just arrived from England, with three ships, bringing provisions and colonists. He persuaded the fugitive settlers to return to Jamestown, where he entered ceremoniously upon his office with a speech from himself and a sermon from his chaplain. Somers sailed to the Bermudas for hogs, and died there, leaving his name to the islands. Gates returned to England for supplies. Captain Argall, in a private trading ship, obtained a cargo of corn from the Potomac. Delawarr established a post at Kiquotan, now Hampton, at the entrance of James river. In punishment of injuries inflicted by the Indians during the late distressed state

[[1] So Smith puts it, all other contemporary accounts say he was sent to England, "to answer some misdemeanors." Both reasons were correct it now seems from a MS. at Petworth House in Surrey.]

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of the colony, he attacked and burned several of their villages, but was repulsed when he attempted to renew the settlement at the falls. Taken sick, he presently returned to England (March 28th), leaving Percy as his deputy. The colony now consisted of two hundred men.

Sir Thomas Dale arrived (May 10th) with three ships, some cattle, and three hundred settlers, and, in Delawarr's absence, assumed the government. He proclaimed a code of laws, harsh and strict, by its excessive severity fitter for a camp than a colony, and intended to prevent a repetition of the late disorders. This code, printed at London by the care of Secretary Strachey, remained for eight years the law of Virginia, additional regulations being from time to time added by proclamations of the governor.

Being superseded by Sir Thomas Gates, who came back from England in August with six ships, three hundred and fifty colonists, and a supply of live-stock, Dale proceeded to settle a new plantation up the river, enclosed by a stockade, and called Henrico, after the king's eldest son. Another settlement, called New Bermuda, was established at the junction of the Appomattox with the James. The Indians who dwelt there were driven away, and a stockade from river to river inclosed a considerable extent of ground. To all the indented servants of the company Dale assigned three acres each to cultivate on their private account.

GATES, ARGALL, AND YEARDLEY; THE FIRST ASSEMBLY (1619 A.D.)

The heavy outlay since the new organisation of the company, without any return, gave occasion to loud complaints on the part of the stockholders. They seem very unreasonably to have looked to the colony as an immediate source of mercantile profit. The returned emigrants had brought back many unfavourable reports; and Virginia, late the theme of such romantic hopes, fell into very bad repute. It was sneered at on the stage; even the abandonment of the enterprise was openly talked of. Something must be done to appease these discontents; and a supplementary charter was obtained, under which the control of the company's affairs was taken from the council and given to the body of the stockholders, who were to hold a great and general court once in each quarter for more important business, besides meetings weekly or oftener for smaller matters. The Bermudas were also annexed to Virginia; but these islands soon passed into the hands of a particular association, and were occupied by a separate colony. The supplementary charter also authorised the company to raise money by lotteries, now introduced into England for the first time. About £30,000, near $150,000, were subsequently raised by this means.

Captain Argall, again in Virginia with two ships on private account, in a new expedition to the Potomac to trade for corn, found Pocahontas there, of whom the colonists had seen nothing for two years. With the assistance of the chief of that district, whom he bribed with a brass kettle, he enticed the Indian girl on board his ship, and carried her to Jamestown. Powhatan demanded the release of his daughter, but the colonists refused to give her up except in exchange for some German servants who had deserted to the Indians, and the English tools and arms of which Powhatan's people had possessed themselves, by purchase as they alleged, but, as the English said, by theft. The Indian chief declined these terms, and vowed revenge, but was appeased by a fortunate circumstance. John Rolfe, a young colonist of respectable condition, having won the favour of the Indian maid, was encouraged by the governor to ask her in marriage. Her father willingly

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consented. He did not care, indeed, to trust himself in Jamestown, but he sent two of his principal warriors as his representatives at the marriage ceremony. The young bride was baptised, and by means of this connection a good understanding was established with Powhatan.[1] As yet there were very few white women in the colony; yet Rolfe's example was not followed. Intermarriage was urged by the Indians as the only test of sincere friendship; and such a course, as a native historian of Virginia has remarked, might have prevented the subsequent Indian wars and gradually have absorbed the native inhabitants into the growing body of white colonists. But the idea of such an intermixture was abhorrent to the English, who despised the Indians as savages, and detested them as heathen. They would receive them only as subjects.

Sailing to the eastward on a fishing voyage, in 1613, in company with a number of other English vessels, Captain Argall broke up a little station called St. Saveur, on the island of Mount Desert, not far from Penobscot Bay, which two Jesuit missionaries from Port Royal, dissatisfied with their treatment there, had just established, by assistance of a pious lady of France. Some of the Frenchmen were allowed to seek a passage home in the French fishing vessels; the others were carried to Virginia — among the rest one of the Jesuits, the other having been killed in the attack.

With three vessels and sixty men, piloted by his Jesuit prisoner, Argall soon after visited Port Royal, which he burned; but the dispersed settlers found shelter in the woods. On his homeward voyage the English commander entered the mouth of the Hudson, and compelled the Dutch[2] traders, lately established on the island of Manhattan, to acknowledge the authority of the English. England was at peace both with France and Holland, but the English claimed all that coast as a part of Virginia. This expedition, forerunner of future bloody contests for the possession of North America, had no immediate results. Upon the departure of Argall, the Dutch flag was again hoisted at Manhattan. The French also re-established themselves at Port Royal, where they continued to carry on a prosperous fur trade; and they soon occupied other points of the neighbouring coast.

By the original proposals of the company, all persons coming to Virginia, or transporting others thither, were entitled, for each person so introduced, to a hundred acres of land. This allowance was now limited to fifty acres, at which amount it remained fixed so long as Virginia continued a British colony, subject, like all grants of land in Virginia, to an annual quit-rent, at the rate of two shillings for every hundred acres. The labourers consisted mainly of indented servants, of whom many belonged to the company. The governor had for his support a plantation cultivated by a hundred of these servants; and the salaries of other colonial officers were paid by similar assignments. Besides the grants to actual settlers, the members of the company had received large tracts of land in consideration of their payments into the treasury; and other large grants had been made for meritorious

[[1] Even Pocahontas' marriage has been questioned. E. D. Neill[k] has tried to prove that, since John Rolfe left a widow and children when he died Pocahontas could have been only his mistress, though she is known to have borne him a child. Ralph Hamor,[l] however, who knew Pocahontas well in Virginia, describes the marriage as taking place "about the fift of Aprill," in 1614, and states that Powhatan sent her uncle as sponsor and her two brothers as witnesses. There can be little doubt that the marriage was formal; Pocahontas made a sensation in England as Rolfe's wife. She is believed to have died at Gravesend, March 21st, 1617, as she was sailing for her American home. There is a reference in the records of St. George's church there of the death on that date of "a lady Virginia born." But this is also under dispute.]

[[2] This raid on the Dutch settlements is denied by some historians; by others the scene is laid at the present site of Albany.]

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services, real or pretended. This engrossment of lands very early became a subject of complaint in the colony. Meanwhile, the cultivation of corn had so increased that, from buyers, the colonists became sellers to the Indians. They also had turned their attention to the cultivation of tobacco.[1] The Virginia tobacco, though esteemed far inferior to that of the West Indies, sold, however, for three shillings, nearly three-quarters of a dollar, per pound; and, stimulated by this high price, the colonists entered into its cultivation with such extreme zeal as soon to be in danger of a dearth of provisions.

Dale, who had resumed the government after the departure of Gates, gave it up to George Yeardley in 1616, and, returning to England, took with him Pocahontas, known since her marriage as the Lady Rebecca. Her husband went with her, and several Indian followers; among the rest, a chief sent by her father to count the people of England. Pocahontas attracted admiration by her modest and graceful demeanour, and was greatly caressed, being recommended to the queen's notice in a petition from Captain Smith, in which he recounted her services to the colony, and especially to himself. In those days, in which the genius of a Bacon worshipped at the feet of a James I, royalty even in a savage was thought to have something sacred about it, and Rolfe, we are told, came near being called to account for having presumed, being a mere private person, to marry a princess. To make some provision for him, he was appointed secretary, an office held before by William Strachey. When about to return to Virginia, Pocahontas died, leaving an infant son, who was educated in England, and became afterward a prosperous person in the colony. Through him and his descendants, the Bollands and Randolphs of Virginia have been proud to trace their pedigree from the Indian princess.

The office of deputy governor of Virginia was conferred on Captain Argall. When Argall arrived at Jamestown in May, 1617, to enter upon his office, he found the public buildings fallen to decay, and only five or six houses fit to be inhabited. Argall governed with severity, and, as the colonists alleged, with a single eye to private emolument, assuming for his own use the goods of the company. Delawarr was earnestly entreated to resume the personal exercise of his authority; and with that intent he sailed for Virginia, but died (April, 1618) on the passage off the entrance of the bay already known among the English by his name.

After a warm struggle in the company, Yeardley, the former deputy, was appointed governor (January, 1619), and to give greater dignity to the office, the honour of knighthood was obtained for him. A few days before Yeardley's arrival, Argall escaped to the West Indies with his property. Presently he returned to England, but, through the support of his patrons, evaded all attempts to call him to account.

Another controversy had arisen which aggravated the dispute growing out of the conduct of Argall. Though Sir Thomas Smith had disbursed £80,000, nearly $400,000, of the company's money, with all this expenditure and after twelve years' struggle there were but six hundred colonists in Virginia. Some fault was found with the treasurer's vouchers, and when he

[[1] "1612 was a marked one in the inauguration by John Rolfe of the systematic culture of tobacco—a staple destined to exert a controlling influence in the future welfare and progress of the colony, and soon, by the paramount profit yielded by its culture, to subordinate all other interests, agricultural as well as manufacturing. This influence permeated the entire social fabric of the colony, directed its laws, was an element in all its political and religious disturbances, and became the direct instigation of its curse of African slavery. It may be added, however, as an indisputable fact, that the culture of tobacco constituted the basis of the present unrivalled prosperity of the United States, and that this staple is still one of the most prolific factors in the revenue of the general government."]—R. A. Brock.[m]

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offered to resign the company took him at his word. At this he was very much offended, and a violent quarrel ensued between his friends and opponents. The vacant post of treasurer was conferred (April 28th) on Sir Edwin Sandys, a man of energy and liberal ideas, who entered with zeal on the discharge of his office. The holders of grants of land in Virginia were induced to send out settlers, and to establish plantations at their private expense. The cultivation of tobacco seemed to promise a profitable return; and the vessels engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries were availed of to transport the emigrants at a moderate cost.

Yeardley found in the colony seven distinct plantations, to which he presently added four more, composed of new emigrants. At the head of each plantation was a commandant, at once chief of the militia and civil magistrate. The tyranny of Argall had induced the company to re-establish a local council as a check upon the governor, and Yeardley presently called the first colonial assembly of Virginia [July 30th, 1619], composed of the governor, the council, and deputies from the eleven plantations. These deputies were called burgesses — a name which they continued to retain after the representation was distributed by counties.[d]

Of this assembly, H. C. Lodge says: "The burgesses prayed the company that the clause in the charter guaranteeing equal laws might not be violated, and the maintenance of the great English principle of the equality of all men before the law dignifies the first meeting of the first representative body of America. The session was mainly occupied with the passage of sumptuary laws and police regulations. Appropriate statutes provided for the government of ministers, and a tax on tobacco was laid for their support. The legislation of these men was as unimportant as it could well be in its general character, yet it contained the germ of that jealous resistance to the mother country and all things proceeding thence which indelibly marks American colonial history. Dale's firm government had imparted stability to the infant state, while Argall's galling tyranny had stimulated the latent political life."[n]

During the year that Sandys held office he sent to Virginia twelve hundred emigrants — twice as many as there were inhabitants in the colony when he became treasurer. Among them were ninety young women, "pure and uncorrupt," who were disposed of, for the cost of their passage, as wives to the planters. The price of a wife was a hundred pounds of tobacco, worth then about $75.00. But half as much more was obtained for those of a second cargo sent out a year or two after.

There were other emigrants of a sort less desirable. By the king's special order, a hundred dissolute vagabonds, the sweepings of the prisons, familiarly known among the colonists as "jail-birds," were sent to Virginia to be sold as servants — a practice long continued as a regular item of British criminal jurisprudence, in spite of the repeated complaints of the colonists, and their efforts to prevent it.[d]

BRITISH CONVICTS AS AMERICAN PIONEERS

Americans occasionally speak lightly of their forefathers in the early colonies, but at heart they accept them as men and women sanctified by courage, conscience, and the irrepressible enterprise that sends the ambitious from the comfort of a settled home to the dangers of a new world. It is admitted that many of those who left England left it by request, and "for the country's good," but it is not generally known how large was this element. Bancroft,[o]

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writing of the early Virginians, said "some of them were even convicts; but, it must be remembered, the crimes of which they were convicted were chiefly political. The number transported to Virginia for social crimes was never considerable." But James Davie Butler [p] declares that Bancroft told him personally that he had not dared to publish all he knew of the high percentage of downright criminals and felons among the early settlers. It is known that some of the prisoners taken in Scotch and Irish wars were sent to New England and Virginia and sold, but the largest shipments of these were sent to the West Indies, and the percentage of honourable political prisoners could not have been nearly so large as some of the American historians assume. In fact, there seems to have been a vindictive unwillingness to send rebels to any less dire climate than the fierce tropics.

In 1611 Governor Dale begged the king to send to Virginia "all offenders condemned to die, out of common gaoles." Beginning with 1619, the transportation of felons, unreformed boys and girls who had been twice punished, and others, became regular. They were indentured to the earlier settlers, who paid for them in tobacco, which had been made legal tender by the assembly of 1619. The Virginia prohibitory enactment of 1670, quoted by Hening,[q] alluding to "the great number of felons and other desperate villains sent hither from the several prisons of England," adds, "We are believed to be a place only fit to receive such base and lewd persons." Maryland received, it seems, even a larger quota than Virginia.

New England was not a penal settlement, but desired to purchase transported convicts, and actually offered a bounty for this human merchandise. Irishmen were sold for a century in Boston, and Butler [p] thinks that some of them must have been felons. Maine also had a large criminal element among its early settlers. Philadelphia at first accepted labourers without question as to their previous condition of servitude but in 1722 the Pennsylvania assembly imposed a duty on "all persons guilty of heinous crimes." It is not stated whether this was a tariff for protection or for revenue only; but, at any rate, the king shortly forbade such a tax. New York received large numbers of felons and vagrants both from the Dutch and the English governments.

In 1718 a regular statute in England provided that all persons found guilty of such capital offences as burglary, robbery, perjury, forgery, and theft might at the court's discretion have their sentence commuted to seven years' exile in America. Butler estimates the total number of criminals sent to America between 1717 and 1775 as ten thousand. In 1768 Scotland also began this clearance of her jails. Franklin protested bitterly, and called the emptying of British jails upon the colonies a cruel insult.

But so it went on till the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, when many of the convicts were placed in the ranks of the British invading armies. After the recognition of American independence, when convicts could be shipped thither neither as servants nor as soldiers, it was found necessary in 1787 to form the penal settlement at Botany Bay to receive the refuse of the jails.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was connected with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which regularly published lists of criminals transported to America, once said, with his notorious acerbity that he could love anybody but an American, and in 1769 burst out in denunciation of American presumption in claiming certain rights. "Sir, they are a race of convicts," he said, "and ought to be content with anything we may allow them short of hanging." A more complimentary allusion to the results of transportation was made by Doctor Ferguson in 1844, of whom Dr. Francis Lieber [r] says, "I remarked how curious a fact it

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was that all American women look so genteel and refined, even the lowest; small heads, fine silky hair, delicate and marked eyebrows. The doctor answered, 'Oh, that is easily accounted for. The superabundance of public women, who are always rather good-looking, were sent over to America in early times.'"

Such ridiculous theories have received serious attention and found places in sober histories. A little consideration of the great total, in which the criminal class could not have made even a considerable minority, will serve as a refutation. Admitting the highest estimates as to the number of convicts sent to America — fifty thousand in the course of a century and a half — it is ridiculous to claim that this small percentage to the total could have exerted a determining influence on the character of the country. In the first place, they came as the humblest of servants, under indentures that made them practically slaves for years. Under the hard conditions of a new world and away from the crowded slums, their long period of discipline and healthy toil in pure air must have sobered the misguided into a reformation that made them desirable citizens; the hopeless criminals would merely sink to that lowest ooze which exists in the depths of every society.

Virginia has suffered the most obloquy as the home of the convict, but the early fame of the colony as a place of remarkably delicate social refinement, the early existence of private libraries on the plantations of the seventeenth century, and innumerable other considerations prove that the "first families of Virginia" came neither from the streets nor the jails. During the revolution in England so many cavaliers came to Virginia that the population increased from 15,000 in 1656 to 40,000 in 1670. The convict shipments, much as they may have relieved the mother country of an overplus of vice, unloaded on the New World no more corruption than it could assimilate. In fact it may be said that the imported convicts had far less influence on the social and political life of the main body than the negroes who began at the same time to be unloaded by shipfuls on the colonies and to be treated almost exactly the same as the indentured white servants.[a]

THE FIRST NEGRO SLAVES (1619 A.D.)

It was by the free consent and co-operation of the colonists themselves that this still more objectionable species of population was introduced into Virginia, in August, 1619, not without enduring and disastrous effects upon the social condition of the United States. Twenty negroes, brought to Jamestown by a Dutch trading vessel, and purchased by the colonists, were held, not as indented servants for a term of years, but as slaves for life.

Even so late as the first English migrations to America, there might have remained, in obscure corners of England, some few hereditary serfs attached to the soil, faint remnants of that system of villanage once universal throughout Europe, and later prevalent in Hungary and Russia. But villains in gross — slaves, that is, who had inherited from their parents the condition of servitude, and transferable from hand to hand — had entirely disappeared from England, not by any formal legislative act, but as the joint result of private emancipations and the discouragement long given by the English courts to claims so contrary to natural right. It had come, indeed, to be an established opinion throughout western Europe that Christians could not be held as slaves — an immunity, however, not thought to extend to infidels or heathen. The practice of buying negroes on the coast of Africa, introduced by the Portuguese, had been adopted by the Spanish, English, and Dutch. There was

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little inducement to bring them to Europe, where hired labourers might be abundantly obtained; but in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America, especially after the introduction of the sugar manufacture, the slave traders found a ready market, and the cultivation of tobacco began now to open a like market in Virginia.

In buying and holding negro slaves, the Virginians did not suppose themselves to be violating any law, human or divine. Whatever might be the case with the law of England, the law of Moses, in authorising the enslavement of "strangers," seemed to give to the purchase of negro slaves an express sanction. The number of negroes in the colony, limited as it was to a few cargoes, brought at intervals by Dutch traders, was long too small to make the matter appear of much moment, and more than forty years elapsed before the colonists thought it necessary to strengthen the system of slavery by any express enactments.

After a year's service Sandys was succeeded as treasurer by the earl of Southampton; but the same policy was persevered in, and during the following two years twenty-three hundred emigrants were sent to Virginia. The trade of the colony had hitherto been a close monopoly. A joint stock, called the Magazine, had been annually formed by subscriptions on the part of the company and its members, and goods had been purchased with this joint stock and sent to an agent in the colony, known as the "Cape merchant," who exchanged them for tobacco and other produce. This trade had proved a losing concern, and had occasioned great disputes and dissatisfaction. It was now abandoned, and the supply of the colony thrown open to private enterprise.

New plantations were established on York and James rivers, and, for the convenience of trade with the Indians, one on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and another on the Potomac. John Pory, the founder of these settlements, was the first to cross by land from the Potomac to the Patuxent. He also explored the country south of the Chesapeake, as far as the banks of the Chowan.

An estate of ten thousand acres near the falls of James river, with a number of indented tenants to cultivate it, was assigned by the company toward the endowment of a college for the education of Indians as well as of colonists. The money contributed for the same object by some philanthropic individuals in England was invested by the treasurer in the establishment of iron works, from which great benefits were hoped to the colony, and increase to the fund.

The cultivation of tobacco had given a sudden impulse to Virginia; but the use of it was still quite limited, and the English market was soon overstocked. The price began to fall, and great anxiety was evinced by the enlightened treasurer for the introduction into the colony of other staples — flax, silk, wine, and the preparation of lumber. New attempts were made at the manufacture of glass, pitch, tar, and potashes, and some Italians and Dutch were sent out to instruct the colonists in these operations.

SOUTHAMPTON TREASURER; THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (1621 A.D.)

That leaven which presently produced so remarkable a revolution against monarchical authority was already working in England, and James' third parliament, which met in 1621, after an interval of seven years — the same which impeached Lord Bacon — protested against the Virginia Company's lotteries as an illegal raising of money without parliamentary sanction. The lotteries were stopped in consequence by order in council, and that resource

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came to an end. The colony still remained a losing concern. The disputes between the adherents of Sir Thomas Smith and the present administration grew every day more vehement. The stockholders had become quite numerous, and the affairs of the company gave rise, in the courts of proprietors, to very lively debates. The king wished to dictate the choice of a treasurer more courtly than Southampton, and less an opponent of royal prerogative. The farmers of the customs attempted to levy an excessive duty on tobacco, and the company, to escape it, sent theirs to Holland. An order in council forbade the exportation of colonial produce to foreign countries unless it had first paid duties in England — the first germ of that colonial system afterward sanctioned by parliamentary enactment, and one of the principal features in the subsequent relations of the mother country to the colonies. Other orders in council, more favourable to Virginia, but having in view the same object of augmenting the royal revenue, prohibited the importation of Spanish tobacco, or its cultivation in England.

Southampton and his adherents in the Virginia Company belonged to the rising party in favour of parliamentary and popular rights as opposed to the royal prerogative. With more conformity to their principles than is always displayed in like cases, they induced the company to confirm, by special ordinance, the privilege of a general assembly, already conceded to the colony by Yeardley, probably at their suggestion. This ordinance, sent out by Sir Francis Wyatt, appointed to supersede Yeardley as governor, granted a constitution to Virginia, modeled after that of the mother country, and itself the model, or at least the prototype, of most of the governments of English origin subsequently established in America. For the enactment of local laws, the governor and council appointed by the company were to be joined by delegates chosen by the people, the whole to be known as the general assembly. For many years they sat together as one body, but for the passage of any law the separate assent of the deputies, the council, and the governor was required. Even enactments thus sanctioned might still be set aside by the company. The governor and council acted as a court of law, and held quarterly sessions for that purpose; but an appeal lay to the general assembly, and thence to the company. The laws of England were considered to be in force in the colony, the colonial legislation extending only to local matters.

Simultaneously with this civil constitution an ecclesiastical organisation was introduced. The plantations were divided into parishes, for the endowment of which contributions were collected in England. A glebe of a hundred acres, cultivated by six indented tenants, was allowed by the company to each clergyman, to which was added a salary to be paid by a parish tax. The governor was instructed to uphold public worship according to the forms and discipline of the Church of England, and to avoid "all factious and needless novelties" — a caution, no doubt, against Puritan ideas, at this time much on the increase in England, and not without partisans even in Virginia.

Wyatt, the new governor, was instructed to restrict the planters to a hundred weight of tobacco for each man employed in its cultivation; to turn the attention of the colonists to corn, mulberry trees, vines, and cattle; and to look after the glass and iron works. He was also to cultivate a good understanding with the natives; but this injunction, unfortunately, came too late.

THE INDIAN MASSACRE (1622 A.D.)

Powhatan was dead. His successor was Opechancanough, a bold and cunning chief, always hostile to the English. Blood had several times been

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shed on both sides, especially in the earlier years of the colony, but as yet there had been no formidable or protracted hostilities. The colonists, confident in their firearms, regarded with contempt the bows and clubs of the Indians. The Indian villages, with their cornfields of cleared lands, fertile spots along the banks of the rivers, offered tempting locations to the new comers. Quite unsuspicious of danger from a people whose simplicity they derided, and whose patience they despised, the colonists had neglected their military exercises, and had dropped all precautions for defence. In disregard of the proclamations which forbade teaching the Indians the use of firearms, they were employed as fowlers and huntsmen by the colonists, and freely admitted to the plantations. Provoked by the murder of one of their principal warriors, and taking advantage of this carelessness and familiarity, at an hour appointed beforehand they fell at once upon every settlement (March 22nd, 1622). A converted Indian gave warning the night before, in season to save Jamestown and a few of the neighbouring plantations, otherwise the massacre might have been much more extensive. As it was, three hundred and fifty persons perished in the first surprise, including six councilors. Several settlements, though taken unawares, made a brave resistance, and repulsed the assailants.

A bloody war ensued, of the details of which we know little. Sickness and famine added their horrors, and within a brief period the colonists were reduced from four thousand to twenty-five hundred, concentrated, for convenience of defense, in six settlements. The university estate was abandoned, the glass and iron works were destroyed. But the white men soon recovered their wonted superiority. The Indians, treacherously entrapped, were slain without mercy. Driven from the James and York rivers, their fields and villages were occupied by the colonists. Greatly reduced in number, they were soon disabled from doing much damage, but no settled peace was made till fourteen years had expired.

The breaking out of this war and the threatened ruin of the colony served to aggravate the dissensions of the company, which presently reached a high pitch. The minority appealed to the king, who ordered the records to be seized, and appointed commissioners to investigate the company's affairs. Other commissioners were soon after appointed, to proceed to Virginia, to examine on the spot the condition of the colony, the control of which the king had determined to assume.

About the time of the arrival of these commissioners (March, 1624), the first extant colony statutes were enacted. Thirty-five acts, very concisely expressed, repealed all prior laws, and shed a clear and certain light upon the condition of the colony. The first acts, as in many subsequent codifications of the Virginia statutes, relate to the church. Absence from public worship, "without allowable excuse," exposed to the forfeiture of a pound of tobacco, or fifty pounds if the absence continued for a month. The celebration of divine service was to be in conformity to the canons of the English church. The ministers' salaries were to be paid out of the first gathered and best tobacco and corn; and no man was to dispose of his tobacco before paying his church dues, under pain of paying double. The proclamations formerly set forth against drunkenness and swearing were confirmed as law, and the church wardens were to present all such offenders.

The governor was to lay no taxes of any kind, except by authority of the assembly; and the expenditure, as well as levy of all public money, was to be by order of that body only. The governor was not to withdraw the inhabitants from their private employments for any work of his own, under any

colour; and if, in the intervals of the assembly, men were needed for the public service, the whole council must concur in the levy. The old planters, before Sir Thomas Gates' last coming, "and their posterity," were to be exempt from personal service in the Indian war except as officers — a provision afterward several times re-enacted, with the omission, however, of the hereditary clause The burgesses were privileged from arrest going to, coming from, and during the assembly. For convenience of "the more distant parts," Elizabeth City, at the mouth of James river, and Charles City, at the junction of the Appomattox, monthly courts were to be holden by special commissioners, as an intermediate tribunal between commanders of plantations and the quarterly courts held by the governor and council.

Every dwelling house was to be palisadoed for defence, and none were to go abroad, except in parties and armed, not even to work; and watch was to be kept at night. No powder was to be spent unnecessarily at drinking frolics or other entertainments. At the beginning of July, the inhabitants of every plantation were to fall upon "their adjoining salvages," as they had done the last year. Any persons wounded in this service were to be cured at the public charge, and if permanently lamed were to have a maintenance suitable to their quality. To pay the expenses and debts occasioned by the war, ten pounds of tobacco per head were to be levied on each male colonist.

THE VIRGINIA COMPANY DISSOLVED BY JAMES I (1624 A.D.)

Evident allusion appears in this code to the controversy then pending between the king and the company. No person, upon rumour of supposed change, was to presume to be disobedient to the present government, nor servants to their masters, "at their uttermost peril." The last law of the code levies a tax of four pounds of tobacco per head, to pay the expense of sending an agent to England to look after the interests of the colony and to solicit the exclusion of foreign tobacco. The king's commissioners to examine into the state of the colony seem to have been looked upon with some suspicion; and the clerk of the assembly, for betrayal of his trust in furnishing them with copies of certain papers, was punished with the loss of his ears. The colonists had some reason to fear lest the recall of the company's charter might deprive them of their share in colonial legislation, so recently granted, or might even endanger their titles to land.

The reports of the commissioners were as unfavourable as the king could desire. In vain the stockholders appealed to James' fourth parliament, then in session, little sympathy being felt in that body for monopolies or exclusive corporations of any sort. The action of the company suspended by proclamation, it was soon called upon to answer to a process of *quo warranto* — a legal inquiry, that is, into its conduct and pretensions. The respondents had little to hope from judges who held office at the pleasure of the royal complainant, and the proceedings were soon closed by a judgment of forfeiture. Thus fell the Virginia Company, after spending £150,000, nearly $750,000, in establishing the colony. This did not include the expenditures of private individuals to a large amount, some of whom obtained, perhaps, a return for their money, while the outlay of the company was a dead loss.[d]

Dr. Alexander Brown[c] calls Virginia "the first republic in America," and endeavours to show that Virginia had so large a measure of liberty that she was in fact a republic, but William Wirt Henry controverts this theory as "a remarkable blunder," and comments: "The colonists by their charters were guaranteed the civil rights of Englishmen, but they never in fact enjoyed

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them in full measure during the period of which Doctor Brown writes, and Virginia was not during any part of that time a republic. A republic is a state in which the supreme power is vested in representatives chosen by the people. This was never the condition of the colony of Virginia. During the existence of the Virginia Company of London, that company governed the colony, appointed its officers, and gave it its laws. Even after the allowance of a representative legislative body in Virginia, in 1619, the acts of the body were of no force until approved by the council in England, which still appointed the governor and council in Virginia, parts of the legislative body. The granting of that assembly was a great advance in the development of free institutions in Virginia, it is true, but it did not constitute Virginia a republic. Neither did the incorporation of the London Company, in 1612, with power to govern the Virginia colony without interference from the crown, except in matters touching the state, make the colony a republic. Indeed, the government of the colony by the London Company afterwards, was much more despotic than it had been under the first charter, when the company was controlled by the king; for then the council in Virginia had the privilege of choosing its own president, who was the governor. All this appears of necessity in Doctor Brown's book, for he could not entirely suppress the administrations of Gates, Dale, and Argall, nor the bitter complaints of the colonists as shown even in papers issued by the assembly. We have to look further north for the first republic in America."[s]

The fate of the London company found little sympathy; in the domestic government and franchises of the colony, it produced no immediate change. Sir Francis Wyatt, though he had been an ardent friend of the London Company, was confirmed in office (August 26th, 1624); and he and his council, far from being rendered absolute, were only empowered to govern "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This term of five years was precisely the period of representative government; and the limitation could not but be interpreted as sanctioning the continuance of popular assemblies. James I, in appointing the council in Virginia, refused to nominate the imbittered partisans of the court faction, but formed the administration on the principles of accommodation. The vanity of the monarch claimed the opportunity of establishing for the colony a code of fundamental laws; but death (March 27th, 1625), prevented the royal legislator from attempting the task, which would have furnished his self-complacency so grateful an occupation.

POPULARITY OF YEARDLEY AND THE IMPEACHMENT OF HARVEY (1625-1634 A.D.)

Ascending the throne in his twenty-fifth year Charles I inherited the principles and was governed by the favourite of his father. The plantation, no longer governed by a chartered company, was become a royal province and an object of favour; and, as it enforced conformity to the Church of England, it could not be an object of suspicion to the clergy or the court. The king felt an earnest desire to heal old grievances, to secure the personal rights and property of the colonists, and to promote their prosperity. Franchises were neither conceded nor restricted; for it did not occur to his pride, that, at that time, there could be in an American province any thing like established privileges or vigorous political life; nor was he aware that the seeds of liberty were already germinating on the borders of the Chesapeake. His first Virginian measure was a proclamation on tobacco; confirming to Virginia and the Somers Isles [Bermudas] the exclusive supply of the British market, under

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penalty of the censure of the Star Chamber for disobedience. In a few days, a new proclamation appeared, in which it was his evident design to secure the profits that might before have been engrossed by the corporation.

There is no room to suppose that Charles nourished the design of suppressing the colonial assemblies. For some months, the organisation of the government was not changed; and when Wyatt, on the death of his father, obtained leave to return to Scotland, Sir George Yeardley was appointed his successor. This appointment was in itself a guaranty that, as "the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate," so the representative government, the chief political interest, would be maintained; for it was Yeardley who had had the glory of introducing the system. Representative liberty had become the custom of Virginia. The words were interpreted as favouring the wishes of the colonists; and King Charles, intent only on increasing his revenue, confirmed, perhaps unconsciously, the existence of a popular assembly. The colony prospered; Virginia rose rapidly in public estimation; in one year (1627), a thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for all the products of the soil.

The career of Yeardley was now closed by death, November 14th. Posterity will ever retain a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere. The day after his burial, Francis West was elected his successor; for the council was authorised to elect the governor, "from time to time, as often as the case shall require."

But if any doubts existed of the royal assent to the continuance of colonial assemblies, they were soon removed by a letter of instructions, which the king addressed to the governor and council. After much caviling, in the style of a purchaser who undervalues the wares which he wishes to buy, the monarch arrives at his main purpose, and offers to contract for the whole crop of tobacco; desiring, at the same time, that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal. This is the first recognition, on the part of a Stuart, of a representative assembly in America. Hitherto, the king had, fortunately for the colony, found no time to take order for its government. His zeal for an exclusive contract led him to observe and to sanction the existence of an elective legislature. The assembly, in its answer, March 26th, 1629, firmly protested against the monopoly, and rejected the conditions which they had been summoned to approve. The independent reply of the assembly was signed by the governor, by five members of the council, and by thirty-one burgesses. The Virginians, happier than the people of England, enjoyed a faithful representative government, and, through the resident planters who composed the council, they repeatedly elected their own governor. When West designed to embark for Europe, his place was supplied by election.

No sooner had the news of the death of Yeardley reached England, than the king proceeded to issue a commission to John Harvey. It was during the period which elapsed between the appointment of Harvey and his appearance in America that Lord Baltimore visited Virginia. The zeal of religious bigotry pursued him as a Romanist; and the intolerant jealousy of popery led to memorable results. Nor should we, in this connection, forget the hospitable plans of the southern planters; the people of New Plymouth were invited to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England, and plant themselves in the milder regions on the Delaware Bay; a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia.

It was probably in the autumn of 1629 that Harvey arrived in Virginia. Till October, the name of Pott appears as governor; Harvey met his first assembly of burgesses in the following March. He had for several years been

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a member of the council; and as, at a former day, he had been a willing instrument in the hands of the faction to which Virginia ascribed its earliest griefs, and continued to bear a deep-rooted hostility, his appointment could not but be unpopular. Two successive chief magistrates had been elected in Virginia. The appointment of Harvey implied a change of power among political parties; it gave authority to a man whose connections in England were precisely those which the colony regarded with the utmost aversion. As his first appearance in America, in 1623, had been with no friendly designs, so now he was the support of those who desired large grants of land and unreasonable concessions of separate jurisdictions; and he preferred the interests of himself, his partisans and patrons, to the welfare and quiet of the colony. The extravagant language which exhibited him as a tyrant, without specifying his crimes, was the natural hyperbole of political excitement; and when historians, receiving the account, and interpreting tyranny to mean arbitrary taxation, drew the inference that he convened no assemblies, trifled with the rights of property, and levied taxes according to his caprice, they were betrayed into extravagant errors. Such a procedure would have been impossible. He had no soldiers at his command; no obsequious officers to enforce his will; and the Virginians would never have made themselves the instruments of their own oppression. The party opposed to Harvey was deficient neither in capacity nor in colonial influence; and while arbitrary power was rapidly advancing to triumph in England, the Virginians, during the whole period, enjoyed the benefit of independent colonial legislation; through the agency of their representatives, they levied and appropriated all taxes, secured the free industry of their citizens, guarded the forts with their own soldiers, at their own charge, and gave to the statutes their greatest possible publicity. When the defects and inconveniences of infant legislation were remedied by a revised code, which was published with the approbation of the governor and council, all the privileges which the assembly had ever claimed, were carefully confirmed. Indeed, they seem never to have been questioned.

But the whole colony of Virginia was in a state of excitement and alarm in consequence of the dismemberment of its territory by the cession to Lord Baltimore. In Maryland, the first occupants had refused to submit, and a skirmish had ensued, in which the blood of Europeans was shed for the first time on the waters of the Chesapeake, in 1635; and Clayborne [or Claiborne] defeated and banished from Maryland as a murderer and an outlaw, sheltered himself in Virginia, where he had long been a member of the council. There the contest was renewed; and Harvey, far from attempting to enforce the claims of Virginia against the royal grant, sent Clayborne to England to answer for the crimes with which he was charged. The colonists were indignant that their governor should thus, as it seemed to them, betray their interests; and as the majority of the council favoured their wishes, "Sir John Harvey was thrust out of his government and Captain John West appointed to the office, till the king's pleasure be known." An assembly was summoned in May, to receive complaints against Harvey; but he had in the meantime consented to go to England, and there meet his accusers.

The commissioners appointed by the council to manage the impeachment of Harvey, met with no favour in England, and were not even admitted to a hearing. Harvey immediately reappeared to occupy his former station, and remained in office till 1639. The complaints which have been brought against him, will be regarded with some degree of distrust, when it is considered, that the public mind of the colony, during his administration, was controlled by a party which pursued him with implacable hostility. At length he was super-

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seded, and Sir Francis Wyatt appointed in his stead. Early in the next year, he convened a general assembly.

GOVERNORSHIP OF BERKELEY

After two years, a commission was issued to Sir William Berkeley (August 9th, 1641). Historians, reasoning from the revolutions which took place in England that there had been corresponding attempts at oppression and corresponding resistance in Virginia, have delighted to draw a contrast, not only between Harvey and the new governor, but between the institutions of Virginia under their respective governments; and Berkeley is said by Chalmers[t] to have "restored the system of freedom," and to have "effected an essential revolution." We cannot find that his appointment was marked by the slightest concession of new political privileges, except that the council recovered the right of supplying its own vacancies; and the historians, who make an opposite statement, are wholly ignorant of the intermediate administration of Wyatt.

The instructions given Berkeley, far from granting franchises to the Virginians, imposed new, severe, and unwarrantable restrictions on the liberty of trade; and, for the first time, England claimed that monopoly of colonial commerce which was ultimately enforced by the Navigation Act of Charles II, and which never ceased to be a subject of dispute till the War of Independence.

It was in February, 1642, that Sir William Berkeley, arriving in the colony, assumed the government. His arrival must have been simultaneous with the adjournment of the general assembly, which was held in the preceding January. He found the American planters in possession of a large share of the legislative authority; and he confirmed them in the enjoyment of franchises which a long and uninterrupted succession had rendered familiar. Immediately after his arrival, he convened the colonial legislature. The utmost harmony prevailed; the memory of factions was lost in a general amnesty of ancient griefs.

Believing themselves secure of all their privileges, the triumph of the popular party in England did not alter the condition or the affections of the Virginians. The commissioners appointed by parliament, with unlimited authority over the plantations, found no favour in Virginia.

The condition of contending parties in England had now given to Virginia an opportunity of legislation independent of European control; and the voluntary act of the assembly, restraining religious liberty, adopted from hostility to political innovation, rather than from a spirit of fanaticism, or respect to instructions, proves conclusively the attachment of the representatives of Virginia to the Episcopal church and the cause of royalty. Yet there had been Puritans in the colony almost from the beginning: even the Brownists were freely offered a secure asylum; and several Puritan families, and perhaps some even of the Puritan clergy, emigrated to Virginia. They were so content with their reception that large numbers were preparing to follow, and were restrained only by the forethought of English intolerance. The Pilgrims at Plymouth were invited to remove within the jurisdiction of Virginia, in 1629. Puritan merchants planted themselves on the James river without fear, and immigrants from Massachusetts had established themselves in the colony, in 1640. But now the democratic revolution in England had given an immediate political importance to religious sects: to tolerate Puritanism was to nurse a republican party. It was, therefore, specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity

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to the constitutions of the Church of England, and non-conformists were banished from the colony. The unsocial spirit of political discord, fostering a mutual intolerance, prevented a frequent intercourse between Virginia and New England. It was in vain that the ministers, invited from Boston by the Puritan settlements in Virginia, carried letters from Winthrop, written to Berkeley and his council by order of the general court of Massachusetts. "The hearts of the people were much inflamed with desire after the ordinances"; but the missionaries were silenced by the government, and ordered to leave the country. Sir William Berkeley was "a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of the churches" in New England.

While Virginia thus displayed, though with comparatively little bitterness, the intolerance which for centuries had almost universally prevailed throughout the Christian world, a scene of distress was prepared by the vindictive ferocity of the natives, with whom a state of hostility had been of long continuance. In 1643 it was enacted by the assembly that no terms of peace should be entertained with the Indians; whom it was usual to distress by sudden marches against their settlements. But the Indians had now heard of the dissensions in England,[1] and taking counsel of their passions rather than of their prudence, they resolved on one more attempt at a general massacre; believing that, by midnight incursions, the destruction of the cattle and the fields of corn, they might succeed in famishing the remnant of the colonists whom they should not be able to murder by surprise. On the eighteenth day of April, 1644, the time appointed for the carnage, the unexpected onset was begun upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had the Indians steeped their hands in blood, before they were dismayed by the recollection of their own comparative weakness; and trembling for the consequences of their treachery, they feared to continue their design, and fled to a distance from the colony. The number of victims had been three hundred. Measures were promptly taken by the English for protection and defence: and a war was vigorously conducted.[c]

The Indians were presently driven from their fastnesses. Opechancanough decrepit and incapable of moving without assistance, described by a contemporary writer as "that bloody monster upon a hundred years old," was taken prisoner and carried to Jamestown, where he was shot in the back by a vindictive soldier appointed to guard him. The Indian towns were broken up, and their "clear land possessed by the English to sow wheat in." Opechancanough's successor submitted; and a peace was made by act of assembly, the Indians ceding all the lands between James and York rivers. No Indian was to come south of York river under pain of death. The Powhatan confederacy was dissolved. The Indians of lower Virginia sunk into servile dependence, and dwindled away, or, migrating to the south and west, were mingled and confounded with other tribes.[d]

Of the labours of the Indians on the soil of Virginia, there remains nothing so respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands; the memorials of their former existence are found only in the names of the rivers and the mountains.

Thus the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns; war was levied, and peace concluded, and territory acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Numbers increased; the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants.

[[1] They were encouraged by signs of discord among the English, having seen a fight in James river between a London ship for the parliament and a Bristol ship for the king. — HILDRETH.[d]]

At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England.

SYMPATHY FOR CHARLES I

The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand; and they, who had sustained no griefs, were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided. They were attached to the cause of Charles, not because they loved monarchy, but because they cherished the liberties of which he had left them in the undisturbed possession; and, after his execution, in 1649, though there were not wanting some who, from ignorance, as the royalists affirmed, favoured republicanism, the government recognised his son without dispute. The disasters of the cavaliers in England strengthened the party in the New World. Men of consideration "among the nobility, gentry, and clergy," struck "with horror and despair" at the execution of Charles I, and desiring no reconciliation with the unrelenting "rebels," made their way to the shores of the Chesapeake, where every house was for them a "hostelry," and every planter a friend. The mansion and the purse of Berkeley were open to all; and at the hospitable dwellings that were scattered along the rivers and among the wilds of Virginia, the cavaliers, exiles like their monarch, met in frequent groups to recount their toils, to sigh over defeats, and to nourish loyalty and hope. The faithfulness of the Virginians did not escape the attention of the royal exile; from his retreat in Breda he transmitted to Berkeley a new commission; he still controlled the distribution of officers, and, amidst his defeats in Scotland, still remembered with favour the faithful cavaliers in the western world. Charles II, a fugitive from England, was still the sovereign of Virginia. "Virginia was whole for monarchy," said Hammond,[u] "and the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth."

But the parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. Having by the vigorous energy and fearless enthusiasm of republicanism, triumphed over all its enemies in Europe, it turned its attention to the colonies; and a memorable ordinance, October 3rd, 1650, at once empowered the council of state to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, established it as a law that foreign ships should not trade at any of the ports "in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia." Maryland, which was not expressly included in the ordinance, had taken care to acknowledge the new order of things; and Massachusetts, alike unwilling to encounter the hostility of parliament, and jealous of the rights of independent legislation, by its own enactment prohibited all intercourse with Virginia, till the supremacy of the commonwealth should be established; although the order, when it was found to be injurious to commerce, was promptly repealed, even whilst royalty still triumphed at Jamestown. But would Virginia resist the fleet of the republic?

But while the preparations were yet making for the reduction of the colonies, which still preserved an appearance of loyalty, the commercial policy of England underwent an important revision, and the new system, as it was based upon the permanent interests of English merchants and ship-builders, obtained a consistency and durability which could never have been gained by the feeble selfishness of the Stuarts.

After the long-continued efforts which the enterprise of English merchants and the independent spirit of English planters had perseveringly defied, King Charles, on the appointment of Sir William Berkeley, had devised the

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expedient which was destined to become so celebrated. No vessel, laden with colonial commodities, might sail from the harbours of Virginia for any ports but those of England, that the staple of those commodities might be made in the mother country; and all trade with foreign vessels, except in case of necessity, was forbidden. This system, which the instructions of Berkeley commanded him to introduce, was ultimately successful; for it sacrificed no rights but those of the colonists, while it identified the interests of the English merchant and the English government, and leagued them together for the oppression of those, who, for more than a century, were too feeble to offer effectual resistance.

The Long Parliament was more just; it attempted to secure to English shipping the whole carrying trade of the colonies, but with the free consent of the colonies themselves; offering an equivalent, which the legislatures in America were at liberty to reject. The memorable ordinance of 1650 was a war measure, and extended only to the colonies which had adhered to the Stuarts. All intercourse with them was forbidden, except to those who had a licence from parliament or the council of state. While, therefore, the Navigation Act secured to English ships the entire carrying trade with England, in connection with the ordinance of the preceding year, it conferred a monopoly of colonial commerce.

But this state of commercial law was essentially modified by the manner in which the authority of the English commonwealth was established in the Chesapeake. The republican leaders of Great Britain suffered the fever of party to subside, before decisive measures were adopted; and then two of the three commissioners, whom they appointed, were taken from among the planters themselves. The instructions given them were such as Virginians might carry into effect; for they constituted them the pacificators and benefactors of their country. In case of resistance, the cruelties of war were threatened. If Virginia would but adhere to the commonwealth, she might be the mistress of her own destiny.

VIRGINIA CAPITULATES TO THE COMMONWEALTH (1651 A.D.)

What opposition could be made to the parliament, which, in the moment of its power, voluntarily proposed a virtual independence? No sooner had the Guinea frigate anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake (March, 1652), than, said Lord Clarendon,[v] "all thoughts of resistance were laid aside," and the colonists, having no motive to contend for a monarch whose fortunes seemed irretrievable, were earnest only to assert the freedom of their own institutions. It marks the character of the Virginians that they refused to surrender to force, but yielded by a voluntary deed and a mutual compact. It was agreed, upon the surrender, that the "people of Virginia" should have all the liberties of the freeborn people of England; should entrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand assembly; should remain unquestioned for their past loyalty; and should have "as free trade as the people of England." No taxes, no customs, might be levied, except by their own representatives; no forts erected, no garrisons maintained, but by their own consent. In the settlement of the government, the utmost harmony prevailed between the burgesses and the commissioners: it was the governor and council only who had any apprehensions for their safety, and who scrupulously provided a guaranty for their security of persons and property, which there evidently had existed no design to injure.

These terms, so favourable to liberty, and almost conceding independence,

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were faithfully observed till the restoration. Historians have, indeed, drawn gloomy pictures of the discontent which pervaded the colony, and have represented that discontent as heightened by commercial oppression. The statement is a fiction. The colony of Virginia enjoyed liberties as large as the favoured New England; displayed an equal degree of fondness for popular sovereignty, and fearlessly exercised political independence. There had long existed a republican party; and, now that monarchy had fallen, on whom could the royalists rely so safely as on themselves? The executive officers became elective; and so evident were the designs of all parties to promote an amicable settlement of the government, that Richard Bennett, himself a commissioner of the parliament, and, moreover, a merchant and a roundhead, was, on the recommendation of the other commissioners, unanimously chosen governor. Under the administration of Berkeley, Bennett had been driven from Virginia; and now not the slightest effort at revenge was attempted.

The act which constituted the government claimed for the assembly the privilege of defining the powers which were to belong to the governor and council; and the public good was declared to require "that the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," as to "the representatives of the people." Thus the house of burgesses acted as a convention of the people; exercising supreme authority, and distributing power as the public welfare required.

Nor was this an accidental and transient arrangement. Cromwell never made any appointments for Virginia; not one governor acted under his commission. When Bennett retired from office, the assembly itself elected his successor; and Edward Diggs, who had before been chosen of the council, and who, says Hening,[q] "had given a signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia, and to the commonwealth of England," received the suffrages (March 31st, 1655). The commissioners in the colony were rather engaged in settling the affairs and adjusting the boundaries of Maryland, than in controlling the destinies of Virginia.

The right of electing the governor continued to be claimed by the representatives of the people, and "Samuel Matthews, an old planter, of nearly forty years' standing," who had been "a most deserving commonwealth's man, kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia," was next honoured with the office (1658). But the worthy old gentleman had too exalted ideas of his station. The governor and council, by message, declared the dissolution of the assembly. The legality of the dissolution was denied; and, after an oath of secrecy, every burgess was enjoined not to betray his trust by submission. Matthews yielded, reserving a right of appeal to the protector. When the house unanimously voted the governor's answer unsatisfactory, he expressly revoked the order of dissolution, but still referred the decision of the dispute to Cromwell. The members of the assembly, apprehensive of a limitation of colonial liberty by the reference of a political question to England, determined on a solemn assertion of their independent powers. A committee was appointed, of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was the chief; and a complete declaration of popular sovereignty was solemnly made. The governor and council had ordered the dissolution of the assembly; the burgesses now decreed the former election of governor and council to be void. Having thus exercised, not merely the right of election, but the more extraordinary right of removal, they re-elected Matthews. The governor submitted, and acknowledged the validity of his ejection by taking the new oath, which had just been prescribed. The council was organised anew; and the spirit of popular liberty established all its claims.

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The death of Cromwell in 1658 made no change in the constitution of the colony. The message of the governor duly announced the event to the legislature. It has pleased some English historians to ascribe to Virginia a precipitate attachment to Charles II. On the present occasion, the burgesses deliberated in private, and unanimously resolved that Richard Cromwell should be acknowledged. But it was a more interesting question, whether the change of protector in England would endanger liberty in Virginia. The letter from the council had left the government to be administered according to former usage. The assembly declared itself satisfied with the language. But, that there might be no reason to question the existing usage, the governor was summoned to come to the house; where he appeared in person, deliberately acknowledged the supreme power of electing officers to be, by the present laws, resident in the assembly, and pledged himself to join in addressing the new protector for special confirmation of all existing privileges. The reason for this extraordinary proceeding is assigned "that what was their privilege now might be the privilege of their posterity." The frame of the Virginia government was deemed worthy of being transmitted to remote generations.

On the death of Matthews, March, 1660, the Virginians were without a chief magistrate, just at the time when the resignation of Richard had left England without a government. The burgesses, who were immediately convened, resolving to become the arbiters of the fate of the colony, enacted "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name, until there shall arrive from England a commission, which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful." This being done, Sir William Berkeley was elected governor; and, acknowledging the validity of the acts of the burgesses, whom, it was expressly agreed, he could in no event dissolve, he accepted the office, and recognised, without a scruple, the authority to which he owed his elevation. "I am," said he, "but a servant of the assembly." Virginia did not lay claim to absolute independence, but, awaiting the settlement of affairs in England, hoped for the restoration of the Stuarts.

During the suspension of the royal government in England, Virginia attained unlimited liberty of commerce, which she regulated by independent laws. The ordinance of 1650 was rendered void by the Act of Capitulation; the Navigation Act of Cromwell was not designed for her oppression, and was not enforced within her borders. If an occasional confiscation took place, it was done by the authority of the colonial assembly. The war between England and Holland did not wholly interrupt the intercourse of the Dutch with the English colonies; and if, after the treaty of peace, the trade was considered contraband, the English restrictions were entirely disregarded. A remonstrance, addressed to Cromwell, demanded an unlimited liberty. Proposals of peace and commerce between New Netherlands and Virginia were discussed without scruple by the respective colonial governments; and at last in 1660 a special statute of Virginia extended to every Christian nation, in amity with England, a promise of liberty to trade and equal justice. At the restoration, Virginia enjoyed freedom of commerce with the whole world.

Religious liberty advanced under the influence of independent domestic legislation. No churches had been erected except in the heart of the colony; and there were so few ministers, that a bounty was offered for their importation. Conformity had, in the reign of Charles, been enforced by measures of disfranchisement and exile. By the people under the commonwealth, though they were attached to the church of their fathers, all things respecting parishes and parishioners were referred to their own ordering; and religious liberty

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would have been perfect, but for an act of intolerance (March 1st, 1658) by which all Quakers were banished, and their return regarded as a felony.

Virginia was the first state in the world, composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where the government was organised on the principle of universal suffrage. All freemen, without exception, were entitled to vote. An attempt was once made to limit the right to house-holders, in 1655; but the public voice reproved the restriction; the very next year, it was decided to be "hard, and unagreeable to reason, that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections"; and the electoral franchise was restored to all freemen. Servants, when the time of their bondage was completed, at once became electors, and might be chosen burgesses.

CECIL CALVERT
(LORD BALTIMORE)
(1605–1675)

Thus Virginia established upon her soil the supremacy of the popular branch, the freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, the security from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise. If, in following years, she departed from either of these principles, and yielded a reluctant consent to change, it was from the influence of foreign authority. Virginia had herself, almost unconsciously, established a nearly independent democracy; and already preferred her own sons for places of authority. The country felt itself honoured by those who were "Virginians born"; and emigrants never again desired to live in England. Prosperity advanced with freedom; dreams of new staples and infinite wealth were indulged; while the population of Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, may have been about thirty thousand. Many of the recent emigrants had been royalists in England, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. The revolution had not subdued their characters; but the waters of the Atlantic divided them from the political strifes of Europe; their industry was employed in making the best advantage of their plantations; the interests and liberties of Virginia, the land which they adopted as their country, were dearer to them than the monarchical principles which they had espoused in England; and therefore no bitterness could exist between the firmest partisans of the Stuarts and the friends of republican liberty.[o]

THE COLONISATION OF MARYLAND

The whole territory of Maryland was included under the second charter of Virginia; but the dissolution of the London Company by James I, in 1624, restored to the crown the right to make a fresh grant; and this right was not considered to have been vitiated by the trading colony established on Kent Island, in the heart of the province, by William Clayborne, in 1631. The effective settlement of the province was destined to be made under the auspices

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of the Calvert family. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, had early become interested in American colonisation. His first attempts were made on the inhospitable shores of Newfoundland; and he twice visited his settlement on that island, freely expending his fortune in planting, and risking his life in defending the colony against the attacks of the French, whose participation in the fishery rendered them jealous of the English settlers.

The project was at length abandoned, and Lord Baltimore, turning his attention towards a more fertile soil and a milder climate, visited Virginia, in 1629, with the intention of founding a settlement there. But he was a conscientious Catholic; and his attempts to gain a footing on the soil were resisted by the government tendering to him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy [which he refused]. Observing that the country north of the Potomac was still unappropriated, and learning that the French, the Dutch, and the Swedes were preparing to occupy it, he conceived the design of obtaining possession of this region, and colonising it himself, and easily prevailed with Charles I to bestow on him the investiture he desired.

Having thus obtained a grant of the country, he proceeded to settle it; and while he aimed at rendering his colony the asylum of civil liberty, he, at the same time, conceived the laudable design of raising here a shelter for the persecuted of every Christian denomination. He had hardly completed the construction of his charter, when death, April 15, 1632, terminated his honourable and useful career. His son, Cecil, inherited, with his father's title and fortune, his liberal views with respect to religious liberty, and his determination to plant the colony. In his name was completed and executed the charter, June 20th, 1632, which described the district assigned him as "that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkins' Point of Chesapeake Bay; thence to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north which lies under the fortieth degree, where New England is terminated; thence in a right line by the degree aforesaid, to the meridian of the fountain of Potowmack; thence following its course by the farthest bank, to its confluence." [It thus included all of Delaware and a large portion of Pennsylvania.]

In honour of the queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France, it received from the king its name of *Terra Mariae*, or Maryland; and in honour of her majesty's faith, more ample immunities were conferred on it than were possessed by any other of the colonies. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary,[1] save the allegiance due to the crown. He was empowered, with the consent of the freemen, to make laws for the province, and to execute the laws of assembly. With the agreement of the people, he might impose all just and proper subsidies; and, on the part of the king, it was covenanted that neither his majesty, nor his successors, should impose any taxes upon the colonists, their goods, or commodities. This exemption was to be perpetual with Maryland, while, to the other colonies, it was granted for a term of years only.

Thus was Maryland erected into a palatinate; the proprietary invested with all the royal rights of the palace; while the king exercised towards him the highest prerogatives of a feudal sovereign, holding the palatine and his domain in feudal tenure. For the population of the new colony, license was given to his majesty's subjects, without distinction of sect or party, to trans-

[[1] Maryland was thus the first of the proprietary colonies, though Lord Baltimore did not sail thither he sent his two brothers, Leonard and George Calvert. Of these emigrants McSherry[w] says: "all of them were Catholics and gentlemen of fortune and respectability, who desired, like himself and as had his father, to flee from the spirit of intolerance which pervaded England, and rear their altars of freedom in the wilderness." With the colonists were two Jesuit priests.]

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port themselves thither; and in addition to the immunities already mentioned as being granted to them, they were declared to be liegemen of the king, and entitled to all the liberties of Englishmen born in the realm.

The first body of emigrants, under this charter, consisted of about two hundred English gentlemen, and a large number of inferior adherents, who sailed with Leonard Calvert, the first governor of the province, in November, 1633. Having taken the route by the West Indies, and spent some time in Barbadoes and St. Christopher; they landed probably on the present Blackstone's Island, then moved to the shores of St. Mary's river, about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, on the 27th of March, 1634. Here Calvert erected a cross and took possession of the country, "for our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord, the king of England." Aware that the Virginians had given offence to the Indians, by possessing themselves of their lands, without offering any remuneration for them, or even obtaining their permission to occupy them, the governor wisely determined to procure their friendship, as the first step towards effecting a happy and successful settlement. He therefore submitted to a neighbouring chief his propositions for settling; but received from him an answer of sullen indifference: "I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own discretion." Such was the address and courtesy of the governor, however, that not only was this sullen warrior subsequently won over to the interest of the colony, but he also persuaded the neighbouring tribes to preserve peace with the new comers. They procured, for a moderate price, a considerable tract of country, within the limits of which was the Indian town of Yoacomoco. To this town they gave the name of St. Marys, and here was established the capital of the colony. [Thus the method of William Penn was anticipated by half a century].

A guard-house and a store-house were erected, and corn was planted. A friendly visit was received from Sir John Harvey, the governor of Virginia, who appears not to have participated in the jealous feelings of his people towards the new colony. Several Indian chiefs from the interior came to pay their respects to the governor, and were sumptuously entertained on board a ship which lay at anchor in the river, the king of Patuxent being seated, at table, between the governor of Virginia and the governor of Maryland.

The store-house being finished, and it becoming necessary to unload the ship, and bring the stores for the colony on shore, the governer, to impress the natives with respect, ordered it to be done with some solemnity. The colours were brought on shore, and the colonists were all paraded under arms. Volleys of musketry were fired, which were answered by discharges of cannon on board the ship. The kings or *werowances* of Patuxent and Yoacomoco being present at this exhibition, the former took occasion to advise the Indians of Yoacomoco to keep the league which they had made with the English. He remained in town several days afterwards; and it is said that when he took his leave, he made this remarkable speech to the governor: "I love the English so well that if they should go about to kill me I would command the people not to revenge my death; for I know they would not do such a thing, except it were through my own fault." During the remainder of the year, while the English and the Indians lived together, in St. Marys, each community occupying half of the town, according to a stipulation made between them, the utmost harmony prevailed.

The natives testified their friendly disposition by going every day into the woods with their new neighbours, pointing out the best resorts of game, joining them in the chase, and bringing home venison and wild turkeys in abundance; well satisfied with a cheap requital in knives, tools, and toys. They also

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supplied them with fish in plenty, and their women instructed the wives of the colonists in making bread of maize. As a certain mark of the entire confidence of the Indians, their women and children became, in some measure, domesticated in the English families.

The settlement was now making rapid progress. Fifty acres of land was assigned to every colonist, and their number being augmented by new emigrations, aided by the judicious administration of Baltimore, a dreary wilderness was soon converted into a flourishing colony. The fact that Maryland had been granted to the proprietor in opposition to the wishes of the Virginia Company, which claimed a priority of right, was a considerable evil to the colony, as it tended greatly to aid Clayborne in his designs against its prosperity. About a year prior to the date of Lord Baltimore's charter, that individual had obtained from the king license to trade in such parts of America as were not comprehended in any prior patent of exclusive trade. His object being to monopolise the trade of the Chesapeake, he founded a settlement on Kent Island; and being thus in the very centre of Maryland, he claimed jurisdiction over the whole colony: and although in every legal proceeding he was defeated, yet he persisted in asserting his claims, and continued to harass the province [with a small boat built "to cruise against the colonists," and captured after a small naval engagement in April, 1635] until banished from its limits by an act of assembly.

'Till this emergency, the colony had subsisted without enacting or realising its civil institutions; but the same emergency that now called forth the powers of government, tended also to develop its organisations. Accordingly, in February, 1635, was convened the first provincial assembly, consisting of the whole body of freemen. Various regulations were adopted for the preservation of good order, among which was a law for the punishment of murders and other felonies, providing that the perpetrators of such crimes should be transported to England, there to be tried by the law of the land. This was intended to pave the way for the judicial proceedings contemplated against Clayborne, who, being soon after indicted for murder, piracy, and sedition, escaped from justice; and, in consequence, his estate was confiscated. His petitions to the king proved unavailing; for, though he possessed considerable influence at court, yet the lords commissioners of the colony pronounced a final sentence against him: and his hopes of victory were exchanged for schemes of revenge.

The second assembly [a pure democracy] was convened in 1637, to consider the code of laws proposed by the proprietary; which, contrary to all expectation, they hesitated not a moment to reject, substituting in its place a collection of regulations highly creditable to their good sense; and such as evinced the state of the province at this period. The province was divided into baronies and manors,[1] the privileges of which were clearly defined. Bills were framed for securing the liberties of the people and the titles to landed property, and for regulating the course of intestate succession. A bill was passed for the support of the proprietary, and an act of attainder against Clayborne. The population had, by this time, so greatly increased that on the meeting of the third assembly, in 1639, a representative form of government was established, although it was provided that persons who did not vote for burgesses could take their seats as members of the assembly.

Slavery appears to have been established in Maryland from its earliest colonisation; for an act of assembly describes "the people" to consist of all

[[1] "It was only in this regard that the design of transplanting the institutions of expiring feudalism to the New World was carried out."—WM. T. BRANTLY.[x]]

Christian inhabitants, "slaves only excepted."[1] The discontent with which the Virginians regarded the establishment of the new colony, was augmented by the contrast between the liberty and happiness enjoyed by the Marylanders, and the tyranny to which they themselves were exposed from the government of Harvey; so that, when their own liberties were restored, they regarded with aversion the revival of the patent, being sensible that their interest would be impaired by an event that should re-annex Maryland to their territory. The mutual animosities therefore ceased, and the new settlers henceforth received but little annoyance from this source. But troubles threatened from another quarter. Clayborne having infected the minds of the Indians with a jealous suspicion, which the rapid increase of the strangers augmented, an Indian war broke out, in 1642, and for several years afflicted the colony, without being brought to a decisive issue. Peace having been at length restored, the assembly enacted laws for the prevention of the more obvious causes of animosity; providing that no lands should be obtained from the Indians without the consent of the proprietary; that it should be a capital offence to sell or kidnap any friendly Indians, and a high misdemeanour to supply them with ardent spirits, ammunition, or firearms: by the observance of these laws a peace was established, which lasted without interruption for several years.

But scarcely was peace with this enemy concluded when Clayborne, the prime mover of all their troubles, was again at work; and by his constant adherence to the predominant party in England — whether royal or popular — together with the influence he possessed over his old associates in Kent Island, he succeeded in raising a rebellion in Maryland, in 1645. [It is known as Clayborne and Ingle's Rebellion from Richard Ingle who had received letters of marque from the parliament, and now arrived with a warship from London]. Calvert, unprepared for this emergency, fled into Virginia, whereupon the government was immediately appropriated by the insurgents, who held sway until August of the next year, when the revolt was suppressed. By the assembly of 1649, an Act of Oblivion was passed which extended to all except a few of the prominent offenders; and by the same assembly an act of religious toleration was established. *y*

The "Act of Toleration" did, indeed, but carry out a policy coeval with the settlement of the colony, and lately confirmed by the oath imposed upon the governor. The first four sections of this celebrated act exhibit, however, but little of a tolerant spirit. Death, with forfeiture of land and goods, is denounced against all "who shall blaspheme God, that is, curse him, or shall deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said three persons of the Trinity, or the unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches against the Holy Trinity." Strange as it may seem, this penalty of death remained for two hundred years, still darkening the statute book of Maryland! Fine, whipping, and banishment for the third offense are denounced against all "who shall utter any reproachful words or speeches concerning the blessed virgin Mary, or the holy apostles or evangelists." Fine, and, in defect of goods, whipping, and a public apology are to be the

[[1] Up to the time of the Civil War the condition of the slave was the same in Maryland as in the other southern states. The first slaves imported into Maryland came from Bermuda (1634). The importation of the slave was encouraged, but there was too large an influx of the negro, and in 1695 a per capita tax was imposed on all slaves brought into the province. By the Treaty of Utrecht "Spain guaranteed to England the monopoly of supplying negro slaves from the Spanish-American provinces." Prior to the Revolution the negro population of Maryland was 20 per cent. that of the white. As far back as 1789 there was a strong anti-slavery sentiment in Maryland.—JAMES MCSHERRY.*w*]

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punishment for calling any person within the colony, in a reproachful manner, "heretic, schismatic, idolater, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independent, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or other name or term, in a reproachful manner, relating to matters of religion." Similar penalties are imposed for profaning "the Sabbath or Lord's day, called Sunday," by "any uncivil or disorderly recreation," or by work. After this incongruous preface, the fifth section sets out "that the enforcing the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised," and therefore enacts that, "for the more quiet and peaceable government of the province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity," no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be molested or discountenanced on account of his religion, nor interrupted in the free exercise of it; breaches of this section to be punished by fine and imprisonment.

Policy, it is evident, had a much greater share in the enactment of this act than any enlightened view of the rights of opinion, of which, indeed, it evinces but a very limited and confused idea. Now that the Puritans were triumphant in England, an exclusively Catholic colony would not have been tolerated for a moment. The sole chance of securing to the Catholics the quiet enjoyment of their faith consisted in bestowing a like liberty on the Protestants — a policy, indeed, upon which Baltimore had found it necessary to act from the very first planting of the colony.[d]

McSherry notes also a limitation on the principle of toleration with regard to the Jews: "Although Maryland was the original home of religious liberty in America, yet until the year 1826 no Jew was allowed to hold any office, civil or military, under the state government. The history of the agitation for the enfranchisement of the Jews is an interesting record of the struggle for a right which to-day is so manifest that it is difficult to appreciate the grounds for its denial at the time. In fact, the basis of such denial was prejudice. Finally, at the end of the session of 1824, a bill to alter the constitution so as to afford relief to persons from political disqualification on account of their religious opinions again passed the assembly. The bill was ratified by the assembly of 1825, and by it the Jews attained the status of free men in Maryland."[w]

None the less the very idea of toleration was so rare that the attitude in Maryland, even if incomplete, has won the highest praise of historians, among whom Bancroft is especially enthusiastic.[a]

GEORGE BANCROFT ON THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES OF MARYLAND

George Calvert the first Lord Baltimore deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilisation by recognising the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of papists was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.

Before the patent could be finally adjusted and pass the great seal, Sir George Calvert died, in 1632, leaving a name against which the breath of calumny has hardly whispered a reproach. The people of Maryland were not

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content with vindicating the limits of their province; they were jealous of their liberties. The charter had secured to them the right of advising and approving in legislation. Did Lord Baltimore alone possess the right of originating laws? The people of Maryland rejected the code which the proprietary, as if holding the exclusive privilege of proposing statutes, had prepared for their government; and, asserting their equal rights of legislation, they, in turn, enacted a body of laws, which they proposed for the assent of the proprietary — so uniformly active in America was the spirit of popular liberty. How discreetly it was exercised cannot now be known; for the laws, which were then enacted, were never ratified, and are therefore not to be found in the provincial records.

In the early history of the United States nothing is more remarkable than the uniform attachment of each colony to its franchises; and popular assemblies burst everywhere into life with a consciousness of their importance, and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation. The first assembly of Maryland had vindicated the jurisdiction of the colony; the second had asserted its claims to original legislation; the third examined its obligations, and, though not all its acts were carried through the forms essential to their validity, it yet displayed the spirit of the people and the times by framing a declaration of rights. Acknowledging the duty of allegiance to the English monarch, and securing to Lord Baltimore his prerogatives, it likewise confirmed to the inhabitants of Maryland all the liberties which an Englishman can enjoy at home; established a system of representative government; and asserted for the general assemblies in the province all such powers as may be exercised by the commons of England. Indeed, throughout the whole colonial legislation of Maryland, the body representing the people, in its support of the interests and civil liberties of the province, was never guilty of timidity or treachery.

It is strange that religious bigotry could ever stain the statute-book of a colony founded on the basis of the freedom of conscience. An apprehension of some remote danger of persecution seems even then to have hovered over the minds of the Roman Catholics; and, at the session of 1639, they secured to their church its rights and liberties. Those rights and those liberties, it is plain from the charter, could be no more than the tranquil exercise of the Roman worship. The constitution had not yet attained a fixed form; thus far it had been a species of democracy under a hereditary patriarch. The act constituting the assembly marks the transition to a representative government. At this session any freeman, who had taken no part in the election, might attend in person; henceforward, the governor might summon his friends by special writ; while the people were to choose as many delegates as "the freemen should think good." As yet there was no jealousy of power, no strife for place. While these laws prepared a frame of government for future generations, we are reminded of the feebleness and poverty of the state, where the whole people were obliged to contribute to "the setting up of a watermill."

Maryland, at that day, was unsurpassed for happiness and liberty. Conscience was without restraint; a mild and liberal proprietary conceded every measure which the welfare of the colony required; domestic union, a happy concert between all the branches of government, an increasing immigration, a productive commerce, a fertile soil, richly favoured with rivers and deep bays, united to perfect the scene of colonial felicity and contentment. Ever intent on advancing the interests of his colony, Lord Baltimore, in 1642, had invited the Puritans of Massachusetts to emigrate to Maryland, offering them lands and privileges, and "free liberty of religion"; but Gibbons, to whom he had forwarded a commission, was "so wholly tutored in the New England disci-

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pline" that he would not advance the wishes of the Irish peer; and the people who subsequently refused Jamaica and Ireland were not now tempted to desert the bay of Massachusetts for the Chesapeake.

The controversy between the king and the parliament advanced; the overthrow of the monarchy seemed about to confer unlimited power in England upon the imbittered enemies of the Romish church; and, as if with a foresight of impending danger, and an earnest desire to stay its approach, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, with the earnest concurrence of their governor and of the proprietary, determined to place upon their statue-book an act for the religious freedom which had ever been sacred on their soil. "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion" — such was the sublime tenor of a part of the statute — "hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." The clause for liberty in Maryland extended only to Christians and was introduced by the proviso, that "whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death." Nowhere in the United States is religious opinion now deemed a proper subject for penal enactments.

The design of the law of Maryland was undoubtedly to protect freedom of conscience; and, some years after it had been confirmed, Langford the apologist of Lord Baltimore, could assert that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion; that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world. The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.

An equal union prevailed between all branches of the government in explaining and confirming the civil liberties of the colony. In 1642 Robert Vaughan, in the name of the rest of the burgesses, had desired that the house might be separated, and thus a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649 this change had taken place; and it was confirmed by a statute. A perpetual act declared that no tax should be levied upon the freemen of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly. "The strength of the proprietary" was confidently reposed "in the affections of his people." Well might the freemen of Maryland place upon their records a declaration of their gratitude, "as a memorial to all posterities," and a pledge that succeeding generations would faithfully "remember" the care and industry of Lord Baltimore in advancing "the peace and happiness of the colony."

MARYLAND UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The revolutions in England could not but affect the destinies of the colonies; and while New England and Virginia vigorously advanced their liberties under the salutary neglect, Maryland was involved in the miseries of a disputed government. The government, which had been a government of benevolence, good order, and toleration, was, by the force of circumstances, soon abandoned to the misrule of bigotry and the anarchy of a disputed sovereignty. When

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the throne and the peerage had been subverted in England, it might be questioned whether the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore should be permitted to continue. When hereditary power had ceased in the mother country, might it properly exist in the colony? It seemed uncertain, if the proprietary could maintain his position; and the scrupulous Puritans hesitated to take an unqualified oath of fealty, with which they might be unable to comply. Englishmen were no longer lieges of a sovereign, but members of a commonwealth; and, but for the claims of Baltimore, Maryland would equally enjoy the benefits of republican liberty. Great as was the temptation to assert independence, it would not have prevailed could the peace of the province have been maintained. But who, it might well be asked, was the sovereign of Maryland? Her "beauty and extraordinary goodness" had been to her a fatal dowry; and Maryland was claimed by four separate aspirants. Virginia was ever ready to revive its rights to jurisdiction beyond the Potomac, and Clayborne had already excited attention by his persevering opposition; Charles II, incensed against Lord Baltimore for his adhesion to the rebels[1] and his toleration of schismatics, had issued a commission to Sir William Davenant; Stone was the active deputy of Lord Baltimore; and parliament had already appointed its commissioners.

In the ordinance for the reduction of the rebellious colonies, Maryland had not been included; if Charles II had been inconsiderately proclaimed by a temporary officer, the offence had been expiated; and, as assurances had been given of the fidelity of Stone to the commonwealth, no measures against his authority were designed. Yet the commissioners were instructed, September, 1651, to reduce "all the plantations within the bay of the Chesapeake"; and it must be allowed that Clayborne might find in the ambiguous phrase, intended, perhaps, to include only the settlements of Virginia, a sufficient warrant to stretch his authority to Maryland. The commissioners accordingly entered the province; and, after much altercation with Stone, depriving him of his commission from Lord Baltimore, and changing the officers of the province, they at last established a compromise, June, 1652. Stone, with three of his council, was permitted to retain the executive power till further instructions should arrive from England.

The dissolution of the Long Parliament, April, 1653, threatened a change in the political condition of Maryland; for, it was argued, the only authority under which Bennett and Clayborne had acted had expired with the body from which it was derived. In consequence, Stone, Hatton and his friends reinstated the rights of Lord Baltimore in their integrity; displacing all officers of the contrary party, they introduced the old council, and declared the condition of the colony, as settled by Bennett and Clayborne, to have been a state of rebellion. A railing proclamation to that effect was published to the Puritans in their church meeting.

The measures were rash and ill advised. No sooner did Clayborne and his colleague learn of the new revolution, than they hastened to Maryland, in

[[1] When Leonard Calvert died, June 9th, 1647, he had named on his deathbed, a Catholic named Thomas Greene, as his successor. Greene issued an amnesty to all rebels except Ingle. The assembly of January, 1648, is notable for the first demand for woman's rights. Miss Margaret Brent, administratrix for the late Governor Calvert and thereby attorney for Lord Baltimore, asked for a vote in the assembly as attorney for the proprietary, and for another vote for herself. The assembly refused her demand but later defended her administration when Lord Baltimore called it into question. Baltimore tried to conciliate both Puritans and Catholics and in August, 1648, supplanted Greene by William Stone, a Protestant, a Virginian and an adherent of parliament; new councillors were appointed from Protestant ranks but required to take an oath not to molest the Catholics.]

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July, 1654; where it was immediately obvious that they could be met by no effectual resistance. Unable to persuade Stone, "in a peaceable and loving way," to abandon the claims of Lord Baltimore, they yet compelled him to surrender his commission and the government into their hands. This being done, Clayborne and Bennett appointed a board of ten commissioners, to whom the administration of Maryland was entrusted.

Intolerance followed upon this arrangement; for parties had necessarily become identified with religious sects; and Maryland itself was the prize contended for. The Puritans, ever the friends of popular liberty, hostile to monarchy, and equally so to a hereditary proprietary, contended earnestly for every civil liberty; but had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government, by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration, to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the colony. A new assembly, convened at Patuxent, in October, acknowledged the authority of Cromwell; but it also exasperated the whole Roman party by their wanton disfranchisement. An act concerning religion confirmed the freedom of conscience, provided the liberty were not extended to "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness" of opinion. Yet Cromwell, a friend to religious toleration, and willing that the different sects, "like the cedar, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree, should be planted in the wilderness together," never approved the ungrateful decree. He commanded the commissioners "not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government."

When the proprietary heard of these proceedings, he felt indignant at the want of firmness which his lieutenant had displayed. The pretended assembly was esteemed "illegal, mutinous and usurped"; and Lord Baltimore and his officers determined, under the powers which the charter conferred, to vindicate his supremacy. In the latter end of January, 1655, on the arrival of a friendly ship, it was immediately noised abroad that his patent had been confirmed by the protector; and orders began again to be issued for the entire restoration of his authority. Papists and others were commissioned by Stone to raise men-in-arms; and the leaders of this new revolution were able to surprise and get possession of the provincial records. They marched, also, from Patuxent towards Anne Arundel, the chief seat of the republicans, who insisted on naming it Providence. The inhabitants of Providence and their partisans gathered together with the zeal that belongs to the popular party and with the courage in which Puritans were never deficient. Vain were proclamations, promises, and threats. The party of Stone was attacked and utterly discomfited; he himself, with others, was taken, and would have been put to death but for the respect and affection borne him by some among the insurgents whom he had formerly welcomed to Maryland. He was kept a prisoner during most of the administration of Cromwell; while four of the principal men of the province sentenced to death by a council of war, were presently executed.

A friend to Lord Baltimore, then in the province, begged of the protector no other boon than that he would "condescend to settle the country by declaring his determinate will." And yet the same causes which led Cromwell to neglect the internal concerns of Virginia compelled him to pay but little attention to the disturbances in Maryland. On the one hand, he respected the rights of property of Lord Baltimore; on the other, he protected his own political partisans, corresponded with his commissioners, and expressed no displeasure at their exercise of power. The right to the jurisdiction of Maryland remained, therefore, a disputed question. Fuller, Preston, and the others, appointed by Clayborne, actually possessed authority; while Lord Baltimore,

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with the apparent sanction of the protector, July 10th, 1656, commissioned Josias Fendall to appear as his lieutenant.

For a season there was a divided rule; Fendall was acknowledged by the Catholic party in the city of St. Marys; and the commissioners were sustained by the Puritans of St. Leonards. At length, the conditions of a compromise were settled; and the government of the whole province was surrendered to the agent of the proprietary, March 24, 1658. Permission to retain arms; an indemnity for arrears; relief from the oath of fealty; and a confirmation of the acts and orders of the recent Puritan assemblies — these were the terms of the surrender, and prove the influence of the Puritans.

Fendall was a weak and impetuous man; but we cannot find any evidence that his administration was stained by injustice. Most of the statutes enacted during his government were thought worthy of being perpetuated. The death of Cromwell left the condition of England uncertain, and might well diffuse a gloom through the counties of Maryland. For ten years the unhappy province had been distracted by dissensions, of which the root had consisted in the claims that Baltimore had always asserted, and had never been able to establish. What should now be done? England was in a less settled condition than ever. Would the son of Cromwell permanently hold the place of his father? Would Charles II be restored? Did new revolutions await the colony? new strifes with Virginia, the protector, the proprietary, the king?

Wearied with long convulsions, a general assembly saw no security but in asserting the power of the people, and constituting the government on the expression of their will. Accordingly, March 12th, 1660, just one day before that memorable session of Virginia, when the people of the Ancient Dominion adopted a similar system of independent legislation, the representatives of Maryland, convened in the house of Robert Slye, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province. The burgesses of Virginia had assumed to themselves the election of the council; the burgesses of Maryland refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an upper house. In Virginia, Berkeley yielded to the public will; in Maryland, Fendall permitted the power of the people to be proclaimed. The representatives of Maryland, having thus successfully settled the government, and hoping for tranquillity after years of storms, passed an act, making it felony to disturb the order which they had established. No authority would henceforward be recognised, except the assembly and the king of England. The light of peace promised to dawn upon the province. Thus was Maryland, like Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, in full possession of liberty, based upon the practical assertion of the sovereignty of the people. Like Virginia, it had so nearly completed its institutions that, till the epoch of its final separation from England, it hardly made any further advances towards freedom and independence. Men love liberty, even if it be turbulent; and the colony had increased, and flourished, and grown rich, in spite of domestic dissensions. Its population, in 1660, is variously estimated by Fuller[z] at eight thousand, and by Chalmers[t] at twelve thousand.[o]

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CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND

[1607-1635 A.D.]

That group of liberal English statesmen who were charged with keeping "a school of sedition" in the courts of the Virginia Company founded the two centres of liberal institutions in America. The earl of Southampton, the Ferrars, Sir John Danvers, and above all and more than all, Sir Edwin Sandys, were the fathers of representative government in New England by the charter of February 2nd, 1620, as they had been of representative government in Virginia by the charter of November 13th, 1618. When the Pilgrims found themselves, upon landing, too far north to use their "large patent" from the Virginia Company, they organised a government on the lines laid down in the general order of the company. The government established by them in their famous compact was precisely the provisional government which the Virginia Company in the preceding February had given them liberty to found "till a form of government be here settled for them."—EDWARD EGGLESTON. [b]

EARLY FAILURES IN COLONISATION: THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY

WE have seen in previous chapters the earlier views of New England by European eyes, from the Norse who may have described it in their sagas of Vinland, down to Gosnold who on May 15th, 1602, found a "mighty headland" which he named after its principal neighbours "Cape Cod," a name which, says Cotton Mather,[c] "I suppose it will never lose till shoals of codfish be seen swimming upon the tops of its highest hills." Here they landed and the first soil touched upon in Massachusetts by an Englishman became also the spot where the Mayflower landed the first permanent English colony in the state.

Pring's voyage followed the next year, but effected nothing permanent; nor did that of Weymouth in 1605. We have seen the formation of the two

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companies (or as Thwaites[d] insists, the single company in two divisions) known as the London or South Virginia company, and the Plymouth or North Virginia company. They were given an identical charter by King James I in 1606 to colonise that vast and shapeless land claimed by England under the style and title of Virginia.[a]

The Northern District was allotted to Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham, and their associates, knights, gentlemen, and merchants, of Exeter, Plymouth, and other towns of the west of England, with similar privileges, and a like grant of territorial sovereignty and domain. The First Company, by far the most opulent, was permitted to begin its plantation at any place below the forty-first degree of North latitude; and the Second Company, which was much the poorer of the two, anywhere above the thirty-eighth degree: and the intermediate space was left open to both, though to prevent interference it was stipulated that the colony last planted should not begin a settlement within one hundred miles of that first planted.

The government of these colonies was vested (1) in a council of thirteen, resident in England, approved by and removable at the pleasure of the king, who were to have paramount jurisdiction according to laws given under his sign-manual; and (2) in two subordinate councils, each of thirteen members, resident in America, and nominated by the king, who were to rule and manage the internal affairs of each colony agreeably to his instructions. The charter conceded to all the colonists the rights of citizens of the realm, and the privilege of holding their lands by the freest and least burdensome tenure; all things necessary for their subsistence and commerce were to be free of duty for seven years; and all duties levied on foreign commodities for twenty-one years were to constitute a fund for their particular benefit. Authority was also given to coin money, and expel intruders as occasion required.

We have given at length an abstract of this charter, because of its bearings upon the history of New England. That it was liberal for the age may possibly be true; yet its provisions were the product of but a limited experience, and the instrument itself contained exceptionable features, for by it, as Chalmers[e] says, "the most ancient colonists were placed under the regimen of a three-fold jurisdiction; they were subject equally to the personal power of their sovereign, to the distant regulations of a commercial company, and to the immediate government of a president and council, without tasting the pleasures of suffrage, or enjoying the importance of self-legislation."

Under all the circumstances, however, the charter was as good as could have been reasonably expected. The enterprise was a new one. England had but just entered upon her career of deducing colonies abroad. The few abortive efforts of the past had done little to enlighten her judgment. And it needed that she should be taught by the results of her future movements the defectiveness of her policy, and wherein it needed amendment for her own good, and the good of her several dependencies. These lessons were slowly learned; all favours were grudgingly conceded; and the conflict of interests was at last so intolerable that not only were the colonists compelled to overstep the boundaries of their charters, but the monarch was compelled to wink at such irregularities, or run the risk of alienating his subjects and destroying the settlements.

Eight months from the issue of this patent and one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the continent by Cabot, *i.e.*, on December 19th, 1606, a small squadron of three ships — the largest not exceeding one hundred tons burden — was sent by the London Company, under Captain Newport, a distinguished naval officer, with one hundred and five colonists, including

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the members of a colonial council, to the coast of South Virginia; and in the following spring, after many obstacles encountered, and amidst jealousies and dissensions, a settlement was effected, as we have seen, upon the peninsula of Jamestown, of which but the ruins at present remain.

Nearly at the same time a similar enterprise was projected by the Plymouth Company, under more discouraging circumstances, owing to its poverty, and on May 31st, 1607, two ships — the *Gift of God* and the *Mary and John* — with a few over a hundred landsmen, were despatched under Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, and George Popham, the brother of the chief justice; but the result was the unfortunate colony at Sagadahoc.[1] The fate of this attempt, with the doleful reports of the inhospitableness of the climate circulated by the emigrants to cover their cowardice checked for a season the ardour of the company; though Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Sir Francis Popham, the son of the chief justice —the former of whom was never dismayed — continued sending vessels to the coast, and spent large sums in efforts at colonisation.

Meanwhile, under the auspices of the Dutch, discoveries were made by Henry Hudson, Hendrick Christiaensen, Adrian Block, and others, at the charge of prominent merchants of Amsterdam, who derived great profits from the furs brought home by the vessels in their employ. Explorations were vigorously prosecuted around "Manhattan" by Block, in the *Restless;* and the discovery of the island which bears his name, and the three famous rivers, the Housatonic, the Thames, and the Connecticut, with Long Island and Rhode Island are said to have been the fruits of his energetic enterprise. Even the shores of Massachusetts as far as Nahant were visited by this navigator, and names were given to places discovered by Gosnold and others. It should be noticed that the territory embraced in the Dutch charter of 1614 was claimed by England, and was included in the patent to the Virginia Company; the settlements of the Dutch were ever regarded as intrusions; the controversies growing out of these claims disturbed for a long time the peace of the colonies; nor were they permanently adjusted until after the reduction of New Netherlands in 1664.

JOHN SMITH'S EXPLORATIONS (1614 A.D.)

A new era in the annals of New England begins with the voyages of Captain John Smith, president of the colonial council of South Virginia. Furnished, principally at the charge of four private gentlemen, with an outfit of two vessels and a company of forty-nine men and boys, he sailed from London March 3rd, 1614, and in a few weeks arrived at Monhegan, where he immediately entered upon the chief business of his voyage: "to take whales, and make trials of a mine of gold and copper." But "whale fishing" proved a "costly conclusion"; the "gold mine" was a chimera of the brain of "the master"; and fish and furs became the last resort. "Of dry fish," says Smith, "we made about forty-thousand, of codfish about seven thousand";[2] whilst the sailors fished, Captain Smith and a few others ranged the coast in an open boat, in the most attractive season of the year, making noted discoveries, and purchasing, "for trifles, near eleven hundred beaver skins,[3] one

[[1] This was at the mouth of the Kennebec river, which Weymouth had explored in 1605, not far from Pemaquid peninsula. Popham built a fort and a "town" at Sabino, but both were abandoned after his death.]

[2] In his *Pathway* he says 60,000; but in his *Generall Historie* and his *Description of New England* he says 40,000.

[3] It is 11,000 in the *Generall Historie*, and 1,100 in the other works.

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hundred martens, and near as many otters" — valued in all at £1,500. "With these furs, the train, and codfish," he returned to England, and within six months "arrived safe back" — the other ship remaining for a season to "fit herself for Spain with the dry fish."

In this remarkable voyage the coast was explored "from Penobscot to Cape Cod," within which bounds, he says, "I have seen at least forty several habitations upon the sea coast, and sounded about twenty-five excellent good harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for five hundred sails of ships of any burden, in some of them for five thousand;[1] and more than two hundred[2] isles overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of woods." Of the coast of Massachusetts he says: "Who can but approve this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the four parts of the world that I have yet seen, not inhabited, could I but have means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than anywhere. And if it did not maintain itself, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve." Indeed, the Massachusetts country, to him, was "the paradise of all those parts."

But though Smith acted honourably as principal of this expedition, his companion Hunt, whom he left behind, vilely copied the example of Weymouth, and enticing to his vessel upwards of twenty of the natives under pretence of trade, he confined them in the hold, and sailed for Malaga, where part of them, at least, were sold as slaves. "This barbarous act," says Mather,[c] "was the unhappy occasion of the loss of many a man's estate and life, which the barbarians did from thence seek to destroy; and the English, in consequence of this treachery, were constrained for a time to suspend their trade, and abandon their project of a settlement in New England."

The prosperous pecuniary issue of the first voyage of Smith awakened in his mind an earnest desire to visit again the delightful regions which his pen has described; and imparting his views to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a man of kindred enthusiasm, and to Doctor Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, he was, after some delay, furnished with two ships, with which he set out on his second voyage (March, 1615); but, as if an inexorable fate relentlessly pursued the persevering Gorges, the largest ship was disabled ere Smith had sailed two hundred leagues, and he was forced to return. The smaller vessel, commanded by Captain Thomas Dermer, after a successful voyage of five months, returned in safety. The dauntless Smith, gathering fresh courage from the consciousness of difficulties, renewed his attempt (June 24th, 1615); but misfortune followed misfortune, until it seemed as if everything was arrayed to defeat his plans. He was first attacked by brutal pirates; then taken prisoner by four French men-of-war, stripped of everything, and detained three months, when he succeeded in escaping "far beyond all men's reason or his expectation."

Forced by these reverses, and by the discouragement of his employers, to relinquish for a time his plans of colonisation, the restless spirit of this resolute man could not be content to remain inactive; and publishing to the world his *Description of New England* in 1616, he traversed the kingdom to awaken an interest in establishing permanent settlements in these parts. But the only result of his earnest labours was a promise that "twenty saile of ships" should be furnished him the next year; and "in regard of my paines, charge, and former losses, the westerne commissioners in behalf of themselues and the rest of the company, and them hereafter that should be ioyned to them,

[1] It is 5,000 in the *Description of New England*, but 1,000 in his other works.

[2] It is 200 in the *Generall Historie* and the *Description of New England*, and 300 in the *Pathway*.

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contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be admirall of that country during my life, and in the renewing of their letters-patent so to be nominated."[1]

DERMER'S VOYAGE (1619 A.D.)

Contemporary events, however, unlooked for by the Plymouth Council, were preparing New England for successful colonisation. First of all a war broke out among the aborigines, which resulted in the destruction of thousands of the Indians, with the Great Bashaba at their head; and to war succeeded pestilence which completed the work of depopulation. This singular disease, says Gorges,[i] "the greatest that ever the memory of father to son took notice of," spread far and wide, and was exceedingly fatal. It raged, at intervals, for more than two years, and extended, in its wasting effects, from the borders of the Tarratines southward to the Narragansetts. The people "died in heaps, insomuch that the living were in no wise able to bury the dead"; the wigwams were filled with putrefying corpses; "young men and children, the very seeds of increase," and whole families and tribes perished; and even seven years after the bones of the unburied lay bleaching upon the ground at and around their former habitations.

The nature of this epidemic has never been determined. It has been called the "small pox," and the "yellow fever." But whatever was its character, all were not equally affected by its ravages, for the Penobscots and the Narragansetts suffered but little. Nor does it seem to have troubled the few English residents of the country.

Learning that Captain Dermer, the companion of Smith in the voyage of 1615, was then at Newfoundland, through the persuasion of Gorges Captain Edward Rocroft was sent to those parts in 1618 in a vessel of two hundred tons, with orders to join Dermer in exploring the coasts of New England. His men conspired to rob and slay him; but putting the mutineers ashore at "Sawaguatock," he sailed to Virginia, where he had lived some years before, and in another quarrel he was killed, and his bark was sunk during a storm. Dermer, learning his fate by a ship from Virginia, sent his own vessel to England, laden with fish and furs, and embarked in an open pinnace of five tons (May 26th, 1619), taking with him Tisquantum or Squanto — the subsequent friend and interpreter of the Pilgrims — and "searching every harbour, and compassing every cape-land," he arrived at length in the neighbourhood of what is now Plymouth. Returning to the northward the ensuing spring for the prosecution of his discoveries, in the vicinity of Cape Cod he was beset by the natives, and received a large number of wounds of which he subsequently died. This journey of 1619, as preceding by a year the settlement of Plymouth, and as taken in the territory so often alluded to by the Pilgrims is exceedingly interesting. It was an important addition to the knowledge of the country, and prepared the way, by its friendly termination, for the hospitable reception of the Plymouth colonists by the generous Massasoit and his brother Quadequina, whom all will recognise as the two savage kings alluded to in the narrative.

THE GREAT PATENT FOR NEW ENGLAND

Eighteen years had now elapsed since the discovery of Massachusetts by the enterprising Gosnold, and as yet no colony was planted upon its territory.

[1] Prince[g] and Holmes[h] quote Purchas[i] as authority for a voyage undertaken by Smith in 1617; but we find no notice of such a voyage in Smith's own writings.

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The settlements to the north were more successful, and in Canada and Newfoundland colonies were established, and children had been born. To the south, also, the Dutch had thrown up slight bulwarks at New Netherlands, and were conducting a lucrative trade in furs. But the indefatigable Gorges was not easily baffled. Application was made to the king for a charter. His majesty, who was at this time highly offended with the members of the London Council for their bold defiance of his arbitrary will, readily sanctioned their request for a patent. But two years elapsed before it could be obtained.

November 3rd, 1620, the Great Patent for New England passed the seals. In this memorable document, the principal foundation of all subsequent grants of territory in New England, his majesty conveyed to forty of his subjects — among whom were the most powerful and wealthy of his nobility — all that part of America extending from the 40th to the 48th degree of North latitude, and between these parallels from the Atlantic to the Pacific: a body of land embracing the Acadia of the French, and the New Netherlands of the Dutch, and covering nearly the whole of the present inhabited British possessions in North America, all New England, the state of New York, half of New Jersey, nearly all of Pennsylvania, and the vast country to the west — comprising, and at the time believed to comprise, more than a million of square miles, and capable of sustaining more than two hundred million of inhabitants.[1]

The company established by this grant was to be known as "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." Absolute property in the soil, unlimited jurisdiction, the regulation of trade, sole powers of legislation, the administration of justice, and the appointment of all officers were among the privileges conceded by his majesty. Subordinate patents, vesting property in the soil, could be granted by this council, but it could not confer powers of government without the authority and consent of the king.[2] In other respects its powers were complete. The lands and islands, the rivers and harbours, the mines and fisheries were all under its control. None, without leave, could buy a skin, catch a fish, or build a hut. It was a commercial monopoly, exclusive and despotic — a corporation potent for evil or for good.

At the very moment this charter was granted, as if to prove that without its aid more could be accomplished than under its sanction, a solitary bark — the forlorn *Mayflower*—was wending its way wearily across the Atlantic, bearing in its bosom a resolute band of one hundred men, women, and children, who were to become the founders of a wide-spread republic, and to plant the seeds of a thriving nation, whose destiny, yet unfolding, futurity alone can fully reveal.

THE PURITANS AND THE SEPARATISTS IN ENGLAND

To appreciate the circumstances which led to the settlement of Plymouth in 1620, and to the establishment of the Massachusetts colony a few years

[1] Douglass[k] says this patent "was designedly extended much north and south, to include and keep up the English claims to New Netherlands in possession of the Dutch, to the southward, and to L'Acadie, since called Nova Scotia, then in possession of the French, to the northward."

[2] This fact is worthy of notice, and should ever be borne in mind in investigating the history of New England. We are aware it has been asserted that the council could confer by grant powers similar to its own; but this was denied by the crown lawyers, and must therefore be considered as doubtful.

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later, it is necessary to be acquainted with the history of religion during the preceding hundred years. [This can be found traced in its various phases in the earlier volumes, especially in our history of England, where the rise of Puritanism and its protest against ritualism have been described in much detail.]

It must not be forgotten, however, in defining the position of Puritanism in the reign of Elizabeth, that the controversies which convulsed the kingdom were not wholly confined to the tippet and the surplice, the square cap and the liturgy. The Puritans were the harbingers of a political as well as of a moral revolution. Doubtless the ultimate tendency of their views was to republicanism rather than to monarchy. They would yield, in religion, nothing arbitrarily to the temporal sovereign. It was their motto that, in church matters God's word was the guide. And though they cannot be properly accused of open disloyalty, it must at the same time be acknowledged that their loyalty did not extend so far as to approbate the doctrine of passive obedience. And because the church and the state were considered one and inseparable, and the unity of the former was deemed the safety of the latter, non-conformity was persecuted on the plea of necessity.

This is the true secret of the opposition of the English church to Puritanism and independency. This church had virtually assumed its own infallibility. It had driven down the stakes which were never more to be removed. It had interwoven the hierarchy with the whole temporal constitution of the realm. And the test of loyalty was undeviating conformity to the canons of the church, and implicit obedience to the mandates of the crown. The church was yet in its infancy, surrounded by subtle foes. The state was trembling upon the verge of revolution. And the instinct of self-preservation prompted persecution of all who refused to put forth their hands to aid in supporting the ark of the Lord and the supremacy of the crown.

If this, however, was the policy of the government of England, it was the natural result of such a policy to beget, on the part of the Puritans, an attachment equally strong to the peculiarities of their religious system; and upon their removal to America, the same principle of self-defense prompted the caution which was used in laying the foundations of their infant commonwealth, to guard it with jealous watchfulness against the aggressions and encroachments of Episcopacy, which they had learned to mistrust, and to build up a community exclusively of their own faith, as in England nonconformity was neither tolerated nor allowed. Puritanism, notwithstanding its errors and its early excesses, contained the seminal principles of true religious toleration; and as experience enlightened the judgment of the professors of that faith, and as circumstances sanctioned the adoption of a more liberal policy, measures were promptly taken to initiate so desirable a reform, and the world is now reaping the fruits of Puritan iconoclasm and asceticism.

The Puritans, though as a body they made no strenuous objections to the lawfulness of ecclesiastical government, when they found that persecution continued to oppose them, that reform was hopeless, and that rule or ruin was the motto of the day, sent forth a party of stern, intrepid, and uncompromising spirits, who, unawed, but baited into an almost savage stubbornness and hostility, refused longer to commune with a church many of whose ceremonies were reprobated, and whose government had become odious, intolerant, and oppressive.

A few separate congregations were formed so early as 1567; in 1570 Cartwright entered the field; and in 1572 the "first born of all presbyteries" was established at Wandsworth in Surrey. But it was not until nine years after

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that opposition to Episcopacy and its concomitants reached its culminating point. In 1581 a new sect made its appearance, at first called Brownists, from Robert Brown, its earliest advocate, who had been a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, inveighing against the ceremonies and discipline of the Establishment, and asserting the highly democratic and peculiarly unpalatable doctrine of the independency and complete jurisdiction of every church in its own affairs. From his subsequent apostasy, his followers very properly refused to be called by his name, and were known as separatists, or independents.[1] But questionable as was his sincerity, and inconstant as were his professions, so congenial were the doctrines he taught to the views of the people that he easily succeeded in gathering a large congregation and after its dispersion and his own defection, the seed which had been scattered so rapidly grew that Sir Walter Raleigh, in a speech in parliament, computed the number of separatists or Brownists at twenty thousand.

There were now at least four classes or parties in religion in England: the Catholics, who adhered to the church of Rome; the members of the English church; the Puritans; and the separatists or independents. Of the third class were the founders of the Massachusetts colony, and to the fourth belonged the settlers at Plymouth. The former — the Puritans — were simply nonconformists. Connected with the national church, they questioned chiefly the propriety of some of her observances. They submitted to her authority so far as they could, and acknowledged her as their "mother" in all matters of doctrinal concern. Their clergy were educated at her colleges, and ordained by her bishops; the laity were connected with her by many of the dearest ties; and up to the date of their removal to America, they made no open secession from her communion, and had liberty been allowed them, they would probably have continued in the land of their nativity, and in the bosom of the Establishment.

The Plymouth colonists were not of the national church. Years before their expatriation they had renounced her communion, and formed churches of their own. Between them, however, and the Massachusetts colonists, the differences which existed were in matters of policy rather than in articles of faith; and on arriving in the New World, apart from the influences of their native land, and under circumstances of a far different character, a few years' intercourse assimilated their views and cemented their union. Such was the origin of Puritanism and independency; and though, in the history of both these sects, as well as of the English and the Romish churches, we shall find much intolerance displayed, the result of this contest for greater individualism in religious affairs has been, to induce watchfulness of all encroachments upon the rights of conscience; and happy changes have followed in all Protestant communities where these rights are respected and secured.

THE PILGRIMS AND THE CHURCH AT SCROOBY

We must now pass to the history of the church of the Pilgrims. So early as 1592, a church was gathered at London, of which Francis Johnson was chosen pastor, and John Greenwood became the teacher; but this church being broken up by the authorities, and its teacher imprisoned, the pastor, with a portion of his flock, escaped to Holland, and settled at Amsterdam

[1] It was long the fashion to stigmatise, by way of reproach, as Brownists, all the early settlers of New England; but the injustice of this proceeding will be evident to every candid mind.

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where for many years they continued to abide. A few years later another church was gathered, "to the north of the Trent," in a rural district "near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire." This was the church of the Pilgrims, which, though first established at Gainsborough, was afterwards formed into two bodies, and the junior ordinarily met for public worship at the house of William Brewster, well known as the elder of the church at Plymouth. This eminent man, so famous in the annals of the Plymouth colony, is supposed to have been born in Suffolk, England [in 1566 or 1567]. He became a student at Cambridge, and afterwards an attaché to William Davison, esquire, a polished courtier of the reign of Elizabeth, her secretary of state, and her ambassador to Holland, whither Mr. Brewster accompanied him. Withdrawing from public life when his employer was displaced, Mr. Brewster received an appointment before April, 1594, as postmaster at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, and there resided until his removal to Holland, faithfully discharging the duties of his office, and devoting himself zealously to the interests of the church with which he was connected.

The location of this church, and the history of its patron, had been involved in more or less obscurity until 1852, when through the successful researches of the reverend Joseph Hunter,[l] fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and an assistant keeper of her majesty's records, many new facts were brought to light. It may now be considered as satisfactorily proved, that the church of the Pilgrims was first gathered at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Scrooby, in that part of Nottingham known as the Hundred of Bassetlaw, a mile and a half south of the market town of Bawtry, on the borders of York, and only a short distance from the verge of Lincolnshire.

Scrooby, at present, is an obscure agricultural village [of about two hundred population], with few objects of interest beside its church; but anciently it was a place of much more note, and was surrounded by religious houses even before the reformation. Situated near the highroad from York to London, it was, on that account, a convenient resting place for the archbishops of York in their journeys to the metropolis; it was for many weeks the abode of Cardinal Wolsey in his disgrace; and it was the rendezvous of the earl of Shrewsbury and his contingent, when he joined the army of the king assembled to oppose "the pilgrimage of grace."

Governor Bradford[m] has left us the names of two ministers, formerly Puritans, who seceded from the national church, and resided at or near Scrooby: John Smith and Richard Clifton. Smith was the pastor of the church at Gainsborough, which is supposed to have been gathered before that at Scrooby; but lacking the spirit of gentleness which the gospel commends, he seems to have been in favour with few of his contemporaries.

The most noted of the seceding ministers, however, whose name is connected with the history of the Pilgrims, was John Robinson, who, even by Baillie[n] — no friend to his views — is called "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit" that ever separated from the Church of England. Of the parentage and early history of this celebrated man, nothing is certainly known. He was probably born in Nottingham, or Lincolnshire, in 1575, and at the age of seventeen, is supposed to have entered Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and on completing his term at the university, he proceeded to Norfolk, and in the neighbourhood of or at Norwich, commenced his labours in the national church. But his scruples respecting the ceremonies of this church being immovably fixed, he omitted or modified them in his parochial labours. This subjecting him to annoyance, he was temporarily suspended from his

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clerical functions, and withdrew entirely from the church — not as "the victim of chagrin and disappointment," as has been ungenerously insinuated by Pagett,[o] but "on most sound and unresistable conviction"; for it required at that time no ordinary courage to avow one's self a separatist, when persecution, if not death, was the doom of all dissidents.

Proceeding to Lincolnshire and Nottingham, he there found a body of men who, "urged with apparitors, pursuivants and the commission courts," met for worship as often as they could escape the Argus eyes of their persecutors — somewhat, perhaps, like the covenanters of Scotland.

Secretary Morton[p] is the only early writer who gives the date of the establishment of this church; and if that date is correct, and if the statement of Hunter[l] is also correct, that the church at Gainsborough is older than that at Scrooby, the church now gathered was probably located at Gainsborough; Mr. Smith and Mr. Clifton were associated in its oversight; and Mr. Robinson may have joined them in 1604. But if the first church was gathered at Gainsborough, "in regard of distance of place these people became two distinct bodies or churches," that at Gainsborough continuing under the oversight of Mr. Smith, and that at Scrooby being organised under Mr. Clifton, with whom Mr. Robinson remained as an assistant; and this event probably took place early in 1606.

Such was the origin of the churches at Gainsborough and Scrooby. That at Scrooby, though it seems to have been second in point of time, is first in importance in the history of the Pilgrims; for here the choice and noble spirits who planted New England learned the lessons of truth and liberty. It will be noticed that Mr. Robinson appears upon the stage at about the date of the accession of James I the greatest pedant that ever sat upon the English throne. Arbitrary, capricious, tyrannical and unprincipled, he trampled upon the most solemn oaths, and seemed never better pleased than when torturing or anathematising the victims of his vengeance. Hence at the Hampton Court Conference, at the close of the second day, speaking of the Puritans, he said: "I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

In his speech at the opening of the first parliament (March 19th, 1604), the king acknowledged the Roman church to be his mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, and professed his readiness, if its priests would forsake their "new and gross corruptions," to meet them halfway; but the Puritans, for "their discontent with the present government, and impatience to suffer any superiority," he declared to be "a sect insufferable in a well-governed commonwealth"; and in one of his letters he says: "I had rather live like a hermit than be a king over such a people as the pack of Puritans are that overrule the lower house."

Finally a proclamation was issued (July 16th, 1604), ordering the Puritan clergy to conform before the last of November, or to dispose of themselves and families in some other way, as "unfit for their obstinacy and contempt to occupy such places." In consequence of this edict, a large number of ministers were ejected, some of whom had preached, ten, some twenty, and some even thirty years; the bloodhounds of persecution were slipped from their leash, and the kingdom was converted into a general hunting-ground, with the king himself to shout the "View! Halloo!"

The independent churches at Scrooby and Gainsborough suffered with the rest; and, unable to conceal themselves from the inquisitions of the spy, beset in their houses, driven from their homes, and incarcerated in prisons, they resolved to escape. Mr. Smith and his church were the first to depart,

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[1608 A.D.]

fleeing to Holland, and seeking a refuge at Amsterdam.[1] Here, joining with the church under Francis Johnson, which had been established several years, Mr. Smith became involved in contentions with his predecessors, and that division was produced which has been often, but unjustly, ascribed to the members of Mr. Robinson's church.

Mr. Robinson and his flock yet tarried for a season in England, hoping something would transpire to lull the fierceness of the storm which was raging; but month after month passed away, and no abatement of its fury was visible. Accordingly he resolved to flee to a land where toleration, at least, if not perfect freedom, was accorded to all. But it was easier to resolve than it was to effect an escape. Thrice was the attempt made before they succeeded.*g*

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PILGRIMS' VOYAGE TO HOLLAND (1608 A.D.)

Being thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands & livings, and all their friends & familiar acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvelous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay), wher they must learne a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, & subjecte to ye misseries of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, & a misserie worse then death. Espetially seeing they were not aquainted with trads nor traffique (by which y^t countrie doth subsiste) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, & ye inocente trade of husbandrey. But these things did not dismay them (though they did some times trouble them) for their desires were sett on ye ways of God, & to injoye his ordinances; but they rested on his providence, & knew whom they had beleeved. Yet this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to goe, but ye ports & havens were shut against them, so as they were faine to seeke secrete means of conveance, & to bribe & fee ye mariners, & give exterordinarie rates for their passages. And yet were they often times betrayed (many of them), and both they & their goods intercepted & surprised, and thereby put to great trouble & charge, of which I will give an instance or tow, & omitte the rest.

Ther was a large companie of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincoln-shire, and for that end had hired a shipe wholy to them selves, & made agreement with the maister to be ready at a certaine day, and take them and their goods in, at a conveniente place, wher they accordingly would all attende in readines. So after long waiting, & large expences, though he kepte not day with them, yet he came at length & tooke them in, in ye night. But when he had them & their goods abord, he betrayed them, having before hand complotted with ye serchers & other officers so to doe who tooke them, and put them into open boats, & ther rifled & ransaked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea even ye women furder then became modestie; and then caried them back into ye towne, & made them a spectackle & wonder to ye multitude, which came flocking on all sids to behould them. Being thus first, by the chatchpoule officers, rifled, & stripte of their

[[1] The spirit of the times could hardly be more vividly condensed than in a comment on the unusual religious toleration of the Dutch, made by Robert Baillie, who in a sermon to the house of lords, exclaimed: "For this one thing they have become infamous in the Christian world." Even a scientist like Bacon could complain of the tolerance of heretics in a colony, saying that "It will make a schism and rent in Christ's coat, which should be seamless."]

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money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to ye magestrates, and messengerrs sente to informe ye lords of ye Counsell of them; and so they were comited to ward. Indeed ye magestrats used them courteously, and shewed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them, till order came from ye Counselltable. But ye issue was that after a months imprisonmente, ye greatest parte were dismiste, & sent to ye places from whence they came; but 7. of ye principall were still kept in prison, and bound over to ye Assises.

The nexte spring after, ther was another attempte made by some of these & others, to get over at an other place. And it so fell out, that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his owne belonging to Zealand; they made agreemente with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfullnes in him, than in ye former of their owne nation. He bad them not fear, for he would doe well enough. He was by appointment to take them in betweene Grimsbe & Hull, wher was a large comone a good way distante from any towne. Now against the prefixed time, the women & Children with ye goods, were sent to ye place in a small barke, which they had hired for y^t end; and ye men were to meete them by land. But it so fell out, that they were there a day before ye shipe came, & ye sea being rough, and ye women very sicke, prevailed with ye seamen to put into a creeke hardby, wher they lay on ground at lowwater. The nexte morning ye shipe came, but they were fast, & could not stir till aboute noone. In ye mean time, ye shipe maister, perceiving how ye matter was, sente his boate to be getting ye men abord whom he saw ready, walking aboute ye shore.

But after ye first boat full was gott abord, & she was ready to goe for more, the mr espied a greate company, both horse & foote, with bills, & gunes, & other weapons; for ye countrie was raised to take them. Ye Dutchman seeing y^t, swore his countries oath, "sacremente," and having ye wind faire, waiged his Ancor, hoysed sayles, & away.

But ye poore men which were gott abord, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and themselves also, not having a cloath to shifte them with, more then they had on their baks, & some scarce a peney aboute them, all they had being abord ye barke. It drew tears from their eyes, and any thing they had they would have given to have been a shore againe; but all in vaine; ther was no remedy, they must thus sadly part. And afterward endured a fearfull storme at sea, being 14. days or more before y^ey arived at their porte in 7. whereof they neither saw son, moone, nor stars, & were driven near ye coast of Norway; the mariners them selves often despairing of life; and once with shriks & cries gave over all, as if ye ship had been foundred in ye sea, & they sinking without recoverie. But when mans hope & helpe wholy failed, ye Lords power & mercie appeared in their recoverie; for ye ship rose againe, & gave ye mariners courage againe to manage her. And if modestie would suffer me, I might declare with what fervente prayers they cried unto ye Lord in this great distress, (espetialy some of them), even without any great distraction, when ye water rane into their mouthes & ears; and the mariners cried out, We sinke, we sinke; they cried (if not with mirakelous, yet with a great hight or degree of devine faith), Yet Lord thou canst save, yet Lord thou canst save; with shuch other expressions as I will forbeare. Upon which ye ship did not only recover, but shortly after ye violence of ye storme begane to abate, and ye Lord filed their afflicted minds with shuch comforts as every one canot understand, and in ye end brought them to their desired Haven, wher ye people came flockeing admiring their deliverance, the

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storme having ben so longe & sore, in which much hurt had been don, as ye masters freinds related unto him in their congratulations.

But to returne to ye others wher we left. The rest of ye men y^t were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before ye troope could surprise them; those only staying y^t best might, to be assistante unto ye women. But pitifull it was to see ye heavie case of these poore women in this distress; what weeping & crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were caried away in ye ship as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them, & their little ones; others againe melted in teares, seeing their poore little ones hanging aboute them, crying for feare, and quaking with could.

Being thus aprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in ye ende they knew not what to doe with them; for to imprison so many women & innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must goe with their husbands, semed to be unreasonable and all would crie out of them and to send them home againe was as difficult, for they aledged, as ye trueth was, they had no homes to goe to, for they had either sould, or otherwise disposed of their houses & livings. To be shorte, after they had been thus turmolyed a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be ridd of them in ye end upon any termes; for all were wearied & tired with them. Though in ye mean time they (poore soules) indured miserie enough and thus in ye end necessitie forste a way for them.

But y^t I be not tedious in these things, I will omitte ye rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured & underwente in these their wanderings & travells both at land & sea but I hast to other things. Yet I may not omitte ye fruite that came hearby, for by these so publick troubls, in so many eminente places, their cause became famouss, & occasioned many to looke into ye same; and their godly cariage & Christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts & sharp beginings, (as it was no marvell,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, & greatly animated others. And in ye end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposition, they all gatt over at length, some at one time & some at an other, and some in one place & some in an other, and mette together againe according to their desires, with no small rejoycing.[m]

THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND

In August, 1608, we find Mr. Clifton, and probably Mr. Robinson, safely arrived and settled in Holland. They were soon united with their former companions, and are said to have become one with the original members of the church at Amsterdam. But though the members of the Scrooby church settled first at Amsterdam, their stay in that city was transient; for difficulties had already arisen there, and it was thought best to remove before they became personally involved in them. Leyden was the place to which their steps were turned; and the removal was probably effected in the spring of 1609. Their temporal circumstances in this strange land — "the battle ground of Europe," and "the amphitheatre of the world" — were the first to engage their attention. Most of them had been "only used to a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry," and they were now in "the principal manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most important in Europe." A change of occupation, therefore, became necessary

to nearly all; and they "fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatever." Here, too, having established a printing press, Mr. Brewster published several books, some of which, of a prohibited character, being "vented underhandedly" in England, the ire of the Scotch prince was aroused, and a "schout," at his instance, was employed by the magistrates of Leyden to apprehend the offender; but the "schout" being, says Bradford,[m] a "dull, drunken fellow," he "took one man for another," and by a fortunate mistake, Brewer, not Brewster, was "confined fast in the university's prison."

We must not, however, omit to notice here one of the exiles, who, though but a youth at this time, became subsequently one of the first members of the colony of Plymouth, and exerted for many years a decided influence upon its fortunes and destiny. We refer to William Bradford, best known as Governor Bradford. Born at the little village of Austerfield, in Yorkshire, in 1588, he was trained "to the affairs of husbandry." He was soon a regular attendant upon the ministry of Mr. Clifton. Joining the church before he was eighteen, he was with it during its exile; and whilst in Holland, he is said by Mather[c] to have learned the art of silk dyeing, of a French Protestant, though we find no confirmation of this statement in earlier writers.

Of other members of the Pilgrim church, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It is impossible, at the present day, to state with exactness how many were connected with this church, either in England or in Holland. No records have descended to us from which a list of their names, or an account of their proceedings can be authentically drawn;[1] and for the want of such knowledge, it is as absurd as it is unnecessary, as Plutarch says in his *Life of Numa*, to "forge ancient archives to stretch their lineage back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses." Their proudest pedigree is Massachusetts and America. "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.*"

THE EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

Eight years residence in a land of strangers, subjected to its trials and burdened with its sorrows, satisfied this little band that Holland could not be for them a permanent home. The "hardness of the place" discouraged their friends from joining them. Premature age was creeping upon the vigorous. Severe toil enfeebled their children. The corruption of the Dutch youth was pernicious in its influence. They were Englishmen, attached to the land of their nativity. The Sabbath, to them a sacred institution, was openly neglected. A suitable education was difficult to be obtained for their children. The truce with Spain was drawing to a close, and the renewal of hostilities was seriously apprehended But the motive above all others which prompted their removal, was, says Bradford,[m] a "great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation for the propagating and advancing of the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping stones to others for performing of so great a work."

For these reasons a removal was resolved upon. They could not in peace return to England. Whither should they turn their steps? Some, and "none of the meanest," were "earnest for Guiana."[2] Others, of equal worth,

[1] The number connected with the church in Holland is supposed to have been not far from three hundred.

[[2] "One can hardly imagine," says Eggleston,[b] "what American Puritanism would have become under the skies of Guiana."]

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were in favour of Virginia, "where the English had already made entrance and beginning." But a majority were for "living in a distinct body by themselves, though under the general government of Virginia." Guiana was the El Dorado of the age. Sir Walter Raleigh, its discoverer, had described its tropical voluptuousness in the most captivating terms; and Chapman, the poet, dazzled by its charms, exclaims:

> Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,
> Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars,
> Stands on her tiptoe at fair England looking,
> Kissing her hands, bowing her mighty breast,
> And every sign of all submission making,
> To be the sister and the daughter both
> Of our most sacred maid.

Is it surprising that the thoughts of the exiles were enraptured in contemplating this beautiful land? But as an offset to its advantages, its "grievous diseases" and "noisome impediments" were vividly portrayed; and it was urged that, should they settle there and prosper, the "jealous Spaniard" might displace and expel them, as he had already the French from their settlements in Florida; and this the sooner, as there would be none to protect them, and their own strength was inadequate to cope with so powerful an adversary.

Against settling in Virginia, it was urged that, "if they lived among the English there planted, or under their government, they would be in as great danger to be persecuted for the cause of religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse; and if they lived too far off, they should have neither succour nor defence from them." Upon the whole, therefore, it was decided to "live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia, and by their agents to sue his majesty to grant them free liberty, and freedom of religion."

Accordingly John Carver, one of the deacons of the church, and Robert Cushman, a private member, were sent to England in 1617 to treat with the Virginia Company for a grant of land, and to solicit of the king liberty of conscience. The friends from whom aid was expected were Sir Edwin Sandys, the distinguished author of the *Europeæ Speculum*, Sir Robert Naunton, afterwards secretary of state, and Sir John Wolstenholme, an eminent merchant and a farmer of the customs. Sir Ferdinando Gorges seems also to have been interested in their behalf.

The messengers — "God going along with them" — bore a missive signed by the principal members of the church commending them to favour, and conducting their mission with discretion and propriety; but as their instructions were not plenary, they soon returned (November 12th, 1617). The next month a second embassy was despatched.

The new agents, upon their arrival in England, found the Virginia Company anxious for their emigration to America, and "willing to give them a patent with as ample privileges as they had or could grant to any"; and some of the chief members of the company "doubted not to obtain their suit of the king for liberty in religion." But the last "proved a harder work than they took it for." Neither James nor his bishops would grant such a request. All that could be obtained of the king after the most diligent "sounding," was a verbal promise that "he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they conducted themselves peaceably: but to allow or tolerate them under his seal," he would not consent. With this answer the messengers returned (May, 1618); and their report was discouraging to

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the hopes of the exiles. Should they trust their monarch's word, when bitter experience had taught them the ease with which it could be broken? And yet, reasoned some, says Bradford,[m] "his word may be as good as his bond; for if he purposes to injure us, though we have a seal as broad as the house-floor, means will be found to recall or reverse it." In this as in other matters, therefore, they relied upon providence, trusting that distance would prove as effectual a safeguard as the word of a prince which had been so often forfeited.

At length, after tedious delays, and "messengers passing to and fro," a patent was obtained which, by the advice of friends, was taken in the name of John Wincob [or Whincop[1]], a gentleman in the family of the countess of Lincoln; and with this document, and the proposals of Mr. Thomas Weston, one of the agents returned, and submitted the same to the church for inspection. The nature of these proposals has never transpired, nor is the original patent — the first which the Pilgrims received — known to be in existence. It was concluded that the youngest and strongest should be the pioneers of the church, and that the eldest and weakest should follow at a future date. If the Lord "frowned" upon their proceedings, the first emigrants were to return; but if he prospered and favoured them, they were to "remember and help over the ancient and poor." As the emigrants proved the minority, it was agreed that the pastor should remain in Holland, and that Mr. Brewster, the elder, should accompany those who were to leave. Each party was to be an absolute church in itself; and as any went or came, they were to be admitted to fellowship without further testimonies. Thus the church at Plymouth was the first in New England established upon the basis of independent Congregationalism.

Their greatest hardship was the compact with the merchants. The Pilgrims were poor, and their funds were limited. They had no alternative, therefore, but to associate with others; and, as often happens in such cases, wealth took advantage of their impoverished condition. To satisfy the merchants, who drove their bargains sharply and shrewdly, some changes were made, and by ten tight articles the emigrants were bound to them for the term of seven years. At the end of this period, by the original compact, the houses and improved lands were to belong wholly to the planters; and each colonist, having a family to support, was to be allowed two days in each week to labour for their benefit. The last is a liberty enjoyed, says Sumner,[s] by "even a Vallachian serf, or a Spanish slave"; and the refusal of the merchants to grant so reasonable a request caused great complaint. As it was, it threatened a seven years' check to the pecuniary prosperity of the colony; but as it did not interfere with their civil or religious rights, it was submitted to with the less reluctance, though never acceptable.

At this critical juncture, while the Pilgrims were in such perplexity, and surrounded by so many difficulties, the Dutch, who could not but be sensible that the patent they had obtained of the Virginia Company would interfere seriously with their projected West India Company, and with their settlement at New Netherland, stepped forward with proposals of the most inviting, and apparently disinterested and liberal character. Overtures were made to Mr. Robinson as pastor, that if he and his flock, and their friends in England,

[[1] The patent was not used, says Bradford,[m] another taken out in 1620 under the name of John Pierce seems to have been substituted. Wincob, the first patentee did not go with the emigrants (1620). He is never heard of again. In the household of this countess (widow of the fourteenth earl), Thomas Dudley, later one of the founders of Massachusetts, was steward. — F. B. DEXTER.[r]

would embark under the auspices of the lords states general, themselves should be transported to America free of expense, and cattle should be furnished for their subsistence on their arrival. These are the "liberal offers" alluded to in general terms by early Pilgrim writers, and which are uniformly represented as having originated with the Dutch, though it has been suggested, and even asserted, that the overtures came from the Pilgrims themselves, but there is an inherent improbability in this last representation. But they were willing to accept them upon certain conditions, of which one was that the government of Holland would guarantee to protect them. This concession was enough for the merchants to act upon. The prince of Orange was then in the zenith of his power; and to him, as stadholder, the merchants repaired with a memorial, professedly in the name of the "English preacher at Leyden," praying that "the aforesaid preacher and four hundred families may be taken under the protection of the United Provinces, and that two ships of war may be sent to secure, provisionally, the said lands to this government, since such lands may be of great importance whenever the West India Company shall be organised."

The stadholder was too wary a politician to approbate immediately so sweeping a proposal, and referred it to the states general. For two months it was before this body, where it was several times discussed; and finally, after repeated deliberations, it was resolved (April 11th, 1620) "peremptorily to reject the prayer of the memorialists." Nor can we doubt the wisdom of the policy which prompted this decision. It was well known in Holland that the English claimed the territory of New Netherland. The Dutch had hitherto been tolerated in settling there, because they had not openly interfered with the trade of the English. But should they now send over a body of English emigrants, under the tri-coloured flag, designed to found a colony for the benefit of the Batavian Republic, the prudent foresaw that a collision would be inevitable, and might result disastrously to the interests of their nation.

At last the *Speedwell* — miserable misnomer — of sixty tons, was purchased in Holland for the use of the emigrants; and the *Mayflower*, of one hundred and eighty tons[1] — whose name is immortal — was chartered in England, and was fitting for their reception. The cost of the outfit, including a trading stock of £1,700, was but £2,400 — about $12,000 of the currency of the United States! It marks the poverty of the Pilgrims that their own funds were inadequate to meet such a disbursement; and it marks the narrowness of the adventurers that they doled the sum so grudgingly, and exacted such securities for their personal indemnity.

As the time of departure drew near, a day of public humiliation was observed — the last that the emigrants kept with their pastor. At the conclusion of his discourse, those who were to leave were feasted at their pastor's house, where, after "tears," warm and gushing from the fulness of their hearts, the song of praise and thanksgiving was raised; and "truly," says Winslow,[l] an auditor, "it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard." At starting, they gave their friends "a volley of small shot, and three pieces of ordnance"; and so, "lifting up their hands to each other, and their hearts for each other to the Lord God," they set sail from the port of Delfthaven July 22, 1620. They soon reached Southampton, where lay the *Mayflower* in readiness with the rest of their company.

In about a fortnight (August 5th), the *Speedwell*, commanded by Captain Reynolds, and the *Mayflower*, commanded by Captain Jones — both having

[1] Capt. John Smith[f] says the *Speedwell* was of 70 tons, and the *Mayflower* of 160. But we follow the statement of Governor Bradford.[m]

one hundred and twenty passengers on board — were ready to set out to cross the Atlantic. Scarcely had the two barks left the harbour, ere Captain Reynolds complained of the leakiness of the *Speedwell*, and both put in at Dartmouth for repairs. At the end of eight precious days they started again, but had sailed "only a hundred leagues beyond the land's end," when the former complaints were renewed, and the vessels put in at Plymouth, where, "by the consent of the whole company," the *Speedwell* was dismissed; and as the *Mayflower* could accommodate but one hundred passengers, twenty of those who had embarked in the smaller vessel were compelled to return; and matters being ordered with reference to this arrangement, "another sad parting took place."

Finally, after the lapse of two more precious weeks, on September 6th, 1620, the *Mayflower*, "freighted with the destinies of a continent," and having on board one hundred passengers — resolute men, women and children — "loosed from Plymouth," and, with the wind "east-northeast, a fine small gale," was soon far at sea.

The particulars of this voyage — more memorable by far than the famed expedition of the Argonauts — are few and scanty. Though fair winds wafted the bark onward for a season, contrary winds and fierce storms were soon encountered, by which, says Bradford, she was "shrewdly shaken," and her "upper works made very leaky." One of the main beams of the midships was also "bowed and cracked," but a passenger having brought with him "a large iron screw," the beam was replaced, and carefully fastened, and the vessel continued on. During the storm, John Howland, "a stout young man," was, by a "heel of the ship thrown into the sea, but catching by the halliards, which hung overboard, he kept his hold and was saved." "A profane and proud young seaman, stout and able of body, who had despised the poor people in their sickness, telling them he hoped to help cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had, was smitten with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and was himself the first thrown overboard, to the astonishment of all his fellows." One other death occurred, that of a servant, and there was one birth, in the family of Stephen Hopkins, of a son, christened Oceanus, who died shortly after the landing. The ship being leaky, and the passengers closely stowed, their clothes were constantly wet. This added much to the discomfort of the voyage, and laid the foundation for a portion of the mortality which prevailed the first winter.

"Land ho!" This welcome cry was not heard until two months had elapsed, and on November 9th, old style, or November 19th, new style, the sandy cliffs of Cape Cod were the first points which greeted the eyes of the exiles.[g]

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT OF THE MAYFLOWER'S ARRIVAL

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries therof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadfull was ye same unto him.

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LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS IN AMERICA
(From the painting by Antonio Gisbert)

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But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by yt which wente before), they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwraked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sids full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt countrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast.

Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts & wild men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Netheir could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this wilderness a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to ye heavens) they could have little solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and ye whole countrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to separate them from all ye civill parts of ye world.

If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from ye mr & company? but yt with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for ye season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considered what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them but they had little power to help them, or them selves; and how ye case stode betweene them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God and his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say. Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie.[m]

THE COMPACT AND THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH (1620 A.D.)

Morton[p] asserts that the *Mayflower* put in at this cape, "partly by reason of a storm by which she was forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention and his engagement was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of their intention, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said

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Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under the pretence of the shoales, etc., to disappoint them in their going thither. Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence." The explicitness of this assertion caused the charge of treachery — brought by no one but Morton — to be repeated by almost every historian for years, but its correctness has since been questioned by writers whose judgment is entitled to respect.

The Pilgrims were now ready to pass to the shore. But before taking this step, as the spot where they lay was without the bounds of their patent, and as signs of insubordination had appeared among their servants, an association was deemed necessary, and an agreement to "combine in one body and to submit to such government and governors as should by common consent" be selected and chosen. Accordingly a compact was prepared, and signed before landing by all the males of the company who were of age, and this instrument was the constitution of the colony for several years. It was as follows:

In y[e] name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y[e] grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, & Ireland king, defender of y[e] faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for y[e] glorie of God, and advancemente of y[e] Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y[e] first colonie in y[e] Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in y[e] presence of God, and one of another covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of y[e] ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, and shall be thought most meete and convenient for y[e] generall good of y[e] Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Codd y[e] 11 of November, in y[e] year of y[e] raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland y[e] eighteenth, and of Scotland y[e] fiftie fourth. Ano. Dom. 1620.

While, on the one hand, much eloquence has been expended in expatiating on this compact, as if in the cabin of the Mayflower had consciously, and for the first time, been discovered in an age of Cimmerian darkness the true principles of republicanism and equality[1] — on the other hand, it has been asserted that the Pilgrims were "actuated by the most daring ambition," and that even at this early period they designed to erect a government absolutely independent of the mother country. But the truth seems to be that, although the form of government adopted by the emigrants is republican in its character, and remarkably liberal, at the same time its founders acknowledged suitable allegiance to England, and regarded themselves as connected with the land of their nativity by political and social ties, both endearing and enduring. Left to themselves in a wilderness land, apart from all foreign aid, and thrown upon their own resources, with none to help or advise, they adopted that course which commended itself to their calm judgment as the simplest and best; and if, under such circumstances, their compact was democratic, it seems chiefly to intimate that self government is naturally attractive to the mind, and is spontaneously resorted to in emergencies like the present.

The first care of the exiles, having established their provisional government [and choosing John Carver as governor], was to provide for their shelter. Cautiously, therefore, for fear of harm, on the same day that the compact was signed, fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, were set ashore at Long Point to explore the country; and returning at night with a boat-load of juniper, which delighted them with its fragrance, they reported that they had found "neither persons nor habitations."

[[1] This has often been called "the first written constitution in the world."]

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The stillness of the Sabbath (November 12th, 1620) was consecrated to worship — the first, probably, ever observed by Christians in Massachusetts — and on the morrow the shallop was drawn to the beach for repairs, and for the first time the whole company landed for refreshment. The adventurous, impatient of delay, were eager to prosecute a journey by land for discovery. Sixteen were detailed under Captain Standish — their military leader, who had served in the armies both of Elizabeth and James — and the party debarked (November 15th) at Stevens' Point, at the western extremity of the harbour, and marching in single file, at the distance of about a mile, five savages were espied, who, at their approach, hastily fled. Graves were discovered; and at another spot the ruins of a house, and heaps of sand filled with corn stored in baskets. With hesitancy — so scrupulous were they of wilfully wronging the natives — an old kettle, a waif from the ruins, was filled with this corn, for which the next summer the owners were remunerated. In the vicinity of the Pamet were the ruins of a fort, or palisade; and encamping for the night near the Pond in Truro, on November 17th they returned to the ship.

Ten days after another expedition was fitted out, in which twenty-five of the colonists were engaged, and visited the mouth of the Pamet, called by them Cold Harbour. A third expedition was agreed upon December 6th; and though the weather was unfavourable, and some difficulty was experienced in clearing Billingsgate point, they reached the weather shore, and there "had better sailing." Yet bitter was the cold, and the spray, as it froze on them, gave them the appearance of being encased in glittering mail. The next day (December 9th) the island was explored — now known as Clarke's Island. On Monday, December 11th (December 21st, new style), a landing was effected upon Forefather's Rock.[1] The site of this stone was preserved by tradition, and a venerable cotemporary of several of the Pilgrims, whose head was silvered with the frosts of ninety-five winters, settled the question of its identity in 1741. Borne in his arm-chair by a grateful populace, Elder Faunce took his last look at the spot so endeared to his memory, and bedewing it with tears, he bade it farewell! In 1774 this precious boulder, as if seized with the spirit of that bustling age, was raised from its bed to be consecrated to Liberty, and in the act of its elevation it split in twain! — an occurrence regarded by many as ominous of the separation of the colonies from England — and the lower part being left in the spot where it still lies, the upper part, weighing several tons, was conveyed, amidst the heartiest rejoicings, to Liberty-pole square, and adorned with a flag bearing the imperishable motto: "Liberty or Death!" On the 4th of July, 1834, the natal day of the freedom of the colonies, this part of the rock was removed to the ground in front of Pilgrim Hall, and there it rests, encircled with a railing, ornamented with heraldic wreaths, bearing the names of the forty-one signers of the compact in the *Mayflower*.

On the day of the landing the harbour was sounded, and the land was

[[1] Plymouth Rock has been generally granted the honour of receiving the first permanent landing of Pilgrims on the mainland, but no rock is mentioned in the so-called *Relation* of Mourt [u] of which he wrote only the preface, the main text being the work of Bradford and Winslow. In the latter part of last century a controversy was started by S. H. Gay, [v] who declared that the landing must have been at the present Duxbury or Kingston, not at the present Plymouth. H. M. Dexter [w] however, brought strong evidence from channel-soundings to support the tradition. Legend credits John Alden and Mary Chilton with being the first to set foot on the rock, but according to F. B. Dexter [r] they could not have landed on December 11th. The very date of the landing has been the subject of mistake. In calculating the New Style for purposes of fixing a day of celebration December 22nd was taken instead of December 21st, and in spite of efforts to correct the date, the 22nd has fastened on popular usage.]

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explored; and the place inviting settlement, the adventurers returned with tidings of their success; the *Mayflower* weighed anchor to proceed to the spot; and ere another Sabbath dawned she was safely moored in the desired haven. Monday and Tuesday were spent in exploring tours; and on Wednesday, December 20th, the settlement at Plymouth was commenced — twenty persons remaining ashore for the night. On the following Saturday the first timber was felled; on Monday their storehouse was commenced; on Thursday preparations were made for the erection of a fort, and allotments of land were made to the [nineteen] families; and on the following Sunday religious worship was performed for the first time in their storehouse.

For a month the colonists were busily employed. The houses were arranged in two rows, on Leyden street, each man building his own. The whole of this first winter was a period of unprecedented hardship and suffering. Mild as was the weather, it was far more severe than that of the land of their birth; and the diseases contracted on shipboard, aggravated by colds caught in their wanderings in quest of a home, caused a great and distressing mortality to prevail. In December, six died; in January, eight; in February, seventeen; and in March, thirteen — a total of forty-four died in four months, of whom twenty-one were signers of the compact. It is remarkable that the leaders of the colony were spared. The first burial place was on Cole's Hill; and as an affecting proof of the miserable condition of the sufferers, it is said by Baylies[x] that, knowing they were surrounded by warlike savages, and fearing their losses might be discovered, and advantage be taken of their weakness and helplessness to attack and exterminate them, the sad mounds formed by rude coffins hidden beneath the earth were carefully leveled and sowed with grain.[q]

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS: CAPTAIN MILES STANDISH

On John Smith's map the harbour where the Pilgrims had come to anchor was designated by the English name of Plymouth, and was indicated on it as a fit place for settlement. In compliment, it is said, to the kind treatment received at the English city of Plymouth, the name of New Plymouth was retained. The settlers themselves are often designated as the Plymouth pilgrims.[y]

The Indians, remembering the kidnapping exploits of Hunt and others, were hostile. More than half the colonists, including John Carver, their governor, died before spring. Those who retained their strength were hardly sufficient to minister to the urgent wants of the sick and dying. In this employment no one distinguished himself more than Carver, the governor. He was a man of fortune, who had spent all in the service of the colony, and readily sacrificed his life in discharging the humblest offices of kindness to the sick. He was succeeded by William Bradford, who was re-elected for many successive years, notwithstanding his remonstrance that "if this office were an honour, it should be shared by his fellow citizens and if it were a burden, the weight of it should not always be imposed on him."

Previous to the arrival of the Pilgrims in New England, a sweeping pestilence had, as we have seen, carried off whole tribes of natives, in the region where they had now settled. The traces of former habitation were apparent; but no Indians were found residing in their immediate vicinity. The spring, which restored health to the colonists, brought them also an agreeable surprise, in the visit of some Indians whose disposition was friendly. The visit of Samoset, whose previous intercourse with the English fishermen enabled

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THE RETURN OF THE MAYFLOWER
(After the painting by George Henry Boughton, R. A.)

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him to salute them with "Welcome, welcome, Englishmen!" was followed by that of Massasoit, the principal sachem of the country, with whom the celebrated treaty was concluded, which was inviolably observed, for more than fifty years, and contributed, during that period, more than any other circumstance, to secure New England from the horrors of Indian warfare.[z]

In the fall of 1621 the first harvest of the colonists was gathered. The "corn" yielded well, and the "barley" was "indifferently good," but the "peas" were a failure, owing to drought and late sowing. Satisfied, however, with the abundance of their fruits, four huntsmen were sent for fowl; and at their return, "after a special manner" the Pilgrims rejoiced together, feasting King Massasoit and ninety men for three days, and partaking of venison, wild turkeys, water fowl, and other delicacies for which New England was then famous. Thus the time-honoured festival of Thanksgiving was instituted — a festival which, originally confined in its observance to the sons of the Pilgrims and the state of Massachusetts, has now become almost a national festival.[q]

The treaty with Massasoit was one of the most important events in the history of New England. Another efficient means of preserving the colony from Indian hostility was found in the courage, ability, and military experience of Captain Miles Standish. He was the hero of New England, says Doctor Belknap,[bb] as Captain Smith had been of Virginia. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. He had early embraced the profession of arms; and the Netherlands being, in his youth, the theatre of war, he had entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch, and, after the truce, steped with the English refugees at Leyden. He came over with the Pilgrims, and on their arrival at Cape Cod, he was appointed commander of the first party of sixteen men, who went ashore on discovery; and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen captain, or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives, he was the first to meet them, and was generally accompanied by a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the treaty was made with Massasoit, one of his petty sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was preparing to join with the Narragansetts against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's residence and surrounded his house; but, not finding him at home, he informed the Indians of his intention of destroying him, if he should persist in his rebellion. This decisive proceeding struck terror into the turbulent chieftain, who promptly submitted to Massasoit, and entreated his mediation with the English. The example was not lost upon the neighbouring sachems, eight of whom came forward in September, 1621, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government. When the town of Plymouth was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed to the captain, who organised the military force, made the appointments of subordinate officers, and took efficient measures against sudden surprise by the natives.

The Narragansetts were the enemies of Massasoit's people. Indeed, Captain Smith,[f] in his history, says it was to secure a powerful ally against this tribe that the great chieftain made his treaty with the English. Their chief, Canonicus, sent a bundle of arrows tied up with a rattlesnake's skin to the governor, in token of hostility; but when Bradford filled the rattlesnake's skin with powder and shot, and sent it back in defiance, the sachem was intimidated, and gladly consented to a treaty. The Indians were afraid to

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receive the significant token of the governor, or to let it remain in their houses; and it was finally sent back to Plymouth.

A rival settlement was attempted in the immediate neighbourhood of the Plymouth colony. Thomas Weston, London merchant, originally concerned in the adventure to Plymouth, having obtained a separate patent for a tract of land on Massachusetts Bay, sent two ships, with fifty or sixty men, to settle a plantation. Many of the adventurers being sick on their arrival, became dependent on the hospitality of the Plymouth people, with whom they remained through the summer of 1622. They afterwards established themselves at Wessagusset, or Weymouth; but their affairs never prospered. Their treatment of the Indians was such as to provoke their hostility; and a plot was laid for the extirpation of all the English settlers. This conspiracy extended to many tribes, and came to the knowledge of Massasoit, who revealed it to Edward Winslow and John Hampden, when they were paying him a friendly visit, and relieving him from a dangerous illness. The great sachem advised them to kill the leading conspirators, as the only means of safety (1623).

The governor, on learning the impending danger, instantly committed the affair to Standish; directing him to take with him as many men as he chose, and if he should be satisfied of the existence of the plot, to fall upon the conspirators. Standish took but eight men for the expedition, and arriving at Weymouth, learned from the people enough of the insolent behaviour and threats of the Indians to satisfy him of their hostile intentions. Indeed, those who came to the place insulted and defied him. His only difficulty now was to bring a sufficient number of the Indians together to commence the attack. At length, when Wittuwumet and Pecksuot, two of the boldest and most powerful chiefs, were together in the same room, with a youth of eighteen, the brother of Wittuwumet, and another Indian, "putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men," the captain having about as many of his own party with him, according to Winslow,[t] "gave the word, and the door being shut fast he began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling, killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwumet and the other man: the youth they took and hanged.[1] It is incredible how many wounds these men received before they died; not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobomoc (Standish's Indian guide and interpreter) stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action; which being ended, he, smiling, broke forth and said: 'Yesterday Pecksuot bragged of his own strength and stature, and told you that though you were a great captain yet you were but a little man; but to-day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.'"

By Standish's order, several other Indians were subsequently killed; but the women were sent away uninjured. This exploit of Standish so terrified the other Indians who had conspired with the Massachusetts, or Massachusencks, as Winslow calls them, "that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted; living in swamps, and other desert places, and so brought diseases upon themselves, whereof many died, as Canacum sachem of Manomet, Aspinet of Nauset, and Iaough of Matachiest." The plantation of Weston was broken up and the settlers dispersed, within one year after it

[[1] These bloody proceedings excited some misgivings in the mind of John Robinson, who, though still in Holland, extended a pastor's oversight to the colony, which he intended presently to join. "Oh, how happy a thing it would have been," he wrote in a letter to the colonists, "that you had converted some before you killed any."—HILDRETH.[y]]

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begun. Some of the people returned to England, and others remained in the country. Weston did not come to America himself till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen; and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprise. In a storm he was cast away on the coast south of the Piscataqua, and robbed by the Indians of all which he had saved from the wreck. By the charity of the inhabitants of Piscataqua, he was enabled to reach Plymouth, where he obtained some pecuniary aid, and "he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach."[z]

The situation of the colonists in the spring of 1623 was peculiarly distressing. By the scantiness of their crops and the prodigality of their neighbours, their granaries were exhausted and they were reduced to want. The narrative of their sufferings is affecting and thrilling. "By the time their corn was planted, their victuals were spent, and they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning, nor had they corn or bread for three or four months together." Elder Brewster lived upon shell-fish. With only oysters and clams at his meals, he gave thanks that he could "seek of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand." Tradition affirms that at one time there was but a pint of corn left in the settlement, which, being divided, gave to each person a proportion of five kernels. In allusion to this incident, at the bi-centennial celebration, in 1820, when much of the beauty, fashion, wealth, and talent of Massachusetts had congregated at Plymouth, and orators had spoken, and poets sang the praises of the Pilgrims; amidst the richest viands, which had been prepared to gratify the most fastidious epicure to satiety, five kernels of parched corn were placed beside each plate, "a simple but interesting and affecting memorial," says Baylies,[x] "of the distresses of those heroic and pious men who won this fair land of plenty, and freedom, and happiness, and yet, at times, were literally in want of a morsel of bread."[q]

EDWARD WINSLOW
(1595-1655)

Another rival colony was attempted in the neighbourhood of the Plymouth settlers, by John Pierce, in whose name their first patent had been taken out. He procured another patent of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit; but his treachery met its punishment. Having embarked with a company of one hundred and nine persons, his vessel was dismasted and driven back to Portsmouth. His property was purchased by the Plymouth settlers, and the passengers and goods being embarked in another vessel, arrived safely at Plymouth, in July, 1623. The connection of the Pilgrims with the trading company in London, who were their partners in the scheme of colonisation, was attended with many inconveniences. To meet their engagements the colonists were obliged to submit to the payment of excessive usury, and to trade at a serious disadvantage. One of their number, Isaac Allerton, was sent to London in 1626. He returned in the spring of 1627, having obtained a loan of two hundred pounds at thirty per cent. interest, and laid it out in goods suitable for the supply of the colony.[z]

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At the end of the seven years originally limited in the agreement between the Plymouth colonists and the London adventurers, the London partners agreed to sell out their interest for £1,800, or about $9,000, to be paid in nine annual instalments. Eight of the principal colonists, in consideration of a six years' monopoly of the Indian traffic, gave their private bonds for the amount. The joint-stock principle was now abandoned; a division was made of the movable property; and twenty acres of land, nearest the town, were assigned in fee to each colonist.

The soil of New Plymouth was very poor; some not very successful attempts were made at the cultivation of tobacco; but the chief reliance to pay for cloths and other goods from England was the peltry collected by trade with the Indians. To save the voyage round Cape Cod, and to facilitate the traffic with the Indians on Narragansett Bay and Long Island Sound, a trading house was built at the head of Buzzard's Bay. A grant was also obtained from the council for New England of a large tract at the mouth of the Kennebec, where a post was established, and a lucrative traffic opened with the eastern Indians. A friendly message brought by Secretary De Razier [or De Rasieres] had been received in October, 1627, from the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson. From these Dutchmen the use of wampum was learned, soon found very serviceable in the trade with the eastern Indians. There was not yet capital enough to engage in the cod fishery, but a step was made toward it in the establishment of a salt work.

Straggling settlers, with or without grants from the council for New England, were now fast planting themselves along the coast. East of the Piscataqua, obscure hamlets of fishermen were established in 1625 at Agamenticus, now York, and at the mouth of the Saco. A party of some thirty persons, under a Captain Wollaston, had set up a plantation in Massachusetts Bay, not far from Wissagusset, at a place which they called Mount Wollaston, now Quincy. This plantation presently fell under the control of one Morton, "a pettifogger of Furnival's Inn," or, as he describes himself, "of Clifford's Inn, gentleman." He changed the name to Merry Mount; sold powder and shot to the Indians; gave refuge to runaway servants; and set up a May-pole, upon which occasion he broached a cask of wine and a hogshead of ale, and held a high revel and carousal. The people of Plymouth were requested by the other settlers to interfere; and Morton was seized by the redoubtable Standish, and sent prisoner to England in 1628. Eight plantations, from Piscataqua to Plymouth, some of them only single families, contributed to the expense.

Though their number did not yet amount to three hundred, the Plymouth colonists considered themselves now firmly established. "It was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again"; so they stated in their application to the council for New England for a new patent. They presently obtained it (June 13th, 1630), with an assignment as boundaries, on the land side, of two lines, the one drawn northerly from the mouth of the Narragansett river, the other westerly from Cohasset rivulet, to meet "at the uttermost limits of a country or place called Pocanoket." The tract on the Kennebec was also included in this grant.

This patent gave a title to the soil; but prerogatives of government, according to the ideas of the English lawyers, could only be exercised under a charter from the crown. A considerable sum was spent in the endeavour to obtain such a charter, but without success. Relying, however, upon their original compact, the colonists gradually assumed all the prerogatives of

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PILGRIM EXILES WATCHING FOR THE ARRIVAL OF THE PROVISION-SHIP

(After the painting by George Henry Boughton, R. A.)

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government — even the power, after some hesitation, of capital punishment. No less than eight capital offences are enumerated in the first Plymouth code of 1636, including treason or rebellion against the colony, and "solemn compaction or conversing with the devil." Trial by jury was early introduced, but the punishments to be inflicted on minor offences remained for the most part discretionary.

For eighteen years all laws were enacted in a general assembly of all the colonists. The governor, chosen annually, was but president of a council, in which he had a double vote. It consisted first of one, then of five, and finally of seven counsellors, called assistants. So little were political honours coveted at New Plymouth, that it became necessary to inflict a fine upon such as, being chosen, declined to serve as governor or assistant. None, however, were to be obliged to serve for two years in succession.

The constitution of the church was equally democratic. For the first eight years there was no pastor, unless Robinson, still in Holland, where he died March 1st, 1625, might be considered in that light. Lyford, sent out by the London partners, was refused and expelled in 1624. Brewster, the ruling elder, and such private members as had the gift of prophecy officiated as exhorters. On Sunday afternoons a question was propounded, to which all spoke who had anything to say. Even after they adopted the plan of a pastor, no minister, it was observed, stayed long at New Plymouth.[y]

COLONISATION OF MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

There is considerable obscurity in the early history of the extensive territory now constituting the states of Maine and New Hampshire, arising from the numerous and conflicting grants made by the council of Plymouth for New England. The extensive powers conferred upon this company by the crown were a source of discontent in the mother country, and of litigation in the colonies. Their claim to the exclusive enjoyment of the fisheries was opposed in the house of commons; and their attempt to establish this claim, by despatching Francis West, with a commission as admiral of New England, to protect their monopoly by the presence of a naval force was entirely nugatory; nor was the grant of a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, which they made to Robert Gorges, with power "to restrain interlopers," attended with any better success. These failures discouraged the council; and their subsequent operations were chiefly confined to the granting of patents for tracts of land in New England of various extent, without much regard to the inevitably conflicting claims of the patentees. Under some of these patents the settlements on the coast of Maine and New Hampshire were commenced.

Among the earliest settlements in New England were those on the coasts of Maine. Its shores, as we have seen, were visited by Martin Pring in 1603 and 1606, and the knowledge which he obtained of the interior of the country was communicated to the patrons of American colonisation. This led the Plymouth Company to attempt the unfortunate settlement under Popham,[1]

[[1] There was for many years a hot dispute over the early history of the Maine plantations and the Maine Historical Society engaged Dr. Leonard Woods and later Dr. John G. Kohl[cc] in researches which brought about a deal of controversy. By some, notably John A. Poor,[dd] it was claimed that the unfortunate Popham colony at Sabino in 1607 deserved the honour of saving New England for England. The adversaries of this theory protested that the Popham colony having been a futility could not steal the glory of the permanent establishment at Plymouth in 1620. In spite of a long warfare the older accounts are now re-established, and in the words of Winsor[ee] "A reaction that at one time claimed the necessity of rewriting history has in the

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at the mouth of the Kennebec, in 1607, whose failure followed so speedily after its commencement. One of the most zealous supporters of this enterprise was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who vainly urged his associates to repeat the experiment.

Gorges continued his private course of discovery for several years; and in 1622, uniting his fortune with that of the wealthy John Mason, they obtained conjointly from the Plymouth Company — of which they were both members — a grant of the territory called Laconia, lying between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. A number of colonists were sent over the next year, and these commenced settlements near the mouth of the Piscataqua, in 1623. Here a part of them erected the first house, calling it Mason hall; the remainder proceeding farther up the river, settled at Cocheco, afterwards called Dover. Fishing and trade were the chief objects of these emigrants; and consequently, their settlement increased slowly. Portsmouth had no more than sixty families in thirty years after its settlement. The council issued several patents of inferior extent a few years after, and some of these were comprised within the limits of Mason and Gorges' grant. Two of these were situated at the mouth of the Kennebec, where a permanent colony was planted in 1630, under the direction of Richard Vines, a former agent of Gorges. The year following a tract, comprehending the peninsula on which Portland is built, was conveyed by the council to two merchants, who erected a trading-house on an island near Portland harbour, and thus promoted the settlement of the neighbouring coasts. The colonists were principally from the southwest of England; and being accompanied by clergymen of the establishment, they found little favour with the Massachusetts planters.

The Pemaquid territory, lying without the limits of Gorges' patent, and to the eastward, extended about thirty miles from the Kennebec. This tract had been the subject of an Indian treaty in 1625, at which time the settlement was commenced there. Pemaquid must therefore be regarded as the first permanent settlement in Maine. In 1635, Gorges obtained from the council a separate title to that portion of their former grant which lies east of the Piscataqua, while Mason was confirmed in the possession of the western part. Gorges conferred on the tract thus acquired the name of New Somersetshire, in compliment to his native county in England.

In like manner Mason gave to his portion the name of New Hampshire. He sent agents to dispose of his lands, and take care of his interests; but he soon after died, leaving his affairs in so disordered a state that his family derived little benefit from his proprietorship, and the colonists were left to take care of themselves. Gorges took immediate measures for organising a government and to this end, sent over Captain William Gorges to his colony, with commissions to several gentlemen resident in the province. Seven of these commissioners assembled at Saco, March 25th, 1636, received from the inhabitants an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the proprietary, and attended some days, hearing cases in dispute and exercising a cognisance of criminal offences.

There appears not to have been entire satisfaction on the part of the colonists, with this early administration; for in 1637 Gorges gave authority to Governor Winthrop and others of Massachusetts, to govern the province and oversee his servants and private affairs. But this order was entirely disregarded by those to whom it was addressed: and, not long after, the proprie-

end engaged few advocates, and is now almost lost sight of." This is only one among many of the instances where destructive historical criticism after maligning the old authorities has been forced to accept them as our only sources of information.]

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tary obtained a royal charter, confirming the grant of the council, and creating him lord palatine, with powers similar to those exercised by the bishop of Durham. Gorges thereupon appointed a new board of councillors for the government of his province, the name of which was now changed to Maine. The first general court under this charter assembled at Saco, June 25th, 1640, at which the inhabitants of the several plantations renewed their oaths of allegiance to the proprietary. Thomas Gorges arrived with the commission of governor the same year, and presided at the second session of the court, held in September. He resided at the city of Gorgeana — now the town of York — of which he was created mayor.

Previous to the date of Mason's patent for New Hampshire, the reverend John Wheelwright, an emigrant from Massachusetts, for causes which we shall hereafter notice, had purchased lands of the Indians, and laid the foundation of Exeter; but it was not till 1639, that the inhabitants combined and established civil government; an example which was followed a year or two afterwards by Dover and Portsmouth. In 1641, New Hampshire was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and permitted to send two representatives to the general court at Boston; thus ceasing to be a separate province in six years from the time of its first settlement.

At the suggestion of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his friend Sir William Alexander had obtained in 1621, a patent for the territory east of the river St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence, under the name of Nova Scotia. This was followed in 1628, by the capture of Port Royal by the English; and in 1629, Quebec itself surrendered to a naval force commanded by Sir David Kirke. All New France was thus conquered by the English, one hundred and thirty years before its final subjugation by the army of General Wolfe; but it was immediately afterwards restored by treaty; the British government apparently not being aware of the value of the acquisition.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in common with other royalists, was unable to breast the storm of civil war which was become ruinous to all adherents to the crown. He was taken prisoner on the surrender of Bristol to the parliamentary forces, in 1645, and soon died, leaving his estate to his son John Gorges. On the return of the governor to England, in 1643, he was succeeded in his office by Richard Vines. During his brief administration, Colonel Alexander Rigby revived a title to a large portion of the province, which had been granted by the council of Plymouth in 1630, under the name of the "Plough Patent" [from the name of the ship *Plough* in which the patentees came over]. This patent claimed jurisdiction of the towns, as well as possession of the soil, of a tract forty miles square, located in the most populous part of the province. Mr. George Cleaves, who had long resided in the province, was sent over by Rigby as his agent and deputy governor. Cleaves summoned a court at Casco, in 1644, in the name of the "lord proprietor and president of the province of Lygonia," as the new proprietor denominated his patent; and though the inhabitants seem generally to have opposed the pretensions of Rigby, yet as Vines received no directions from Gorges as to his mode of proceeding, he yielded to the storm, resigned his commission, and removed with his family to the island of Barbadoes. Two years after, the commissioners for foreign plantations in England recognised the claims of Rigby, and the government of Lygonia became regularly established.

But few towns and plantations were left to the jurisdiction of the former proprietary of Maine. These elected Edward Godfrey of Gorgeana their governor; and fearing they should fall into the hands of the puritan colonies, they petitioned parliament in 1650 to constitute them a distinct jurisdiction.

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Their application was unsuccessful, and their apprehensions were soon realised. The Massachusetts Bay Company laid claim to the greater part of Maine in 1652, under pretence that it was embraced within the limits of their patent. They accordingly proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over the towns, notwithstanding the manly protests and well-founded claims of Governor Godfrey: and Lygonia being soon after left in a defenceless state, by the death of Rigby, it also was brought within the Massachusetts charter, though some of its towns did not submit until 1658.

The royal commissioners sent out soon after the restoration to inspect affairs in New England, visited Maine in the summer of 1665, and declared the province to be under the protection and government of the king. They also

CRADDOCK OLD FORT, MEDFORD

(Built in 1634. A refuge for the early settlers)

designated several gentlemen to administer affairs until the royal pleasure should be known: but the commissioners had scarcely left New England, when the authorities of Massachusetts, aided by a military force, resumed their sway, and reduced the province to a reluctant submission. The legal proprietor, F. Gorges, grandson to the original patentee, succeeded in obtaining a restitution of his title in 1677. This was effected by a formal adjudication at Whitehall, where the agents of the Massachusetts Bay Company appeared in compliance with a royal order. But the colony was unwilling to renounce her hold on the province, and in conformity with her instructions, her agents purchased the title from Gorges for the sum of £1,250. After this transaction, the governor and council of Massachusetts Bay took possession, under colour of a right derived from their former patent, and declaring themselves the lawful assigns of Ferdinando Gorges, they proceeded to organise a provincial jurisdiction accordingly.

The government established at this time, consisted of a president, deputy, and assistant, eight justices, and an elective general court. This form of

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government was retained until 1692, when by a new charter granted to Massachusetts, Maine was constituted a county, with the name of Yorkshire. This arrangement continued unchanged till 1760, when Cumberland and Lincoln counties were incorporated, and York reduced to nearly its present limits. After the revolution, Maine was styled a district, although its connection with Massachusetts remained the same until 1820, when it was erected into a separate and independent state. About one-third of the present territory of Maine was included in the patent of Gorges. The other portions fell to Massachusetts in virtue of the charter of 1692.

Prior to that date, the ancient settlement of Pemaquid — now Bristol — was the only important post east of the Kennebec. The French province of Acadia, originally so indefinite in its asserted limits, was finally restricted on the west of the Pemaquid river. But the English resisted even this reduced demand of territory on the part of the French; and in 1664, Charles II included in his patent to James, duke of York, the country extending from Pemaquid to St. Croix river. Being thus united in its government with New York, it received the name of the county of Cornwall; a fortress was built at Pemaquid to defend the inhabitants; and at the instigation of the governors of New York, a considerable number of emigrants established themselves at different points along the coast. The ravages of the Indians prevented the growth of these settlements, and finally occasioned the dispersion of the inhabitants for a number of years. When James was dethroned as king of England, his title to these lands ceased. The charter granted by William in 1692, vested the territory in Massachusetts, as already stated. On the reduction of Canada and the termination of Indian hostilities, numerous settlers again took up these lands: and from that time to the present, notwithstanding the many perplexities produced by conflicting and unsettled claims to the right of the soil, this portion of Maine has steadily advanced in cultivation and improvement. The inexhaustible fisheries and forests of timber which first drew settlers to the shores of Maine and New Hampshire, covering their waters with fleets of small vessels, and enlivening their solitudes with the busy sounds of the saw-mills, have, in all periods of their history, proved great sources of wealth.[s]

THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Besides the settlements mentioned as made or attempted on the coast of New England, there had been another, of no great consequence in itself, but interesting as the embryo of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. White, a clergyman of Dorchester, in the west of England, a Puritan, though not a separatist, had in 1624 persuaded several merchants of that city to attempt a settlement in New England in conjunction with the fishing business. The rocky promontory of Cape Ann, which forms the north shore of Massachusetts Bay, was fixed upon for this purpose: and Lyford and Conant, the same who had been expelled from New Plymouth by the zeal of the stricter separatists of that colony, were taken into employ, the first as preacher or chaplain, the other as general manager. This undertaking, like other similar enterprises, proved more expensive and less profitable than had been expected. It was abandoned in 1626; Lyford removed to Virginia; but Conant, relying upon the further co-operation of White, betook himself, with three companions, and a flock of cattle sent out by his employers, to Naumkeag, a fitter place, in his judgment, for a settlement.

White exerted himself to find new adventurers, and not without success.

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The English Puritans, for years past, had been growing more and more uneasy. Many clergymen of that cast had been silenced or deprived of their cures for nonconformity, and the present fashion of colonisation in America, as well as the example of the Plymouth colony, had suggested the idea of a Puritan refuge across the Atlantic. With this view, John Humphrey, a brother-in-law of the earl of Lincoln, John Endicott, and four others, gentlemen of Dorchester, obtained, at White's instigation, from the council for New England, a grant of the coast between Laconia on the one side, and the Plymouth patent on the other, including the whole of Massachusetts Bay. This grant of March 19th, 1628, extended westward to the Pacific, coterminate in that direction with the New England patent itself; north and south it was bounded by two parallel lines, the one three miles north of "any and every part" of the Merrimac, the other three miles south of "any and every part" of Charles river, one of the streams flowing into the head of Massachusetts Bay, and so named on Smith's map of New England. Part of this tract on the seacoast had been conveyed, in March, 1622, to Mason, under the name of Mariana, and another smaller portion to Robert Gorges, the late lieutenant general. He was dead; but his brother and heir had conveyed a part of this tract to Oldham, the exile from Plymouth, who had established himself as an Indian trader at Nantasket. The rest had been transferred to Sir William Brereton, who about this time sent over indented servants, and began a settlement, probably at Winnissimet, now Chelsea. The earl of Warwick appears also to have had a claim to this territory, or a part of it; but, whatever it was he presently relinquished it to the Massachusetts patentees. Those patentees, indeed, for some reason not very apparent, seem to have regarded all the previous grants as void against them.

ENDICOTT'S ARRIVAL (1628 A.D.)

New partners were soon found. John Winthrop, of Groton, in Suffolk, educated a lawyer, a gentleman of handsome landed property, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and other wealthy Puritans in London and the vicinity, became interested in the enterprise; and, to prepare the way for a larger migration, John Endicott whom Edward Johnson// calls, "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work," indefatigable, undaunted, austere, yet of a "sociable and cheerful spirit," was despatched at once, with sixty or seventy people, to make the commencement of a settlement. Welcomed at Naumkeag by Conant, September 14th, 1628, in conformity with his instructions, he soon despatched a small party by land, to explore the head of Massachusetts Bay, where it had been resolved to plant the principal colony. The peninsula between Charles and Mystic rivers, already known as Charleton or Charlestown, was found in possession of one Walford, a smith. The opposite peninsula of Shawmut was occupied by another lonely settler, one Blackstone, an eccentric non-conforming clergyman. The island, now East Boston, was inhabited by Samuel Maverick, an Indian trader, who had a little fort there, with two small cannon. On Thompson's Island, more to the south, dwelt David Thompson, already mentioned as one of the original settlers on the Piscataqua. Oldham still had an establishment at Nantasket, though at this moment he was in England, negotiating with the Massachusetts Company. There were a few settlers, it is probable, at Winnissimet, servants of Brereton; some, also, at Wissagusset, and a few more at Mount Wollaston.

Endicott sent home loud complaints of these "old planters," especially in relation to the Indian trade, which formed their chief business. They came,

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in fact, in direct conflict with the new patentees, who claimed an exclusive right of Indian traffic within the limits of their patent. The importance of this trade was very much exaggerated. There dwelt on the shores of Massachusetts Bay only four or five petty sachems, each with some thirty or forty warriors. Yet, at Endicott's suggestion, the company obtained a renewal of the royal proclamation of 1622 against irregular trading with the Indians.

New associates, meanwhile, had joined the company in England, including several from Boston and its vicinity, in Lincolnshire; among them, Isaac Johnson, another brother-in-law of the earl of Lincoln; Thomas Dudley, the earl's steward; Simon Bradstreet, steward to the dowager countess of Warwick, and son-in-law of Dudley; William Coddington, a wealthy merchant of Boston; and Richard Bellingham, bred a lawyer — all conspicuous in the subsequent history of Massachusetts. A very warm interest was taken in the enterprise by the Lady Lincoln, a daughter of Lord Say, a conspicuous Puritan nobleman, himself active, as we shall presently see, in American colonisations. The company, thus re-enforced, and sustained by money and influential friends, easily obtained a royal charter confirming their grant, and superadding powers of government. This charter was modelled after that of the late Virginia Company, vacated by *Quo Warranto* five years before.[y]

BANCROFT ON THE CHARTER AND FIRST SETTLERS OF MASSACHUSETTS

The patent for the company of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals, March 4th, 1629; a few days only before Charles I, in a public state-paper, avowed his design of governing without a parliament. The charter, which bears the signature of Charles I, and which was cherished for more than half a century as the most precious boon, established a corporation, like other corporations within the realm. The associates were constituted a body politic by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." The administration of its affairs was entrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, who were to be annually elected by the stockholders, or members of the corporation.

Four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the freemen was to be held; and to these assemblies, which were invested with the necessary powers of legislation, inquest, and superintendence, the most important affairs were referred. No provision required the assent of the king to render the acts of the body valid; in his eye it was but a trading corporation, not a civil government; its doings were esteemed as indifferent as those of any guild or company in England; and if powers of jurisdiction in America were conceded, it was only from the nature of the business in which the stockholders were to engage. For the charter designedly granted great facilities for colonisation. It empowered, but it did not require, the governor to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; yet the charter, according to the strict rules of legal interpretation, was far from conceding to the patentees the privilege of freedom of worship. Not a single line alludes to such a purpose; nor can it be implied by a reasonable construction from any clause. The omission of an express guaranty left religious liberty unprovided for and unprotected. The express concession of power to administer the oath of supremacy, demonstrates that universal religious toleration was not designed; and the freemen of the corporation, it should be remembered, were not at that time separatists. Even Higginson, and Hooker, and Cotton were still ministers of the Church of England; nor could the patentees foresee, nor the English government anticipate, how wide a departure from English usages would grow out of the omi-

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gration of Puritans to America. Episcopacy had no motive to emigrate; it was Puritanism, almost alone, that emigrated; and freedom of Puritan worship was necessarily the purpose and the result of the colony. If the privilege could not have been established as a legal right, it followed so clearly from the facts, that, in 1662, the sovereign of England, probably with the assent and at the instance of Clarendon, declared, "the principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts to be the freedom of liberty of conscience."

Massachusetts was not erected into a province, to be governed by laws of its own enactment; it was reserved for the corporation to decide what degree of civil rights its colonists should enjoy. The charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, did not secure to them a single privilege of self government; but left them, as the Virginians had been left, without one valuable franchise, at the mercy of a corporation within the realm. This was so evident, that some of those who had already emigrated clamoured that they were become slaves. It was perhaps implied, though it was not expressly required, that the affairs of the company should be administered in England; yet the place for holding the courts was not specially appointed. What if the corporation should vote the emigrants to be freemen, and call a meeting beyond the Atlantic? What if the governor, deputy, assistants, and freemen, should themselves emigrate, and thus break down the distinction between the colony and the corporation? The history of Massachusetts is the counterpart to that of Virginia; the latter obtained its greatest liberty by the abrogation of the charter of its company; the former by a transfer of its charter, and a daring construction of its powers by the successors of the original patentees.

The charter had been granted in March; in April, preparations were hastening for the embarkation of new emigrants. The government which was now established for Massachusetts merits commemoration, though it was never duly organised. It was to consist of a governor and counsellors, of whom eight out of the thirteen were appointed by the corporation in England; three were to be named by these eight; and, as it was said, to remove all grounds of discontent, the choice of the remaining two counsellors was granted to the colonists as a liberal boon. The board, when thus constituted, was invested with all the powers of legislation, justice, and administration. Such was the inauspicious dawn of civil and religious liberty on the bay of Massachusetts.

Benevolent instructions to Endicott were at the same time issued. "If any of the salvages" — such were the orders long and uniformly followed in all changes of government, and placed on record more than half a century before William Penn proclaimed the principles of peace on the borders of the Delaware — "pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their tytle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish, that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives."

The departure of the fleet for America was now anxiously desired. The colonists were to be cheered by the presence of religious teachers; and the excellent and truly catholic Francis Higginson, an eminent non-conforming minister, receiving an invitation to conduct the emigrants, esteemed it as a call from heaven. The propagation of the gospel among the heathen was earnestly desired; in pious sincerity they resolved if possible to redeem these wrecks of human nature; the colony seal was an Indian, erect, with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto, "Come over and help us." The company of emigrants was winnowed before sailing; and servants of ill life were discharged. "No idle drone may live amongst us," was the spirit as well as the law of the

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dauntless community, which was to turn the sterility of New England into a cluster of wealthy states.

It was in the last days of June, that the little band of two hundred arrived at Salem, where the "corruptions of the English church" were never to be planted, and where a new "reformation" was to be reduced to practice. They found neither church nor town; eight or ten pitiful hovels, one more stately tenement for the governor, and a few cornfields, were the only proofs that they had been preceded by their countrymen. The whole body of old and new planters now amounted to three hundred; of whom one third joined the infant settlement at Charlestown.

To the great European world the few tenants of the mud hovels and log cabins at Salem might appear too insignificant to merit notice; to themselves they were as the chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favourites with heaven; destitute of security, of convenient food and shelter, and yet blessed beyond all mankind, for they were the depositaries of the purest truth, and the selected instruments to kindle in the wilderness the beacon of pure religion, of which the undying light should not only penetrate the wigwams of the heathen, but spread its benignant beams across the darkness of the whole civilised world. The emigrants were not so much a body politic, as a church in the wilderness. An entire separation was made between state and church July 20th; religious worship was established on the basis of the independence of each separate religious community; all officers of the church were elected by its members; and these rigid Calvinists, of whose rude intolerance the world has been filled with calumnies, subscribed a covenant, cherishing, it is true, the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. It was an act of piety, not of study; it favored virtue, not superstition; inquiry, and not submission. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots. The church was self-constituted. It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognise him as its head; its officers were set apart and ordained among themselves; it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer standard. The motives which controlled their decisions were so deeply seated in the very character of their party, that the doctrine and discipline then established at Salem remained the rule of Puritans in New England.

There existed, even in this little company, a few individuals to whom the new system was unexpected; and in John and Samuel Browne, they found able leaders. They declared their dissent from the church of Higginson; and, at every risk of union and tranquillity, they insisted upon the use of the English liturgy. But should the emigrants give up the very purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic? Should not even the forests of Massachusetts be safe against the intrusion of the hierarchy, before which they had fled? Finding it to be a vain attempt to persuade the Brownes to relinquish their resolute opposition, and believing that their speeches tended to produce disorder and dangerous feuds, Endicott sent them to England in the returning ships; and faction, deprived of its leaders, died away.

Winter brought disease and the sufferings incident to early settlements. Above eighty, almost half of the emigrants, died before spring. Higginson himself fell a victim to a hectic fever.

TRANSFER OF THE CHARTER TO MASSACHUSETTS

On the suggestion of the generous Matthew Cradock, the governor of the company, it was proposed July 28th, 1629, that the charter should be trans-

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ferred to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the colony; and the question immediately became the most important that could be debated. An agreement was at once formed at Cambridge in England, between men of fortune and education, that they would themselves embark for America, if, before the last of September, the whole government should be legally transferred to them and the other freemen of the company, who should inhabit the plantation. The plan was sufficient to excite in the family of John Winthrop, and in many of the purest men in England, the desire to emigrate. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop to his father, "where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." September 1st, 1629, it was with general consent declared, that the government and the patent should be transferred beyond the Atlantic, and settled in New England.

JOHN WINTHROP
(1587–1649)

This vote was simply a decision of the question where the future meetings of the company should be held; and yet it effectually changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government. The measure was believed to be consistent with the principles of the charter. The corporation did not sell itself; the corporation emigrated. They could not assign the patent; but they could call a legal meeting at London or on board ship in an English harbour; and why not in the port of Salem as well as at the Isle of Wight? in a cabin or under a tree at Charlestown, as well as at the house of Goffe in London? The propriety of the measure, in a juridical point of view, has been questioned. Similar patents were granted by the Long Parliament and Charles II, to be exercised in Rhode Island and Connecticut; Baltimore and Penn long resided on their domains; and the Pilgrims brought with them a patent, which, it is true, had not passed the seals, but which was invalid for a very different reason. But, whatever may be thought of the legality of the transfer of the charter, it certainly conferred no new franchises or power on the emigrants, unless they were already members of the company; it admitted no new freemen; it gave to Massachusetts a present government; but the corporation, though it was to meet in New England, retained in its full integrity the chartered right of admitting freemen according to its pleasure. The manner in which that power was to be exercised would control the early political character of Massachusetts.

THE EMIGRATION WITH JOHN WINTHROP (1629 A.D.)

At the court convened, October 20th, for the purpose of appointing officers who would emigrate, John Winthrop, a man approved for piety, liberality,

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and conduct, was chosen governor, and the whole board of assistants selected for America. Yet, as the hour of departure drew near, the consciousness of danger spread such terrors, that even the hearts of the strong began to fail. One and another of the magistrates declined. It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in England a conformist, yet loving "gospel purity" even to Independency; in America mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of "the least part," yet desiring that part to be "the wiser of the best"; disinterested, brave, and conscientious — his character marks the transition of the reformation into avowed republicanism; when the sentiment of loyalty, still sacredly cherished, was gradually yielding to the irresistible spirit of civil freedom.

The whole number of ships employed during the season was seventeen; and they carried over not far from fifteen hundred souls. About eight hundred — all of them Puritans, inclined to the party of the independents; many of them men of high endowments, large fortune, and the best education; scholars, well versed in all the learning of the times; clergymen, who ranked among the most eloquent and pious in the realm — embarked with Winthrop for their asylum, bearing with them the charter, which was to be the basis of their liberties. Before leaving Yarmouth, they published to the world the grounds of their removal, and bade an affectionate farewell to the Church of England and to the land of their nativity. "Our hearts," say they, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

The emigrants were a body of sincere believers, desiring purity of religion, and not a colony of philosophers, bent upon universal toleration. Reverence for their faith led them to a new hemisphere, where distance might protect them from inquisition; to a soil of which they had purchased the exclusive possession, with a charter of which they had acquired the entire control; for the sake of reducing to practice the doctrines of religion and the forms of civil liberty, which they cherished more than life itself. They constituted a corporation to which they themselves might establish, at their pleasure, the terms of admission. They held in their own hands the key to their asylum, and maintained their right of closing its doors against the enemies of its harmony and its safety.

In June and July, 1630, the ships which bore Winthrop and his immediate companions, arrived to a scene of gloom; such of the earlier emigrants as had survived the previous winter, were poor and weak from sickness; their corn and bread were hardly enough for a fortnight's supply. Instead of offering a welcome, they thronged to the new-comers to be fed. Nearly two hundred servants, who had been sent over at a great expense, received their liberty, free from all engagements: their labour — such was the excessive scarcity — was worth less than the cost of their maintenance.

The selection of places for the new plantations became the immediate care. The bay and the adjoining rivers were examined: if Charlestown was the place of the first sojourning, it was not long before the fires of civilisation, never more to be quenched, were kindled in Boston and the adjacent villages. Boston, especially, had "sweet and pleasant springs," "and good land, affording rich corn-fields and fruitful gardens." The dispersion of the company was esteemed a grievance; but no time was left for long deliberation, and those who had health began to build. Yet sickness delayed the progress of the work; and death often withdrew the labourer from the fruit of his exertions. Every

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hardship was encountered. The emigrants lodged at best in tents of cloth and in miserable hovels; they beheld their friends "weekly, yea, almost daily, drop away before their eyes"; in a country abounding in secret fountains, they perished for the want of good water.[gg]

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF WINTHROP

The first public worship was held under a tree. On the 30th of July, 1630, a solemn fast was observed at Charlestown; and on this occasion were laid the foundations of the first church at this place and at Boston. John Winthrop governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy, with eighteen assistants, and the body of the freemen who should settle in the new province, were to constitute a legislative and executive body, in which all the corporate rights of the colony were vested. The court of assistants held its first meeting at Charlestown, on the 23rd of August, and enacted that houses be built for the ministers, and salaries raised for them at the common charge. A second court ordered that no settlements should be made within the limit of their patent, without the consent of the governor and his assistants; and changed the name of Trimountain to Boston, of Metapan to Dorchester, and gave to the town on Charles river the name of Watertown. The first general court of Massachusetts was held the same year at Boston, where the governor and most of his assistants had removed with their families some time previous. This court enacted, in October, that the freemen should in future elect representatives, who were to choose a governor and deputy from their own number, and with these, possess power to make laws for the province and appoint officers to execute them. To this measure the people gave their assent by a general vote; but the court rescinded it early the next year, and enacted that the officers should be chosen by the whole body of freemen.

The colony suffered much from the severity of the climate, and other trials incident to a new settlement. Before December, two hundred of their number died, among whom was Lady Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the earl of Lincoln, who had left the abodes of luxury and social comfort for the American wilderness, there to leave a memorial of her virtues and misfortunes. Her husband, one of the chief patrons of the colony, weighed down by sorrow and suffering, soon followed her. But the colonists bore all with fortitude.

As soon as the severity of the winter was sufficiently abated to admit of assemblies being convened, the court proceeded to enact laws for their internal regulation: and in May (1631) that body ordered that in future no persons should be admitted freemen, or entitled to a share in the government, unless members of some of the churches within the province. Many historians and statesmen have censured this provision, and the right of the government to make it has been much questioned. Yet it was perfectly consistent with the spirit of the age; and though it subsequently produced much dissension, it continued in force until the dissolution of the government.

In 1632 the chiefs of several Indian tribes visited Governor Winthrop, and sought his alliance. Among them were the sachems of the Mohegans, Nipmucs, Narragansetts, and Pequots. They were hospitably entertained by the governor, and entered respectively into treaties of amity with the colony. To confirm their friendly relations with the Plymouth colony, Winthrop and Wilson paid a visit to Governor Bradford, and passed a Sabbath with him; an event to which no small importance was attached at the time. During the summer of 1633, two hundred emigrants arrived from England, among whom were some eminent Puritan ministers, Eliot and Mayhew, the first

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Protestant missionaries to the Indians; John Cotton, "a man whose singular worth procured and long preserved to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony"; and Thomas Hooker, a man little inferior to him in worth and influence. At a later period, Dr. Increase Mather arrived, whose family supplied no less than ten ministers to the colony in after times, and produced the celebrated author of the *Ecclesiastical History of New England*.

The small-pox had prevailed in the neighbourhood of the English settlements to a considerable extent, destroying the natives and leaving their lands desolate; and as several of the vacant Indian stations were well chosen, the colonists eagerly took possession of them. This produced a greater dispersion of the population than suited the condition of an infant colony, and it led to innovation in the government, totally altering its nature and constitution. When a general court was to be held in 1634, instead of attending in person, as the charter prescribed, the freemen elected representatives in their different districts, authorising them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide on all points that fell under the cognisance of the general court. This court asserted their right to a greater share in the government than they had formerly possessed, and provided that the whole body of freemen should assemble but once a year for the election of magistrates, while the deputies from the several districts were to assemble in general court four times a year. They also provided against arbitrary taxation, by enacting that the disposing of land and raising of money should be done only by the representatives of the people. This general court is the second instance of a house of representatives in America, the first being that of Virginia, convened June 19th, 1619. The government thus established, was retained, with but slight alterations, during the continuance of the charter. We must henceforth consider the colony, not as a corporation, whose powers were defined and mode of procedure regulated by its charter — but as a society possessed of political liberty, and a constitution framed on the model of that in England.[a] Thus early did Massachusetts echo the voice of Virginia.

The state was filled with the hum of village politicians; "the freemen of every town in the bay were busy in inquiring into their liberties and privileges." With the exception of the principle of universal suffrage, now so happily established, the representative democracy was as perfect two centuries ago as it is to-day. Even the magistrates, who acted as judges, held their office by the annual popular choice. "Elections cannot be safe there long," said the lawyer Lechford. The same prediction has been made these two hundred years. The public mind, ever in perpetual agitation, is still easily shaken, even by slight and transient impulses; but after all its vibrations, it follows the laws of the moral world, and safely recovers its balance.

To limit the discretion of the executive, the people next demanded a written constitution; and a commission was appointed, in May, 1635, "to frame a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a magna charta," to serve as a bill of rights. The ministers, as well as the general court, were to pass judgment on the work; and, with partial success, Cotton urged that God's people should be governed by the laws from God to Moses. The relative powers of the assistants and the deputies remained for nearly ten years, 1634 to 1644, the subject of discussion and contest. Both were elected by the people; the former by the whole colony, the latter by the several towns. The two bodies acted together in convention; but the assistants claimed and exercised the further right of a separate negative vote on all joint proceedings. The popular branch resisted; yet the authority of the patricians was long maintained, sometimes by wise delay, sometimes by "a judicious sermon;" till, at last,

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March, 1644, a compromise divided the court into two branches, and gave to each a negative on the other. *99*

BANCROFT ON PURITAN INSTITUTIONS AND INFLUENCE

It was ever the custom, and it soon became the law, in Puritan New England, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." "To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers," it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The press began its work in 1639. "When New England was poor, and they were but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning."

FREE SCHOOLS: HARVARD COLLEGE

Six years after the arrival of Winthrop, the general court voted a sum, equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, towards the erection of a college. In 1638, John Harvard, who arrived in the bay only to fall a victim to the most wasting disease of the climate, desiring to connect himself imperishably with the happiness of his adopted country, bequeathed to the college one half of his estate and all his library. The infant institution was a favorite; Connecticut, and Plymouth, and the towns in the east often contributed little offerings to promote its success; the gift of the rent of a ferry, in 1645, was a proof of the care of the state; and once, at least, every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampumpeag; while the magistrates and wealthier men were profuse in their liberality. The college, in return, exerted a powerful influence in forming the early character of the country. In these measures, especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

There are some who love to enumerate the singularities of the early Puritans. They were opposed to wigs; they would preach against veils; they denounced long hair; they disliked the cross in the banner, as much as the people of Paris disliked the lilies of the Bourbons, and for analogous reasons. They would not allow Christmas Day to be kept sacred; they called neither months, nor days, nor seasons, nor churches, nor inns by the names common in England; they revived Scripture names at christenings. The grave Romans legislated on the costume of men, and their senate could even stoop to interfere with the triumphs of the sex to which civic honors are denied; the fathers of New England prohibited frivolous fashions in their own dress; and their austerity, checking extravagance even in woman, frowned on her hoods of silk and her scarfs of tiffany, extended the length of her sleeve to the wrist, and limited its greatest width to half an ell. The Puritans were formal and precise in their manners; singular in the forms of their legislation; rigid in the observance of their principles. Every topic of the day found a place

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in their extemporaneous prayers, and infused a stirring interest into their long and frequent sermons. The courts of Massachusetts respected in practice the code of Moses; the island of Rhode Island enacted for a year or two a Jewish masquerade; in New Haven, the members of the constituent committee were called the seven pillars, hewn out for the house of wisdom. But these are only the outward forms, which gave to the new sect its marked exterior.

If from the outside peculiarities, which so easily excite the sneer of the superficial observer, we look to the genius of the sect itself, Puritanism was religion struggling for the people. "Its absurdities," says its enemy, "were the shelter for the noble principles of liberty." It was its office to engraft the new institutions of popular energy upon the old European system of a feudal aristocracy and popular servitude; the good was permanent; the outward emblems which were the signs of the party, were of transient duration; like the clay and ligaments with which the graft is held in its place, and which are brushed away as soon as the scion is firmly united.

Puritanism exalted the laity. Every individual who had experienced the raptures of devotion, every believer, who, in his moments of ecstasy, had felt the assurance of the favor of God, was in his own eyes a consecrated person. For him the wonderful counsels of the Almighty had chosen a Saviour; for him the laws of nature had been suspended and controlled, the heavens had opened, earth had quaked, the sun had veiled his face, and Christ had died and had risen again; for him prophets and apostles had revealed to the world the oracles and the will of God. Viewing himself as an object of the divine favour, and in this connection disclaiming all merit, he prostrated himself in the dust before heaven; looking out upon mankind, how could he but respect himself, whom God had chosen and redeemed? Angels hovered round his path, charged to minister to his soul; spirits of darkness leagued together to tempt him from his allegiance. His burning piety could use no liturgy; his penitence could reveal his transgressions to no confessor. He knew no superior in sanctity. He could as little become the slave of a priestcraft as of a despot. He was himself a judge of the orthodoxy of the elders; and if he feared the invisible powers of the air, of darkness, and of hell, he feared nothing on earth. Puritanism constituted, not the Christian clergy, but the Christian people, the interpreter of the divine will. The voice of the majority was the voice of God; and the issue of Puritanism was therefore popular sovereignty.

Of all contemporary sects, the Puritans were the most free from credulity, and, in their zeal for reform, pushed their regulations to what some would consider a sceptical extreme. So many superstitions had been bundled up with every venerable institution of Europe, that ages have not yet dislodged them all. The Puritans at once emancipated themselves from a crowd of observances. They established a worship purely spiritual. To them the elements remained but wine and bread; they invoked no saints; they raised no altar; they adored no crucifix; they kissed no book; they asked no absolution; they paid no tithes; they saw in the priest nothing more than a man; ordination was no more than an approbation of the officer, which might be expressed by the brethren, as well as by other ministers; the church, as a place of worship, was to them but a meeting-house; they dug no graves in consecrated earth; unlike their posterity, they married without a minister, and buried the dead without a prayer. Witchcraft had not been made the subject of sceptical consideration; and in the years in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England.

On every subject but religion, the mildness of Puritan legislation corresponded to the popular character of Puritan doctrines. Hardly a nation of

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Europe has as yet made its criminal law so humane as that of early New England. A crowd of offences was at one sweep brushed from the catalogue of capital crimes. The idea was never received that the forfeiture of life may be demanded for the protection of property; the punishment for theft, for burglary, and highway robbery was far more mild than the penalties imposed even by modern American legislation. Of divorce we have found no example; yet a clause in one of the statutes recognises the possibility of such an event. Divorce from bed and board, the separate maintenance without the dissolution of the marriage contract — an anomaly in Protestant legislation, that punishes the innocent more than the guilty — was utterly abhorrent from their principles. The care for posterity was everywhere visible. Since the sanctity of the marriage-bed is the safeguard of families, and can alone interest the father in the welfare and instruction of his offspring, its purity was protected by the penalty of death; a penalty which was inexorably enforced against the guilty wife and her paramour. If in this respect the laws were more severe, in another they were more lenient than modern manners approve. The girl whom youth and affection betrayed into weakness was censured, pitied, and forgiven; the law compelled the seducer of innocence to marry the person who had imposed every obligation by the concession of every right.

The benevolence of the early Puritans appears from other examples. Their thoughts were always fixed on posterity. Domestic discipline was highly valued; but if the law was severe against the undutiful child, it was also severe against a faithless parent. The slave-trade was forbidden under penalty of death. The earliest laws, till 1654, did not permit any man's person to be kept in prison for debt, except when there was an appearance of some estate which the debtor would not produce. Even the brute creation was not forgotten; and cruelty towards animals was a civil offence. The sympathies of the colonists were wide; a regard for Protestant Germany is as old as emigration; and, during the Thirty Years' War, the whole people of New England held fasts and offered prayers for the success of their Saxon brethren.

The purity of morals completes the picture of colonial felicity. "As Ireland will not brook venomous beasts, so will not that land vile livers." One might dwell there "from year to year, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar." The consequence was universal health — one of the chief elements of public happiness. The average duration of life in New England, compared with Europe, was doubled; and the human race was so vigorous that of all who were born into the world more than two in ten, full four in nineteen, attained the age of seventy. Of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion, as compared with European tables of longevity, was still more remarkable.

We have dwelt the longer on the character of the early Puritans of New England, for they are the parents of one third the whole white population of the United States. In the first ten or twelve years — and there was never afterwards any considerable increase from England — we have seen that there came over 21,200 persons, or four thousand families. To New York and Ohio, where they constitute half the population, they have carried the Puritan system of free schools; and their example is spreading it through the civilised world.

Historians have loved to eulogise the manners and virtues, the glory and the benefits, of chivalry. Puritanism accomplished for mankind far more. Chivalry delighted in outward show, favored pleasure, multiplied amusements, and degraded the human race by an exclusive respect for the privileged classes;

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Puritanism bridled the passions, commanded the virtues of self denial, and rescued the name of man from dishonor. The former valued courtesy; the latter, justice. The former adorned society by graceful refinements; the latter founded national grandeur on universal education. The institutions of chivalry were subverted by the gradually increasing weight, and knowledge, and opulence of the industrious classes; the Puritans, rallying upon those classes, planted in their hearts the undying principles of democratic liberty.99

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BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter [a] is reserved for Editorial Matter.]

CHAPTER I. THE DISCOVERERS OF AMERICA

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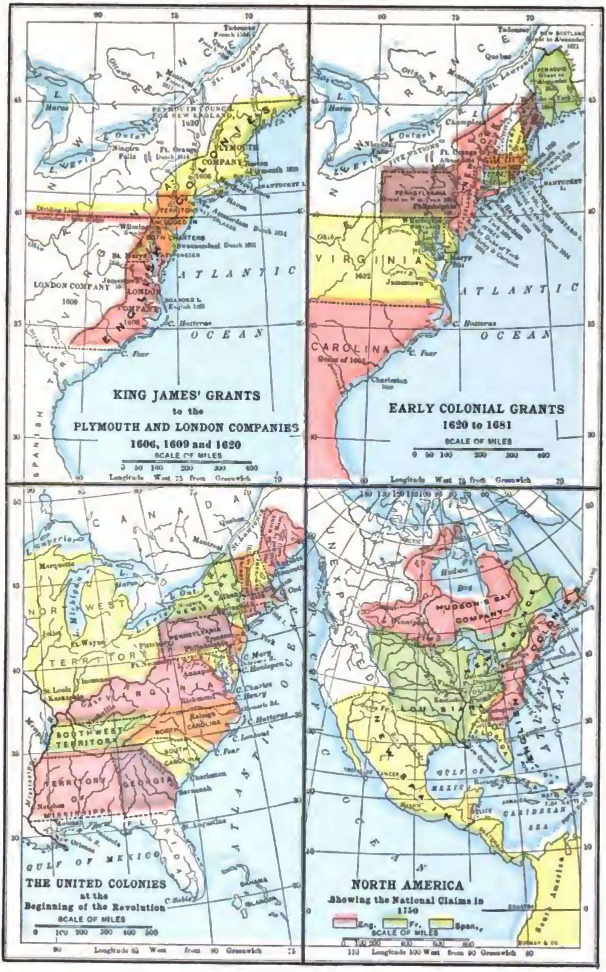

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